

THE
L I F E
OF
ADMIRAL LORD NELSON, K. B.

FROM
HIS LORDSHIP'S MANUSCRIPTS.

BY
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VOLUME II.

CRESCERETQUE MIHI EX EO IPSO FIDUCIA, QUON POSSIT IN HOMINIS UNIUS VIRTUTE
TANTUM MOMENTI ESSE. — TIT. LIV. HIST. XXVIII. 43.

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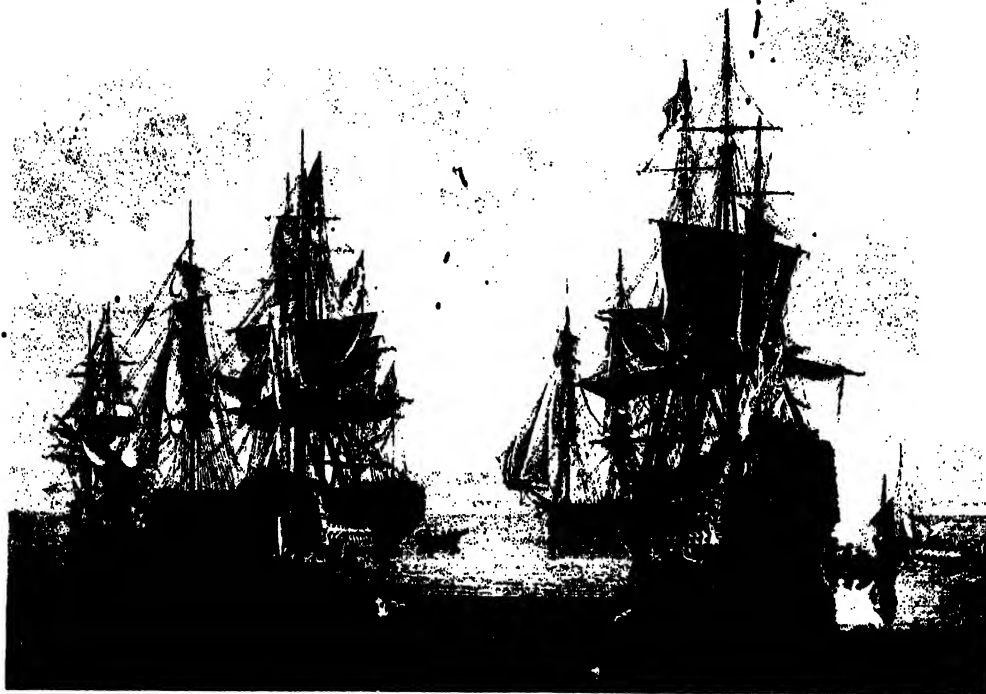
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BOOK THE THIRD.

From 1797 to 1805.

SUCH was the Character and such had been the professional Services of Horatio Nelson, when he succeeded in his 39th year to the rank of Rear Admiral. His great abilities and approved integrity were known and acknowledged throughout Europe, and had been extolled in the most liberal manner even by those enemies who had severely felt their ascendancy. As a Commander, he not only possessed the most unshaken valour and inexhaustible spirit of enterprise, but he also enjoyed the happy and rare talent of inspiring his followers with an unbounded confidence of success in whatever he undertook. The various and wonderful resources of his mind provided a remedy for every contingency. Patient of toil and hardship, but not of inaction, covetous of honour, but not of gold, he anxiously sought for situations of peril and exertion, where he might surpass the rest of his profession in supporting the dignity of his King, and the independence of his Country. The extraordinary, and as it were intuitive capacity of his mind created for

itself opportunities of distinction in the most forlorn and perplexing situations. *Steele when speaking of Glory, quotes a passage from Cicero which shews how amply it had been at this time obtained by Nelson: 'The perfection of Glory is that the people love us, that they have confidence in us, that being affected with a certain admiration towards us, they think we deserve Honour.' Sir Richard then subjoins the following passage which was fully exemplified in the subsequent life of this Admiral: 'But if one were to form a notion of consummate Glory under our constitution, one must add to the above mentioned felicities a certain necessary inexistence, and disrelish of all the rest without the prince's favour. He should have riches, power, honour, command, glory; but riches, power, honour, command, and glory should have no charms, but as accompanied with the affection of his prince. He should be popular because a favourite, and a favourite because popular. Were it not to make the Character too imaginary, I would give him sovereignty over some foreign territory, and make him esteem that an empty addition without the kind regards of his own prince. One may merely have an idea of a man thus composed and circumstantiated; and if he were so made for power without an incapacity of giving jealousy, he would be also glorious without possibility of receiving disgrace. This humility and this importance must make his Glor^y immortal.'

LORD NELSON'S MEMOIR OF HIS SERVICES.

PART III.

"In April, 1797, I hoisted my flag as Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and was sent to bring down the garrison of Porto Ferrajo; which service performed, I shifted my flag from the Captain to the Theseus on May the 27th, and was employed in the command of the inner squadron at the blockade of Cadiz. It was during this period that perhaps my personal courage was more conspicuous than at any other part of my life: In an attack of the Spanish gun-boats I was boarded in my barge with its common crew of ten men, coxswain, Captain Freemantle and myself, by the commander of the gun-boats; the Spanish barge rowed twenty-six oars, besides officers, thirty men in the whole. This was a service hand to

hand with swords, in which my coxswain, John Sykes, now no more, twice saved my life. Eighteen of the Spaniards being killed and several wounded, we succeeded in taking their commander. On the 15th of July, 1797, I sailed for Teneriffe; for the event I refer to my letter on that expedition. Having then lost my right arm, for this loss and my former services His Majesty was pleased to settle on me a pension^b of 1000*l.* a year. By some unlucky mismanagement of my arm I was obliged to go to England; and it was the 13th of December, 1797, before the surgeons pronounced me fit for service. On the 19th of December the Vanguard was commissioned for my flag ship. On the first of April, 1798, I sailed with a convoy from Spithead; at the back of the Wight the wind coming to the westward I was forced to return to St. Helens, and finally sailed on the 9th of April, carrying a convoy to Oporto and Lisbon. I joined Earl St. Vincent off Cadiz, on April 29th; on the 30th I was ordered into the Mediterranean. I refer to the printed Narrative^c of my proceedings to the close of the battle of the Nile.

“ On the 22d of September, 1798, I arrived at Naples, and was received as a deliverer by the King, Queen, and the whole kingdom. October 12th the blockade of Malta took place, which has continued without intermission to this day.” On the 21st of December, 1798, His Sicilian Majesty and Family embarked in the Vanguard, and were carried to Palermo in Sicily. In March, 1799, I arranged a plan for taking the islands in the bay of Naples and for supporting the Royalists who were making head in the kingdom. This plan succeeded in every part. In May I shifted my flag, being promoted to be Rear Admiral of the Red, to the *Fondroyant*, and was obliged to be on my guard against the French fleet. In June and July, 1799, I went to Naples, and, as His Sicilian Majesty is pleased to say, reconquered his kingdom, and placed him on

^b See in Appendix, N^o I. the Memorial of Service which was presented.

^c A thin octavo pamphlet drawn up from the minutes of Captain Berry.

^d The original MS. of this *Mémoire* was written by Lord Nelson at Port Mahon, October 15, 1799. See the Fac Simile of his letter accompanying it, Vol. I. p. 2.

his throne. On the 9th of August I brought His Sicilian Majesty back to Palermo, having been upwards of four weeks on board the *Foudroyant*.

" On the 13th His Sicilian Majesty presented me with a Sword magnificently enriched with diamonds, the title of Duke of Bronté, and annexed to it the feud of Bronté supposed to be worth 3000*l.* per annum. On the arrival of the Russian squadron at Naples, I directed Commodore Troubridge to go with the squadron and blockade closely Civita Vecchia, and to offer the French most favourable conditions if they would evacuate Rome and Civita Vecchia, which terms the French General Grenier complied with, and they were signed on board the *Culloden*; when a prophecy made to me on my arrival at Naples was fulfilled, viz. *That I should take Rome with my ships*. Thus may be exemplified by my life, that Perseverance in any profession will most probably meet its reward: Without having any inheritance, or having been fortunate in prize-money, I have received all the honours of my profession, been created a Peer of Great Britain, &c. &c. and I may say to the Reader, 'Go THOU AND DO LIKEWISE.'

Thus may be exemplified by my life, that Perseverance in any profession will most probably meet its reward: without having any inheritance, or having been fortunate in Prize money, I have received all the honours of my profession, been created a Peer of Great Britain and I may say to the Reader so thou & do likewise

Nelson

o. N^o. 155. 1799 Portsmouth

BOOK THE THIRD.

SECTION I.

From his advancement when in the Mediterranean to the rank of Rear Admiral, to his arrival at Naples after the Battle of the Nile.

WHILST SERVING ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS IRRESISTIBLE, CAPTAIN, THESEUS
AND VANGUARD.

THE departure of our fleet from the Mediterranean had been observed with exultation by our enemies, as it enabled them in greater security to make preparations for their intended Expedition from Toulon. The victory of February 14 and the blockade of Cadiz had checked but not prevented their ambitious designs. Their General, in one of those rhetorical flourishes which gratified his own vanity and that of the French Nation, thus addressed his troops after the capture of Mantua: 'The colours of France,' exclaimed the Corsican, 'wave for the first time on the Adriatic shores, opposite to and within twenty-four hours sail of ancient Macedonia. The Kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Pope and the Duke of Parma are detached from the coalition of our enemies, and are leagued in friendship with us. You have chased the English from Leghorn, Genoa and Corsica, but you have not yet finished your career: a more splendid achievement is in reserve.'

As soon as Sir John Jervis had refitted his fleet at Lisbon, he proceeded to reinforce Nelson's squadron in the blockade of Cadiz; on which station the latter had arrived in the beginning of April. Previous to this the Captain had joined the Rear Admiral, when he had hoisted his flag on board his old ship, still commanded by Captain Miller.

The various and important services which he had rendered his Country did not fail to make that impression on his Sovereign, which the too anxious mind of Nelson had rather hoped for than expected; but to be admitted into one of the noble orders of Knighthood, and without solicitation, was a mark of favour peculiarly adapted to gratify his loyal disposition, and an ambition which had hitherto been often mortified. Information of this intended honour was communicated to him by Lord Spencer in the handsomest manner, March 17, 1797: 'Sir: I have his Majesty's commands to acquaint you, that in order to mark his Royal Approbation of your successful and gallant exertions on several occasions during the course of the present war in the Mediterranean, and more particularly of your very distinguished conduct in the glorious and brilliant Victory obtained over the Fleet of Spain by his Majesty's fleet under the command of Admiral Sir John Jervis on the 14th of February last; his Majesty has been pleased to signify his intention of conferring on

you the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, with which it is His Majesty's pleasure that you should be invested, when the proper measures can be taken for that purpose. I have great satisfaction in communicating to you this very distinguished mark of the Royal approbation.'—The Admiral in his reply, dated April 2d, requested his Lordship, who had so favourably represented his services to the King, to present his most profound and humble acknowledgment to his Majesty.

In writing on the same day to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, his sentiments on this joyful occasion were thus expressed: 'Your Royal Highness who has known me for every hour upwards of sixteen years will do me justice in saying, that at no one period of my life did my zeal and duty to my King and Country abate; and I must rejoice in having gained the good opinion of my Sovereign, which I once was given to understand I had no likelihood of enjoying. With every sentiment of the most dutiful attachment, believe me to be your Royal Highness's faithful servant.'—A reference to his letter to Mrs. Nelson, will shew with what an humble disposition this joy was tempered, when a cottage near Norwich in his native county was all he required. 'Though we can afford no more than a Cottage, yet with a contented mind, my dearest Fanny, my Chains, Medals, and Ribbons are all sufficient. We must be contented with a little, and the cottage near Norwich or any other place you like better, will I assure you satisfy me. Do not mention this mark of the Royal favour to any one except my Father. Be assured whether my letters are long or short, yet still that my heart is entirely with you.' With love to my Father believe me your most affectionate husband.'

The following letter addressed to Mr. M^rArthur, is one amongst many that were at this time written by the Admiral in answer to congratulations on the battle of St. Vincent: it breathes the energy and liberality of mind that were peculiar to his character. *Captain, off Cadiz, April 10, 1797.* 'Many thanks, my dear Sir, for your most kind congratulations on our late success; but I hope the good people of England will soon have something else to talk about, more recent victories; for if our ships are but carried close by the officers, I will answer for a British fleet being always successful. The Spaniards threaten us they will come out and take their revenge, the sooner the better; but I will not believe it till I see it, and if they do, what will the mines of Mexico or Peru signify compared with the honour I doubt not we shall gain by fighting an angry Don? They will have thirty sail of the line, we twenty or twenty-two. I fear however we shall have a peace before they are ready. We have reports of great expected changes; whoever is minister will I hope get us an honourable peace. I suppose a ship is to be sent out for me, but I hope not the Gibraltar. The Captain is little better than a wreck. When you see Lord Hood I beg you will make my kindest remembrances to his Lordship and Lady Hood, and believe me, my dear Sir, your much obliged.'

Having received instructions from Sir John Jervis to render the blockade of Cadiz as strict as possible, the Rear Admiral issued his orders accordingly on the 11th to the respective Captains under his command; and also informed the American and Danish Consuls at Cadiz, That in future no neutral vessel would be permitted to enter or leave that port, unless by leave obtained from the Commander in Chief: 'I shall endeavour,' added Nelson when writing to his Admiral, 'by fair means to accomplish your wishes in the blockade. I have myself no idea that the Spanish fleet will be ready for sea for some months; and I own, Sir, that my feelings are alive for the safety of our Army from Elba. If the French get out two sail of the line, which I am confident they may do, our troops are lost, and what a triumph would that be to them! I know you have many difficulties to contend with, but I am anxious that nothing should miscarry under your orders. If you think a detachment can be spared, I am ready to go and do my best for their protection. At all events I trust you will not imagine that my taking the great liberty of thus mentioning my thoughts, arises from any other motive than affection towards you.'

Sir John Jervis to Rear Admiral Nelson, dated off Cadiz, April 12, 1797.

'Dear Sir: I return you very many thanks for your friendly hint about the garrison of Porto Ferrajo and your offer to go in quest of it; which I avail myself of by sending you orders to proceed with the Captain, Colossus and Leander to Gibraltar, and after they are completed in their water and provisions, to make the best of your way up the Mediterranean. I have reason to think the garrison is on its passage to Gibraltar under the charge of Captain Freemantle in the Inconstant. I left him to his own judgment, formed on the intelligence he might be possessed of at the moment of departure; promising nothing, but that I would protect him from Jack Spaniard by blocking up this port. The Terpsichore and Dido are going off Santa Cruz in the island of Teneriffe, to ascertain whether the Viceroy of Mexico be actually there.

'My letters from England are of very old date; the only interesting paragraph is that Lord Howe was to leave Bath for London on the 20th of March, in order to be invested with the late Marquis of Bath's Order of the Garter, which event was made known to him by letter under His Majesty's own hand.'

The enterprising mind of Nelson continued to indulge a hope of obtaining the rich prize which the Viceroy of Mexico was on board; and the idea that his Excellency might have taken a temporary refuge in Teneriffe, directed the attention of the Rear Admiral to that island. The minute information which in a short time he acquired, is detailed in a letter to Sir J. Jervis, April 12, 1797: 'My dear Sir: Troubridge talked to me last night about the Viceroy at Teneriffe. Since I first believed it was possible that his Excellency might have gone there, I have endeavoured to make myself master of the situation and means of approach by sea and land. I shall begin by sea. The Spanish ships generally

moor with two cables to the sea and four cables from their sterns to the shore; therefore, although we might get to be masters of them should the wind not come off the shore, it does not appear certain we should succeed so completely as we might wish. As to any opposition, except from natural impediments, I should not think it would avail. I do not reckon myself equal to Blake; but if I recollect right, he was more obliged to the wind coming off the land, than to any exertions of his own: Fortune favoured the gallant attempt and may do so again. But it becomes my duty to state all the difficulties, as you have done me the honour to desire me to enter on the subject.

‘ The approach by sea to the anchoring place is under very high land, passing three vallies; therefore the wind is either in from the sea, or squally with calms from the mountains. Sometimes in the night a ship may get in with the land wind and moderate weather. So much for the sea attack, which if you approve I am ready and willing to look at, or to carry into execution. But now comes my plan, which could not fail of success, would immortalise the undertakers, ruin Spain, and has every prospect of raising our Country to a higher pitch of wealth than she ever yet attained: but here soldiers must be consulted, and I know from experience, excepting General O’Hara, they have not the same boldness in undertaking a political measure that we have; we look to the benefit of our Country, and risk our own fame every day to serve her: a Soldier obeys his orders and no more. By saying soldiers should be consulted, you will guess I mean the army of 3,700 men from Elba, with cannon, mortars and every implement now embarked; they would do the business in three days, probably much less. I will undertake with a very small squadron to do the naval part. The shore, although not very easy of access, yet is so steep that the transports may run in and land the army in one day. The water is conveyed to the town in wooden troughs: this supply cut off, would probably induce a very speedy surrender: good terms for the town, private property secured for the islanders, and only the delivery of public stores and foreign merchandise demanded, with threats of utter destruction if one gun is fired. - In short the business could not miscarry.

‘ Now it comes for me to discover what might induce General de Burgh to act in this business. All the risk and responsibility must rest with you. A fair representation should also be made by you of the great national advantages that would arise to our Country, and of the ruin that our success would occasion to Spain. Your opinion besides should be stated, of the superior advantages a fortnight thus employed would be of to the army,

‘ Nelson constantly mentions this officer as if he had perceived the resemblance which he bore to himself. In April 1657, Admiral Blake, having received information that six Spanish galleons laden with silver and ten other ships had put into Santa Cruz at Teneriffe, immediately resolved to attempt destroying them. He succeeded in the attack and burnt the whole Spanish fleet down to the water’s edge, except two ships which sunk; and then the wind veering to the S.W. he passed with the fleet safe out of the port again, losing in this dangerous attempt only 48 men killed, and having about 120 wounded. (*Campbell’s Admirals*, V. II. p. 57.)

to what they could do in Portugal; and that of the six or seven millions sterling, the army should have one half. If this sum were thrown into circulation in England what might not be done. It would insure an honourable peace with innumerable other blessings. It has long occupied my thoughts.

‘Should General de Burgh not choose to act, after having all these blessings for our Country stated to him which are almost put into our hands, we must look to General O’Hara. The Royals, about 600, are in the fleet with artillery sufficient for the purpose. You have the power of stopping the storeships; 1000 more men would still insure the business for Teneriffe never was besieged, therefore the hills that cover the town are not fortified to resist any attempt of taking them by storm; the rest must follow—a fleet of ships and money to reward the victors. But I know with you, and I can lay my hand on my heart and say the same, *It is the honour and prosperity of our Country that we wish to extend.*’

The daring heroism of Nelson on the 14th of February, which had been rewarded by the munificence of his Sovereign, was also marked by various corporate bodies as claiming their thanks. In addition to those of the Irish Parliament which he received from Sir John Jervis, April 19; he had also transmitted to him the resolutions of the city of Bristol, and of the Grand Jury of the county of Stafford, expressive of the high sense which they all respectively entertained of his bravery and gallant conduct on that day.

In the mean time being detached from the fleet to secure the safety of the troops under General de Burgh, he had been joined off Cabrita, on the day after he left Sir J. Jervis, by the Seahorse, Caroline, and Southampton, and on the 15th of April by the Melceager. In getting to the eastward he spoke every vessel he met with to obtain information, and was repeatedly told, that a French squadron, of four sail of the line, a frigate and a brig, were off the southern end of Minorca. The Southampton parted company in chase; on the 18th and 19th of April he passed Ivica, and Majorca, and within gun-shot of Port Mahon with a strong wind at N. W. ‘which probably,’ added he, in a letter to his Commander dated April 21, off the southern end of Corsica, ‘blew the French ships under St. Peters in the island of Sardinia: this morning with inexpressible pleasure I beheld the Convoy, which I shall hope to see safe into Gibraltar, and I dispatch Gibson to tell you this good news. I hope you will press General O’Hara about Teneriffe, what a stroke it would be! All is lost in Italy, the whole state of Venice is actually French. Trieste is said to be also in their possession, and that Buonaparte is within 150 miles of Vienna with 150,000 men. The Archduke Charles is fortifying some pass to make a stand; but there seems no prospect of stopping these extraordinary people. The Seahorse is one of the best ordered ships I have ever met with; Captain Oakes intends to speak to you about going on shore to Lisbon for his health, or quitting to return home; he is most exceedingly

all. I have written to Gibraltar for the agent of transports and the agent victualier to be prepared to expedite my departure, that I may join you and be ready for another service.'

In a letter to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, dated off Cape de Gatte, April 30, 1797, Nelson more clearly described the critical situation in which this Convoy had been placed. 'Sir: The French squadron, of four sail of the line, one frigate and a brig, were seen from Minorca only twenty-two hours before I passed it on the 19th in my way up. I observed a man of war brig evidently looking at us; but my charge was too important to separate one ship in chace of her, especially as the Seahorse, Southampton, and Meleager had parted company; for until this garrison is safe down, I do not think our business is well finished. I spoke a Danish frigate just now, six days from Malaga, who says the Spanish fleet is certainly ordered to come out of Cadiz; this redoubles my anxiety to join my Admiral, for I should seriously lament being absent on such an occasion, especially as I believe it will be the last on many accounts; first, that I think we should finish their marine, and next, that my health is getting so indifferent from want of a few months repose and the pains I suffer in my inside, that I cannot serve, unless it is absolutely necessary, longer than this summer. In October I intend to ask permission to return to England until February, should the war still continue; and when it is considered that I have been four years and nine months without one moment's repose for body or mind, I trust credit will be given me that I do not sham. I have sent poor Captain Oakes with the Meleager to look for some Spanish frigates, his health is most distressing, and I have strongly recommended to him to go home, and if he is fortunate in taking a frigate, I am in hopes he will. As I know your Royal Highness's regard for this officer, I must be interested about him.'

Rear Admiral Nelson to Sir John Jervis, dated Captain off Cape Palos, May 1, 1797.

Dear Sir: As I shall send away the Rose cutter the moment I see the Rock, you will know from her that we are in the fair way for arriving safe at Gibraltar. The Seahorse and Meleager are ordered to be there on the 4th, Meleager landing the Emperor of Morocco's clock in her way. I have not interfered with Captain Freemantle's charge and arrangement of the Convoy, it could not be in better hands; therefore I only overshadow them with my wings. I have the satisfaction to tell you, that all the troops except the Royals who were always intended to be embarked in the ships of war, are on board the transports, with the exception of twenty and General Horneck who are in two vessels laden with wine. I offered to take 100 men into each of my squadron, but I found there was not the smallest necessity for it. I hope, Sir, you will state this fact at home, as it would have been a severe reflection on me, not to have left what was necessary for the embarkation of the army. I rejoice in this opportunity of vindicating my conduct, and beg

leave again to recommend Lieutenant Day, agent for transports, to your notice. I placed my reliance on his judgment not to leave a ship more than was necessary, and I have not been deceived. A more zealous, active officer as agent for transports I never met with. General de Burgh also speaks of him in the highest terms, and I hope the transport board will keep their promise of recommending those officers in their service who eminently distinguish themselves, which, I take upon me to say, Lieutenant Day has not only done at Bastia, but at Porto Ferrajo; for his conduct at the former place you were so good, on my stating his services, to recommend him to the Admiralty, and I should not do justice to his Majesty's service were I not to urge it again. I have the pleasure to add, that all the Captains under my orders have conducted themselves like zealous good officers.'

Sir John Jervis answered Nelson's former letter respecting 'Teneriffe, on the 6th of May, 1797: 'My dear Admiral: Braca Forte was certainly not arrived at Santa Cruz at the time we had the report from Lisbon, and I rather imagine is not destined thither. A Genoese vessel from thence informed Bowen and Troubridge some days afterwards, that the two register ships belonging to the Philippine Company were lying there in great security, and had not landed their treasure: a dismasted French privateer was also in the bay. The Genoese told Troubridge that Bowen steered directly for Santa Cruz when he parted with him, determined to cut them out. I have since sent Hallowell and Cockburn thither; and to cruise with a roving commission as long as their provisions last, calling in at Funchall for water. Teneriffe, therefore, not being the great object it was when you suggested the enterprise, and the Spanish fleet being numerous, I must concentrate all my force of line of battle ships and frigates. I have written so strongly to Lord Spencer and Nepean upon the subject of a reinforcement, exclusive of my private letter, that I cannot entertain a doubt of its being sent. To Nepean I said (private) 'That in a distant cannonade which I cannot prevent, I may have four or five ships crippled and the enemy none, when a drawn battle would be the consequence, which would bring John Bull upon my back, and compel a public enquiry.' You will, I am sure, be as glad to see me, as I shall be to see you.

'Gibson has this moment arrived, and brings me the glad tidings of your fortunate junction with Freemantle: Your zeal and judgment insure the success of the most difficult mission. Gibson was chased by four Spanish frigates, who compelled him to run from Cape Palos as high as Ivica, before he could get clear of them.—We seldom disagree, but in the instance of the letter from Rear Admiral Parker, which foolishly got into the papers, I totally differ with you; for it appears by the letter that Moreno covered Cordova in the evening, and the Rear Admiral shall go to Leon and prove the letter, if Moreno requires it: this is due to a brave man under persecution. I very much approve the letter you propose to send with the newspapers.'

On the 19th of May, 1797, whilst the Rear Admiral was detained in Gibraltar bay, he issued the orders he had received from Sir John Jervis, respecting the subsequent destination and victualling of the ships under Captain Freemantle. On the 20th, having received a request from Mr. Simpson, the American consul, to protect twelve American vessels who were lying in the bay of Malaga, unable to proceed on account of three French privateers by whom the Americans were closely watched; the Admiral returned for answer, ‘ I shall immediately grant the protection you have requested, by sending the *Andromache*, Captain Mansfield, to-morrow off Malaga, who will protect the vessels close to the coast of Barbary, where you tell me they will consider themselves safe. In thus freely granting the protection of the British flag to the subjects of the United States, I am sure of fulfilling the wishes of my Sovereign, and I hope of strengthening the harmony which at present so happily subsists between the two nations.’—Having joined the fleet and his ship the *Captain* being in so bad a state, Nelson shifted his flag towards the end of the month on board the *Theseus*, Captain Miller still accompanying him; and Captain Aylmer succeeded to the *Captain*.

The increasing strength of the Combined Fleet again rendered the situation of our Squadron under Sir John Jervis extremely critical. In writing to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence from off Cadiz, May 26, Nelson touched on this and other naval subjects. ‘ Sir: I beg leave to return you my most sincere acknowledgments for the three letters I have received from your Royal Highness. Whatever confidence you are pleased to repose in me will not, I trust, be misplaced; but my conduct and not my words must prove this Our western ports in Ireland might surely be more used, and stores procured as easy as at Gibraltar, Lisbon, &c. A plan with little expence might be formed for always having a large Squadron to the westward of England. We rejoice here at the certainty of soon receiving large reinforcements, which as the combined fleet will very soon be forty sail of the line must be acceptable; and we found our belief on the abundance of spare ships that are at the disposal of the Admiralty; for, although we are so inferior, we find that a Squadron under Lord Hugh Seymour is actually cruising on our station.’—In writing also to his wife on the 27th of May, he expressed himself deeply hurt with the above circumstance—‘ How government can answer for this act I cannot guess, but I have done. We are at anchor off Cadiz in sight of the whole Spanish fleet, I am barely out of shot of a Spanish Rear Admiral.’

On the 30th of May, the Commander in Chief having given out his orders respecting the firing of twenty-one guns, and three feux de joie, on the ensuing birth-day of the King, from each of the ships of the squadron, Rear Admiral Nelson was directed on sending a dispatch to the Spanish Admiral, to inform D. Josef de Mazarredo of the royal salute that had been ordered: upon which Nelson wrote as follows. ‘ I embrace, Sir, the oppor-

tunity of assuring you of my high esteem for your character. The 4th of June being the birth-day of my Royal Master, Sir John Jervis intends firing a royal salute at eight o'clock in the evening, instead of the usual time at one o'clock in the afternoon; and has desired me to mention it to your Excellency that the ladies at Cadiz may not be alarmed.' Don Josef, with the high spirit of an old Castilian, replied, '*That the general wish of the Spanish Nation could not but accord with so august a motive.*'

Rear Admiral Nelson to Sir J. Jervis, K. B. dated Theseus, May 31, 1797.

'My dear Sir: I never have a letter from the Duke of Clarence, but H. R. H. mentions you. I have mislaid that of April 5th, or I should have thought it my duty to have sent it. His Royal Highness therein said, *My best wishes and compliments attend the illustrious Jervis; tell him I admire him, I envy him, and I sincerely hope his fleet will now fall in with the Dollars.* A letter from an humbler pen came to me at Gibraltar. Collingwood, and his sentiments are, I am confident, those of the whole fleet - *I have a great desire our Admiral should be a Marquis this summer, his bright honours will reflect on all of us.*'

In writing to Mr. M^cArthur, June 1, he added, 'We are off Cadiz with a greater inferiority than before. We have every day flags of truce, the Dons hope for peace, but must soon fight us if the war goes on. I wish it was all over, for I cannot lag much longer; and, to please our fleet, I hear that a squadron is looking out in the limits of this station for the galleons daily expected: what a special mark of favour to us, who are enabling them to cruise so much at their ease. Believe me, dear Sir, your obliged and faithful servant. P. S. Sam. Hood is gone I hope to get riches, sure to get honour.'

The next mark of confidence which Nelson received from his Admiral was, the being appointed to command the in-shore squadron off Cadiz; a post of honour well adapted to so vigilant and daring a spirit. It was his constant custom every night, when the boats were on their stations off the mouth of that harbour, to be rowed in his barge through the whole force, and, with his wonted attention, to inspect every thing that was going on. The following order from Sir John Jervis, June 5, 1797, relates to this perilous service, and will convey some idea of the determined manner in which it was conducted. 'The Commander in Chief thinks it expedient, from intelligence lately received, that the launches and barges of the two divisions under Vice Admiral Thompson and Rear Admiral Parker, should assemble on board the *Theseus* between nine and ten o'clock every night, armed with carronades, pikes, cutlasses, broad axes and chopping knives, a clamp in each boat, with spikes, a sledge hammer, and a coil of small rope to tow off any armed brig, mortar or gun-boat, that is carried, and follow the directions of Rear Admiral Nelson for the night:' and on the same day another order was issued, that the launches and barges were on that evening to be alongside the *Theseus* by half past seven o'clock; and these were supported by gun-boats properly fitted for that particular service.

Notwithstanding the vigilance and watchfulness which this station hourly required during both day and night, the zealous mind of Nelson continued to be intent on the expedition he had proposed to Teneriffe; and on the 6th of June he received a second letter from Sir John Jervis respecting it. ‘My dear Admiral: If I obtain a reinforcement of four ships of the line, as I have reason to believe I shall from the strong manner I put the necessity of the measure in my public letter to Nepean, and private correspondence with Lord Spencer; I will detach you with the *Theseus*, *Culloden*, *Zealous*, *Leander*, *Emerald* and *Andromache*, with orders to attempt the surprise of Santa Cruz in the Grand Canary. *Terpsichore Bowen* shall also be of the party; but I rely chiefly on the local knowledge of Captain *Thompson* of the *Leander*. Turn this in your mind; for the moment the expected ships arrive, I will dash you off.’ Admiral Nelson immediately returned the following answer. ‘My dear Sir: Mr. Jackson¹ has delivered me your confidential letter: you may depend upon me. I want nothing but what we have, except two five-inch howitzers, two four or six-pounders, field pieces, 500 shells, some cases of fixed ammunition, and two or three artillerymen (no officer) to fix the fuses and a devil cart. With this and what you propose, I have no doubt of doing the job as it ought to be, the moment the ships come in sight. I also want twenty ladders, the size and dimensions I will get from the carpenter of the *Blenheim*, late of the Captain, who has made proper ones, which one man could carry for escalade, for my use in former times.’

On the next day, June 7, Sir John Jervis replied: ‘Your train of artillery, fixed ammunition, artillery, and devil cart will be supplied cheerfully by General O’Hara. *Terpsichore Bowen* will come with the bomb vessel, and shall be sent for them the moment I have notice of the approach of the reinforcement. We must have something from England soon, with your Ribbon and the patents of the Admirals. If the carpenter of the *Blenheim* should be in want of materials to make his ladders, he may have them from hence: in the language of Boniface, we made nice ones out of the bamboo we cut in the swamps at Martinique, by which my late gallant friend *Faulknor*² readily found his way into Fort Royal.’—It thus belonged to the extraordinary character of Nelson, not only to perform his duty in so admirable a manner, but actually to regard the performance of it with all the eagerness of a favourite amusement: In writing to his Admiral on the same day he in-

¹ The Master of the *Ville de Paris*. Sir John Jervis in a letter to Rear Admiral Nelson, dated June 2, had mentioned the following instance of gallantry in this officer: ‘*Jackson* did his business neatly, having chased in a French latteen-sail privateer over the bar and burnt her; the crew took to an old tower, with their swivels and musquitoons near the beach, where they had run their vessel ashore; but the carronades from the launches kept them in check. *Jackson* shall be with you on Monday morning, when I hope the industry of Captain *Miller* will be rewarded.’

² A Memoir of the professional services of this lamented Officer from original MSS. is given in the *Naval Chronicle*, Vol. XVI. page 1. See also the Memoirs of Captain *Rogers*, R. N. a posthumous work of the late Rev. W. Gilpin, page 120.

formed him, 'That according to intelligence received from an American, the town's people at Cadiz were fearful of an attack, and that not one half of the guns were mounted on the walls; *'I long to be at them,'* exclaimed the gallant seaman. He also at the same moment, again touched on the Teneriffe expedition: 'You must think, my dear Sir, of giving me 200 marines in addition to what I can land; the whole business is arranged in my mind, and I can point out to you the absolute necessity. Captain Oldfield of the marines, who was with Dacres in the *Sceptre* at the beginning of the war, is a very worthy man; and under General Troubridge ashore and myself afloat, I am confident of success.'

After the action of February 14, a letter, as has been already noticed, had inadvertently been published in the English papers, injurious to the professional character of one of the Spanish officers; and in consequence of this, a correspondence ensued between Admiral Nelson and the Spanish Vice Admiral Moreno, which commenced with the following note, dated Thebus, June 8, 1797. 'Sir: A Spanish officer having said, that you had expressed a wish to obtain a letter supposed to have been written from his Majesty's ship *Egmont*, and inserted in an English newspaper, relating to the action of Feb. 14; every enquiry has been made to obtain the newspaper, and hitherto without effect. Captain Sutton of the *Egmont* has also done every thing in his power, but without being able to learn whether any letter from that ship has been published. The enquiry has however produced from my Commander in Chief, Sir John Jervis, the most handsome testimony of the gallant conduct of a three-decked ship, bearing the flag of a Vice Admiral, who did every thing which a good officer could do to attempt to cut through the British line, between the *Victory* and the *Egmont*.'—Nelson afterwards enclosed a copy of this letter to Sir John Jervis: who replied, 'I wish not to injure Cordova, although I think his charge against Moreno subjects him to severe criticism. I am ignorant in what part of the Spanish line, if it may be called one, Morales served.' Sir John Jervis then proceeded to mention the service on which the Portuguese ships would be employed: 'Don Roderigo de Souza, the minister of marine at Lisbon, has sent me word, that he intends to place three line of battle ships and two or three brigs between the Tagus and Cape St. Vincent. I intend, the moment the *Rose* cutter joins, to desire him to push them forwards to Cape Spartel, that they may be nearer at hand for my support in case of the approach of Richery; and I shall also request that they may be under the command of Captain Campbell.'

* Captain Donald Campbell rose to the rank of Rear Admiral in the Portuguese service, and died March 1806, at Lisbon, aged 42. He was the eldest son of Major Donald Campbell of Hay in Argyleshire, and his father having a numerous offspring to provide for, procured him an Ensign's commission in the 74th regiment of Highlanders at the age of thirteen; at the commencement of the American war he accompanied his regiment to North America, where he served as Ensign and Lieutenant six years. At the conclusion of the war this regiment was reduced, and

Nothing could equal the extreme attention with which the blockade of Cadiz was carried on by the Commander in Chief, and the intelligence which he constantly obtained of every transaction that passed in that harbour. On the 9th of June, in writing to the Marine Minister at Lisbon, Sir John Jervis said, 'The French and Spanish privateers are preparing to elude the vigilance of this squadron, by taking out their masts and passing under the arch of the bridge at Leon, and taking them in again when through, with an intention of going out at the entrance of San Pedro; some Moorish vessels with corn have got in that way. I have therefore ordered the *Melager* and *Raven* to anchor in front of that chapel.'

Rear Admiral Nelson to Sir J. Jervis, June 9, 1797.

'My dear Sir: The newspaper was at last found in the night, on the quarter-deck, and is gone as you desired: it will I fear militate against Cordova, if any weight be given to a newspaper account. Your testimony of Moreno's conduct will no doubt be of service to him; the trials are commenced, and every day an account is sent off to Madrid. The heavy charge against Cordova is, not coming into Cadiz with his convoy, which they say he could have done the day after he had passed the Straits. Morales, it is expected, will be shot, Cordova broke, Moreno acquitted. The long trial of the officers who gave up Figueras is just finished, and five are to be shot. All the officers who composed the council of war are to be degraded in their public and private rank.—According to reports, the French have been refused a passage through Spain to Portugal; and a Minister of ours is at Paris. The Venetians are suffering every misery from the French. I was in great hopes the salute was from an Admiral from England. The number of men you propose to give me, I have no doubt are allsufficient; but I well know that a few more red coats have their use in dazzling the eyes of the enemy.

Campbell, like Nelson, disdaining a life of inactivity, went to the West Indies in a merchant ship in order to learn the duties of a Seaman, having allotted the whole of his half-pay, as a soldier, to his sisters. He afterwards made three voyages to India as Mate of one of the Company's ships. In 1793, Portugal having held out encouragement to British Officers, he was recommended by Lord Frederick Campbell to the Portuguese Ambassador, and was in consequence appointed a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy of Portugal. In a short time he was promoted to the command of a frigate, when he particularly distinguished himself in bombarding Tunis with a small squadron of Portuguese ships. He was stationed upwards of two years on the coast of the Brazils; and on returning to Lisbon he pointed out to their government various abuses in the administration of that colony, and suggested such reforms as caused some distinguished marks of favour to be conferred upon him by the Prince Regent, who at the same time presented him with his picture set round with diamonds, valued at 1200 guineas. The plans he delivered to the English Ministers in 1803 and 1804, on the political and relative situation of Portugal and the Brazils with Great Britain and other powers, were duly appreciated: for this and other services of a secret nature which he had rendered this country, a pension of 500*l.* a year was settled on his wife. In March 1805 he returned to Lisbon, and was appointed to the command of a squadron as Rear Admiral. He sailed for the Mediterranean with instructions to cooperate with our fleet; but Buonaparte, through the medium of his ambassador, remonstrated; consequently the Rear Admiral was recalled, and in March 1806 he died at Lisbon, much lamented as a good man and an excellent officer. He has left issue two children, and six of his sisters whom he supported now live to bewail his loss.

‘ I send you the state of the *Swiftsure*; even the sight of the two poor men in irons on board her has affected me more than I can express: if Mr. Weir would look at them I should be glad. The youth may, I hope, be saved as he has intervals of sense, his countenance is most interesting: if any mode can be devised for sending him home, I will with pleasure pay fifty pounds to place him in some proper place for his recovery; the other, I fear, is too old. Your managements are always good, and nothing shall be wanting in the execution. Martin has got an idea that I am likely to move; and should it be proper to enlarge the squadron, I beg he may go, but not to displace one of the others. I hope the reinforcement will soon arrive. I do not build much on the acts of the Portuguese squadron, even if they go off *Spartel*.’

These men in irons, whose appearance made such an impression on the mind of the Rear Admiral, were strongly suspected of having feigned derangement in order to obtain their dismissal. Nelson, however, became alarmed lest amidst the severity of discipline, at that moment so particularly necessary, the real situation of the men should not have been sufficiently considered; and he therefore the next morning wrote again to Sir John Jervis respecting them. ‘ My dear Sir: I hope for the poor men’s sakes that they are imposing on me, but depend on it that God Almighty has afflicted them with the most dreadful of all diseases: they do not sham, indeed you will find I am not mistaken, and all the commissioners in the world cannot convince me of it: for what purpose can these poor wretches attempt to destroy themselves, for what purpose can one of them have spoken to me as rational as any person could do? Do let Mr. Weir look at them: I am sure he will think with me, from the order to represent those who are objects unfit for the service, I could not do otherwise than I did; but if you think I have said too much, pray curtail my report. But I will get to pleasanter subjects. I am forming a ladder for the escalade, which when finished I will send to the *Ville de Paris*, that we may have twenty at least. Ten hours shall make me either a conqueror, or defeat me. I long to be at work, for I begin to think these fellows will not soon come out, at least not whilst negotiations are going on ’

In continuation. ‘ *Theseus*, June 12, 1797. The flag of truce was only to convey letters, but it also brought out in conversation a circumstance, which, although believed by many, I had my doubts about, at least that the Spaniards would have acknowledged it, That the *Trinidad* not only struck her colours, but hoisted *un pavillon parlementaire*: the fact is now so well established, that it cannot be done away. The next morning, when attended by the frigate, seeing some of our ships not far off, I suppose the *Egmont* and *Namur*, she hoisted an English jack over the Spanish flag to induce the English to suppose she was a prize.—I have one ladder finished, thirty-two feet long, and when you think the time draws near to make people guess, I should like one from every ship in the fleet. June 13. The ladder sent is not so light as I wished, but we could not do any better with the stuff

we had. Three men can rear it with pleasure, and if possible there should be ten men at a time on it: in short, the actors in our performance must not be too anxious to mount. Wishing that I may soon see them used, believe me yours most faithfully.

June 13th, nine P.^m What the intentions of the Dons are I know not; but their movements would assure me, if English, that they are on the eve of coming out. We see that thirteen sail of the line are unmoored and hove short. I saw Gravina cut his anchor, and they did it briskly; but the accommodation ladder of his ship was not in at sunset. The signals which they have been making this day are not their usual harbour signals. I will give them credit for their alertness, if they come out in the morning. The ships of this squadron have all their bulkheads down and are in perfect readiness for battle, and to weigh, cut, or slip, as the occasion may require. I have given out a line of battle, myself to lead; and you may rest assured that I will make a vigorous attack upon them, the moment their noses are outside the Diamond. Pray do not send me another ship, for they may have an idea of attacking this squadron; and if you send any more, they may believe we are prepared and know of their intention: it will, Sir, be my pride to show the world that your praises of my former conduct have not been unworthily bestowed.^a

Sir John Jervis, K. B. to Rear Admiral Nelson, dated Ville de Paris, midnight,

June 13, 1797.

My dear Admiral: The design of the Spaniards is to make a dash at you. We will all heave short before break of day and be ready to support you; being entirely of your opinion, that to get under sail and approach the entrance would tend to put a stop to Gravina's intentions, whatever they may be. My confidence in you is unbounded, and I know from the best experience it is rightly placed.

I never had any doubt of the Santissima Trinidad having an English Jack hoisted over Spanish colours, and it is certain that if Captain Berkeley had not been deceived by it and had gone down to her, she would have surrendered. I admire Moreno's letter exceedingly, it is a true type of a great mind; but pray set him right as to the real writer of the one that was printed, and inform him it was not Captain Sutton. Say to Gravina that I have remembered him to the Marquis of Lansdown, Lord Wycombe, Lord Henry Petty, and Lord Holland.

Notwithstanding these expectations, the Spaniards still remained in Cadiz. Sir John Jervis therefore continued to blockade that port, and with the assistance of the judgment and enterprise of the Rear Admiral, became resolved to adopt still more decisive measures to force Gravina from his present security. Admiral Nelson, when writing to his wife, on the 15th of June, mentioned a circumstance that must have been particularly grateful to his feelings. Amidst the dreadful commotion which had taken place in our Navy

^a Earl St. Vincent's Collection.

during that year, the *Theseus*, before she left England, had been disgraced by the prevailing madness; and some apprehensions had arisen respecting her men, on her first joining Sir John Jervis. For this reason, amongst others, Nelson had hoisted his flag on board her; and so powerful was the influence which this extraordinary man had over the crew even in their then state of irritation, that it not only brought them back to a proper sense of their duty, but actually attached the whole ship's company to him as if they had been old Agamemnons. The following extract from his letter will more clearly exemplify this. 'A few nights ago a paper was dropped on the quarter-deck, of which this is a copy: *Success attend Admiral Nelson! God bless Captain Miller! We thank them for the Officers they have placed over us. We are happy and comfortable, and will shed every drop of blood in our veins to support them, and the name of the Theseus shall be immortalised as high as the Captain's.* SHIP'S COMPANY.'

Whilst these transactions had been going on off Cadiz, and preparations were making for the bombardment of the town and for an expedition against Teneriffe, the gallantry of our seamen had been conspicuously displayed under lieutenant Hardy, in the road of Santa Cruz. On the 28th of May, 1797, Captain Hallowell in the *Lively* and Captain Cockburn in the *Minerve*, having discovered an armed brig at that anchorage, had ordered the boats of the two frigates, under lieutenant T. M. Hardy of the *Minerve*, to proceed into the bay and attempt the daring enterprise of cutting the brig out. Accordingly in the afternoon about half past two o'clock, lieutenant Hardy had proceeded on this service; and being gallantly supported by his brother officers and the seamen, he had boarded the enemy and carried her; notwithstanding a steady fire of musquetry from the brig and a heavy discharge of artillery and small arms from the town, to which for want of wind they were a long time exposed, as also to the fire of a large ship lying in the road. The prize proved to be the *Mutine* French corvette of twelve six-pounders, two thirty-six pound carronades, and 130 men, commanded by citizen Xavier Paumier, then on shore. The officers who particularly had distinguished themselves on this occasion were lieutenants Bland, Hopkins, Bushby, and lieutenant Bulkeley of the Royal Marines belonging to the *Lively*; and lieutenants Hardy, Gage, and Mailing, of the *Minerve*: four men were wounded in the *Lively's* boats, and ten in those of the *Minerve* with lieutenant Hardy,¹ who was immediately advanced for

¹ This excellent Officer early displayed a decided attachment to the naval profession, and contrary to the wishes of his family resolutely began his career of glory without any interest to promote his views. He had been originally master's mate in the *Hebe*, Captain Alexander Hood; in which ship Captain Cockburn, whilst a midshipman, had been his messmate. After being separated by the vicissitudes of service for many years, they again met at the beginning of the war in the *Minerve*, to which ship Mr. Hardy had been appointed third lieutenant, and in which capacity he served with his friend during the various operations that have been already related. When Lieutenant Culverhouse, first of the *Minerve*, had been promoted, Mr. Hardy had succeeded him. Having taken the *Mutine* he was appointed to her by Captain Hallowell the senior officer, which was afterwards confirmed by Sir J. Jervis, and by the Admiralty. Captain Hardy was raised to the rank of a Baronet after the battle of Trafalgar, and at present commands the *Triumph*.

this achievement to the rank of Commander, and appointed to *la Mutine*. In this sloop he afterwards became more nearly associated with the services of Nelson, who had already regarded his merit, and with his wonted liberality had immediately exerted his influence with the Admiral on the late occasion, together with the Captains Hallowell and Cockburn, that the bravery of this officer might be rewarded as it deserved; to which Sir J. Jervis replied on the 17th of June, 1797. ‘My dear Admiral: The capture of *la Mutine* was so desperate an enterprise, that I should certainly have promoted lieutenant Hardy; so that neither you, Hallowell, nor Cockburn have any debtor account to me upon this occasion: He has got it by his own bat, and I hope will prosper.—I have been examining young Langford, a sensible lad, who was in one of the *Lively’s* boats: he is clear that *Santa Cruz* may be carried with the greatest ease. I have desired Mr. Walpole to send a packet immediately to England with the dispatches taken in *la Mutine*, which are of great moment. There is no limit to the enterprise of the French Directory, who are in league with Tippoo, and a powerful squadron is going to India immediately.’

On the same day, June 17, an admirable order was issued, obliging every officer of whatever rank he might be, ‘To take up all the heads and tongues of the cattle that were killed, unless the seamen should wish to have any part of them. The ships companies were also to be first served, nor were the officers to be allowed to have any choice pieces, but to take their beef in quarters.’ Sir John Jervis, in the above letter, mentioned his reasons for making this regulation: ‘The order I gave arose from the recent disposition that had been manifested on board the *Captain*, originating in a dangerous departure from the established regulations of the service. The order must be obeyed *in limine*; whoever is hardy enough to hesitate about it, shall have no supply of fresh meat, with every other reproach I can heap upon him. I dread not the seamen, it is the indiscreet, licentious conversation of the officers which produces all our ills, and their presumptuous discussion of the orders they receive. I believe I told you what Langara said to Rodney, in reply to a long bore upon Discipline, ‘That it was comprised in one word, *Obediencia*.’

June 19, 1797. ‘I have seen your friend Bolton, who appears a steady young man, he shall soon be taken care of. Lieutenant Gourly is placed in the *Thunder bomb*, which has a mortar and two ten-inch howitzers, and he will command her until the arrival of Bland, first lieutenant of the *Lively*, who will be her Captain. I send you my correspondence with Mazarredo, touching the prisoners of war landed at Lagos by Whitsied. It is high time to apprise our government of the base perfidy of the Dons; and it may not be amiss for you to touch Don Josef up with the confident assertions of neutrals, ‘That he has employed the crews of the ships captured at Trinidad to fit his fleet, and that they are now on board.’

In this correspondence with the Spanish Admiral, Sir John Jervis said, ‘In respect to the officers and men disembarked at Lagos from his Majesty’s squadron under my command, after a solemn convention, the documents in proof of which your Excellency has

thought fit to return; I shall be totally regardless in my treatment of them of the judgment of her most faithful Majesty, or of any other Sovereign on earth except my own, should they fall into my hands acting in violation of that sacred engagement.'

The state of the Spanish fleet in Cadiz, June 29, 1797, and the expected arrival of ships from Toulon, Carthageⁿa, Lima, and the Havana, are thus detailed by Nelson in a letter to his Admiral of that date. 'My dear Sir: The two vessels which came out of Cadiz this day nearly agree in the same story, that the Spanish fleet, twenty-eight sail of the line, is full manned, chiefly soldiers, and is ready for sea, and there are two sail also nearly fitted out which are not manned; the Toulon ships and those from Carthageⁿa are expected the first levanter. The people of Cadiz have petitioned government to order the fleet to sail; for that, whatever may be the event, it *must* force us to quit this ground; and as three ships from Lima are momentarily expected and the Havana convoy (for every morning the merchants are on the walls to see if they are in our fleet) they declare if they should fall into our hands, that the merchants in Spain would be ruined. They know we have a bomb vessel sitting at Gibraltar, and are in terror of a bombardment. I will write to D. Josef Mazarredo, and he shall have the letter soon after daybreak to-morrow: he is a Biscayner, they are not famed for politeness or gallantry. I hope I shall always have to boast, and truly, of your unalterable friendship, which it shall ever be my study to deserve.'

The affectionate tenderness of the private character of this great warrior cannot be too generally known and admired: In writing to Mrs. Nelson June 29, as was his custom previous to his entering on any service of peril, he had said, 'Rest assured of my most perfect love, affection and esteem for your person and character, which the more I see of the world the more I must admire. The imperious call of honour to serve my Country, is the only thing which keeps me a moment from you, and a hope that, by staying a little longer, it may enable you to enjoy those little luxuries which you so highly merit. I pray God it may soon be peace, and that we may get into the Cottage.--I have to thank many friends for their kind congratulations, and have had a long letter and genealogy from the York Herald, Mr. Naylor, whom I have referred to my brother Maurice. I have sent my brother my supporters, crest and motto; on one side a Sailor properly habited, holding in his hand the broad pendant on a staff and trampling on a Spanish flag; on the other side the British lion tearing the Spanish flag, the remnants hanging down and the flag in tatters. Motto, what my brother William suggested turned into English, *Faith and Works*. I hope you will like them.--I intend my next winter's gift at Burnham should be fifty good large blankets of the very best quality, and they will last for seven years at least. This will not take from any thing the parish might give. I wish inquiry to be made, and the blankets ordered of some worthy man; they are to be at my father's disposal in November. I have received my dear father's letter, God bless him and you.'

On the 22d of June, 1797, the Duke of Portland had sent the following letter from Whitehall to Sir John Jervis, who had been created a Peer, by the title of Earl St. Vincent. 'My Lord: His Majesty having been graciously pleased as a mark of his royal approbation of the eminent services of Rear Admiral Nelson, to nominate him to be one of the Knights Companions of the most honourable Order of the Bath; and it being necessary that he should be invested with the ensigns of the said Order, which are transmitted to him by this opportunity, I am to signify to your Lordship the King's pleasure that you should perform that ceremony: and it being his Majesty's intention that the same should be done in the most honourable^k and distinguished manner that circumstances will allow of, you will concert and adjust with him such time and manner for investing him with the ensigns of the Order of the Bath, as shall appear to you most proper for shewing all due respect to the King's order; and as may at the same time mark in the most public manner his Majesty's just sense of the zeal and abilities which Rear Admiral Nelson has exerted in the service of his King and Country.'

As if it had been in the original and true spirit of Chivalry, the renowned Sir Horatio Nelson was destined to keep the vigils of his Knighthood during the perilous night of the third of July, 1797, at the mouth of Cadiz harbour. On the evening of that day it had been given out in orders by the Commander in Chief, 'That all the barges and launches without exception, with their carronades properly fitted, and plenty of ammunition and pikes were to be with Admiral Nelson at half past eight o'clock on a particular service. The garrison of Cadiz at this time consisted of from 4000 to 4500 men. On the line wall facing the bay, seventy pieces of cannon and eight mortars had been mounted, and near Alameda were four other mortars; and from the Capuchins at the back of the town to the land point were three batteries of four guns each. Such was the strength of the forts at Cadiz when Sir Horatio Nelson undertook its bombardment.

Lord St. Vincent in writing to him on the 1st of July, had sent word that Captain Freemantle would join the advanced squadron the next day; 'Bowen,' he added, 'will be also here with the bomb ketch, but they shall not join you until quite ready.' On the 3d he wrote more fully: 'Your orders, my dear Admiral, shall be obeyed; and Troubridge is so much recovered, I shall detach the Culloden down to you. I send you, in my young friend Baynes, the son of two of the oldest acquaintance I have: his parents have been inhabitants of Gibraltar time out of mind, his mother was born there, and is sister to Colonel M'Leod of the artillery, who distinguished himself highly in the Carolinas under Lord Cornwallis, and married Lady Emily Ker, aunt to our little Mark Ker.' The Rear Admiral on the same day replied as follows: 'We will begin this night by ten o'clock; and I beg that all the launches of the fleet may be with me by eight, or half past at farthest,

^k The fees on this occasion, amounting to 428*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* were paid by virtue of the King's sign manual.

also all the barges or pinnaces. I wish to make it a warm night at Cadiz. The town and their fleet are prepared, and their gun-boats are advanced; so much the better. If they venture from their walls, I shall give Johnny his full scope for fighting. Mazarredo will be more than human, if he can keep the merchants of Cadiz in good humour. I am inclined to think he has been out this afternoon. I intend if alive and not tired to see you to-morrow, and ever to the last believe me your faithful Horatio Nelson.'

The subsequent transactions of that memorable night were detailed by Sir Horatio in the following official letter to Earl St. Vincent, dated Theseus, July 4th, 1797. 'In obedience to your orders, the Thunder bomb was placed by the good management of lieutenant Gourly her present commander, assisted by Mr. Jackson master of the Ville de Paris, who volunteered his able services, within 2500 yards of the walls of Cadiz; and the shells were thrown from her with much precision under the direction of lieutenant Baynes of the royal artillery; but unfortunately it was soon found that the large mortar had been materially injured by its former services: I therefore ordered her to return under the protection of the Goliath, Terpsichore and Fox, who were kept under sail for that purpose, and for whose active services I feel much obliged. The Spaniards having sent out a great number of mortar gun-boats and armed launches, I directed a vigorous attack to be made on them; which was done with such gallantry, that they were driven and pursued close to the walls of Cadiz, and must have suffered considerable loss; and I have the pleasure to inform you, that two mortar-boats and an armed launch remained in our possession.

'I feel myself particularly indebted for the successful termination of this contest to the gallantry of Captains Freemantle and Miller, the former of whom accompanied me in my barge, and to my coxswain John Sykes, who in defending my person was most severely wounded, as was Captain Freemantle slightly in the attack; and my praises are generally due to every officer and man, some of whom I saw behave in the most noble manner, and I regret it is not in my power to particularise them. I must also beg to be permitted to express my admiration of Don Miguel Tregoyen, the Commander of the gun-boats; in his barge he laid my boat alongside, and his resistance was such as to honour a brave officer, eighteen of the twenty-six men being killed, and himself and all the rest wounded. Not having a correct list of our killed and wounded, I can only state that I believe about six are killed and twenty wounded.'

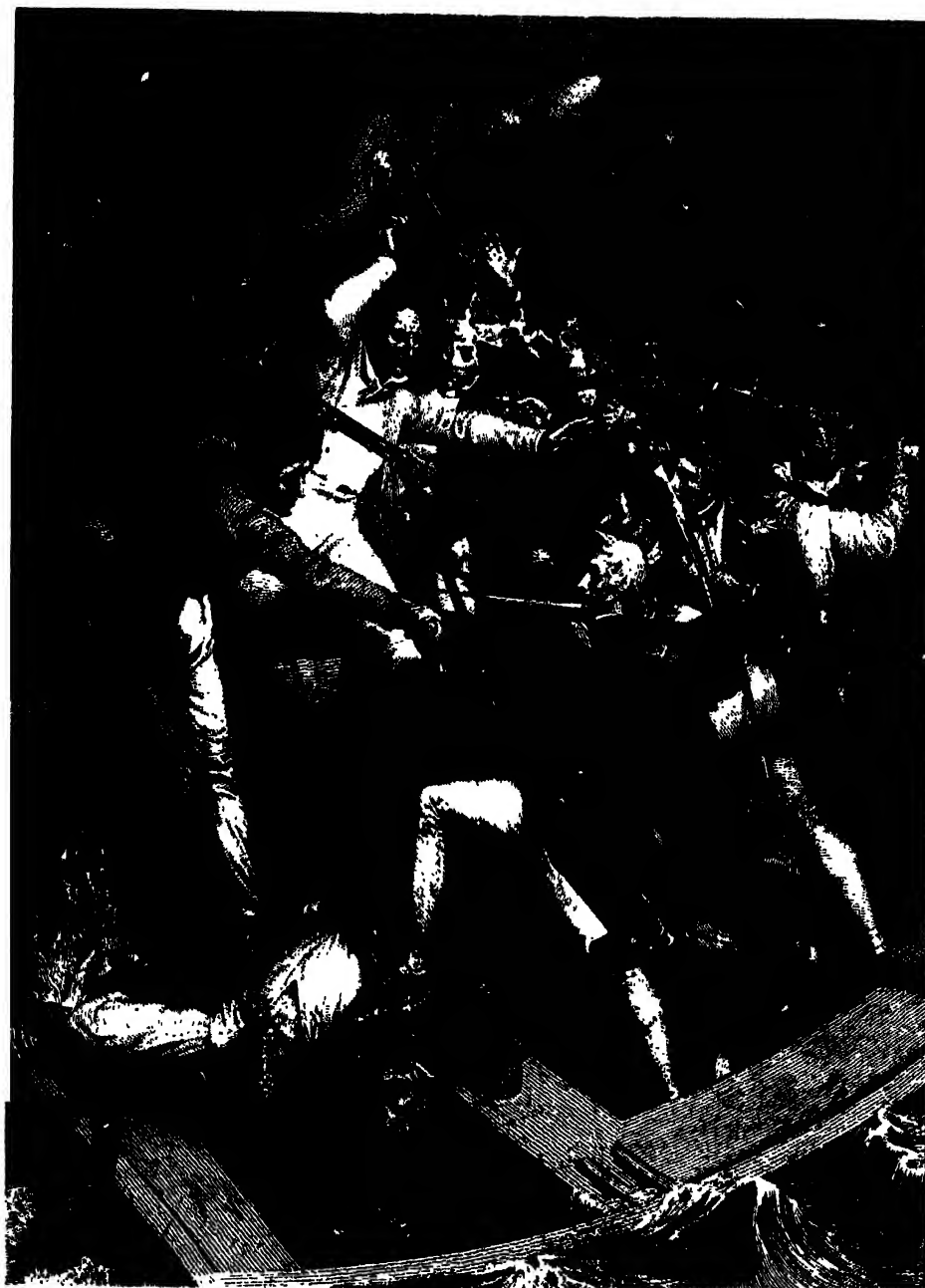
Earl St. Vincent to Sir Horatio Nelson.

'My dear Admiral: I congratulate you most heartily on the events of last night. Every service you are engaged in adds fresh lustre to the British arms, and to your character. The letter is characteristic of your noble soul, and cannot be improved by the ablest pen in Europe. Examine strictly your prisoners, to discover if any of them are under the convention of Trinidad or Lagos, and make the Spanish officers clearly understand the object

of your investigation. Johnson, first lieutenant of the *Emerald*, is a man after your own heart; put him in a way of taking a gun-boat, and I will answer he succeeds, or loses his life in the attempt. I think the barges and launches should come to you to-morrow after the night has closed, and you will make your arrangements accordingly; perhaps it would be better to try to carry some more gun-boats, without the bomb ketch. The lieutenant, who has the greatest merit in taking ~~the brig~~, shall be made Captain of her immediately.—Sir Horatio replied, July 5th, ‘I am thankful, my dear Sir, for your flattering letter, which, as we all like, I will believe as much of as I can. To-night my plan is for Cadiz on the outside of the lighthouse: Jackson knows a good birth. If the brigs come out, we will have a dash at them, and as the boats will be in three divisions under Captains, we may expect a little more regularity in case of any unforeseen event. Your encouragement for those lieutenants who may conspicuously exert themselves, cannot fail to have its good effect in serving our Country; instead of their thinking that if a vessel is taken, it would make the son of some great man a Captain, in the place of the gallant fellow who capture her. At present the Brigs lie too close to each other to hope for a dash at them, but soon I expect to find one off her guard, and then—We have eighty-seven living prisoners now on board, and near thirty have since died of their wounds. News from Cadiz this morning is, that some people were killed in the town, and fifteen were killed, and a great number wounded in the Spanish gun-boats.’

Lord St. Vincent said in answer, ‘You may believe, my dear Admiral, every thing I say and write of you and to you; my public letter closes thus, *Rear Admiral Nelson’s actions speak for themselves, any praise from my pen would take from his merit.*’—His Lordship also added in this dispatch, which is dated July 5, ‘The Rear Admiral, who is always present in the most arduous enterprises, with the assistance of some other barges boarded and carried two of the enemy’s gun-boats, and a barge launch of one of their ships of war, with the Commandant of the flotilla. In this short conflict eighteen or twenty Spaniards were killed, the Commandant and several wounded; himself and twenty-five men were made prisoners, and the rest swam on shore. This spirited action was performed with inconsiderable loss on our part. The launch of the *Ville de Paris* sunk by a raking shot from the enemy’s gun-boats; but by the active intelligent mind of Captain Troubridge has been got up, and repaired on board the *Culloden*.’—The noble conduct of John Sykes, who is since dead, has been mentioned by Admiral Nelson in the preceding Memoir. This brave man twice saved the life of his beloved Commander by parrying the blows that were aimed at him, and at last actually interposed his own head to receive the full force of a Spanish sabre; which, fighting as they were hand to hand, he could not otherwise have prevented from falling on Sir Horatio.

During the ensuing night, July 5, 1797, the Rear Admiral, as he informed Lord St.



THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR

ADMIRAL NELSON'S DEATH IN HIS COCKPIT WITH ONE

Vincent the next morning at half past three, was merely a spectator. The enemy had got the exact range of the bomb vessel and boats with both their shot and shells; and, as the end had answered of annoying the town, forty or fifty shells having been thrown into it, Nelson had taken the caution of advising Captain Bowen to tow the vessel off: one man belonging to the *Theseus* was killed and seven badly wounded, and the ship had received some shot in her hull. On board the *Urchin* six were wounded. The enemy's gun-boats kept close under the walls; 'and no opportunity,' added Sir Horatio, 'was offered Bowen to make a dash.'

The following more circumstantial account was sent home by Lord St. Vincent to the Admiralty. 'Rear Admiral Nelson ordered a second bombardment of Cadiz on the night of the 5th, under the direction of Captain Bowen of the *Terpsichore*, Captain Miller of the *Theseus*, and Captain Waller of the *Emerald*; and appointed Mr. Jackson, master of the *Ville de Paris*, to place the *Thunderer*, *Terror*, and *Strombolo*. The bombardment produced considerable effect in the town, and amongst the shipping; ten sail of the line, amongst them the ships carrying the flags of Admirals Mazarredo and Gravina, having warped out of the range of the shells with much precipitation the following morning.'

The indefatigable exertions made by the Rear Admiral for a third attempt, in which he was baffled by the winds blowing too strong down the bay, are glanced at in his letter to Earl St. Vincent, July 7, 1797; a thousand piastres had been promised by the Spaniards, to any of their vessels that should take or sink an English sloop, and five thousand if they should take or sink an English bomb vessel. 'My dear Sir: I am making arrangements for fixing the ten inch howitzer in the mortar-boat, and doubt not of succeeding; the other boat is larger and better calculated for bad weather than the one I sent you to look at; but I shall be more particular in the plan I have now in my head. The information from Cadiz by a market-boat is, that our shells did much damage, the town was on fire in three places: one shell that fell in a convent destroyed several priests. Plunder and robbery were going on, displaying a horrid scene of confusion: they added, that representations have been made to Mazarredo and to Madrid, for the fleet to go out. At this instant I see an Admiral moving forwards, it is Mazarredo! Please God, I hope the Spanish fleet are coming out; another Admiral is under sail, and I open my letter to say they are all on the move.'

Lord St. Vincent on the same day informed Sir Horatio, that the Zealous, Captain Hood, had joined. 'Her mission,' added he, 'has answered some good purposes, and proved to the world that Hood is a great officer. Captain C. Boyle captured one of Mazarredo's lieutenants in a lugger two days ago, cruising on the edge of soundings seventeen leagues from Cadiz, to give intelligence to the Viceroy of Mexico.'

These sudden movements of the Spanish flag ships only disappointed the sanguine

hopes of Nelson. On the 9th of July, 1797, he informed Lord St. Vincent, that although he hoped enough had been done to force out the Spanish fleet, yet in case there had not, he would try them again. 'When,' he added, 'down comes Cadiz, and not only Cadiz, but their fleet, if Mazarredo will not come out. As for their shot flying about the Theseus it will do her good, and make her the better for your support in some proud day, not far distant, I hope. Portugal ought to be grateful for your attention to her interest, and so ought little England. The Dons will be tired enough to take a good nap this afternoon. The people of Cadiz are told, that they have made great destruction amongst us, and believe it, and reports say their gun and mortar-boats are to attack our advanced squadron the very first calm night. If they succeed in either destroying some of us, or crippling our masts, then Mazarredo puts to sea and destroys you: therefore do not be surprised, my dear Sir, if you hear a cannonade; I am prepared.'

H. R. II. the Duke of Clarence to Sir Horatio Nelson, dated July 4, 1797.

• Dear Nelson: I was very happy to find you had executed with so much success and promptitude Lord St. Vincent's order for the evacuation of Porto Ferrajo. I feel for poor Oakes on every account, and sincerely wish he was safe at home; and believe me, I am also much concerned at the state of your own health. After such long and distinguished service you will of course get leave to return. In answer to your last letter, I can only say, that I hope, and believe, our confidence is mutual; therefore in future no more apology on either side is wanted. Under this idea, I must begin by defending an officer, against whom you have become prejudiced Want of discipline in some of our home squadrons, and the energy of infamous incendiaries, had for many months thrown the whole fleet into a state of democracy and absolute rebellion. I rejoice that the Theseus has fallen into such good hands, and I shall shortly hear that she is in the best order of the Mediterranean fleet. One word more about what has passed at Spithead, Plymouth, and the Nore, and I will never mention the disgraceful business again; but I cannot pass over unnoticed your remark about short weights and measures. Every officer must know that by the old allowance, the men on board the King's ships had more provisions than they could consume, and that they always sold a part; therefore an increase of provisions was not wanted. I will not hurt your mind by relating the horrid particulars of the late events, but shall conclude the subject by observing, that in your next you will unsay what you have too hastily expressed. I dread nothing, as the government here appear to pursue proper measures, and I am convinced St. Vincent will keep up his fleet in discipline. Lenity at first is severity at the last. My best wishes and compliments attend your gallant Commander: my only acquaintance with him is as an officer. His very great attention and abilities were shewn to me during the Spanish armament, since which time I have, and always shall respect him.

‘ You will I am sure always distinguish yourself; and I am afraid, from the exorbitant demands of the Directory, that for some time your fleet will be constantly employed. I am happy to find you are at last come over to my way of thinking. As circumstances arise pray write, and ever believe me, dear Sir, yours sincerely, WILLIAM.’

At the beginning of July, Sir Horatio was informed by the Admiral that the Spanish Viceroy would not come from Mexico until the war was over; and on the 10th Lord St. Vincent added, to what had been already said respecting the necessity of keeping a sharp look out off the entrance of the canal of St. Pedro, where Captain C. Ogle had been stationed, ‘ If you can spare one of the cutters to cruise off the entrance of the canal, it will much distress the enemy; he cannot have fewer than 130,000 mouths in Cadiz and in his fleet, besides the inhabitants of the Caraccas, Leon, Port St. Mary’s, Rota, Medina Sidonia, and other populous places. In any event we shall compel him to draw largely from his depot at Seville, which will prevent the forming magazines on the southern frontier of Portugal; and we know he has no provision whatever prepared on the northern frontier: by these vigorous measures we shall induce Mazarredo¹ to come out, or shall accelerate the peace.’—In another letter on the 11th of July he said, ‘ You passed yesterday, my dear Admiral, like yourself, and drew the fire of every gun and mortar mounted in the southern part of the town, a very desirable event, which will make you master of that quarter.’

Sir Horatio Nelson to Commissioner J. N. Inglefield at Gibraltar, July 11, 1797.

‘ I am sorry, my dear Sir, to find from General O’Hara’s letter, that he has the smallest alarm for our success in any thing my great Commander in Chief plans: had my orders been well executed, not a Spanish gun or mortar-boat would have been left at Cadiz. Our loss of men is most trifling; but, however that might have been, I had rather see fifty shot by the enemy, than one hanged by us. It is good at these times to keep the devil out of their heads. Mazarredo is alarmed, has drawn all his ships between St. Mary’s and Cadiz, and if you make haste with the sea mortar, I will bomb him out of Cadiz bay. Three fires were seen in the town, but they were got under without much difficulty. I laid myself with the bomb on the strong face of Cadiz, seventy guns, and eight mortars. They expected me on the weak side. The next night I took them on the soft side, and eighty shells fell in the town and some over it amongst their shipping. Yesterday, in the *Theseus*, I had the honour of every gun from the southern part of Cadiz, and of every gun and mortar-boat. I could not get them out so far as I wished, or some of them should have paid me a visit. I sent ninety-one prisoners into Cadiz, whom I took on the night of the 3d; and, as to killed, I know nothing about them: eighteen were killed in the commanding officer’s boat, that had the presumption to lay my barge aboard, manned with some of the

¹ This Admiral, who is a person of great influence in Spain, is the best officer in their Navy. He behaved with the utmost liberality on all occasions to the English; and whilst commanding the fleet at Cadiz, a generous friendship commenced between him and Lord St. Vincent, equally honourable to both their characters.

Agamemnon's people. My squadron is now ten sail of the line. If they come out, there will be no fighting beyond my squadron.'

In a letter to Lady Nelson, July 12--14, Sir Horatio had repeated his wish that a Cottage should be purchased for them, as he adhered to his determination of coming home on the 1st of October, 1797: 'I should be glad if the house were bought: and, if you do not object, I should like Norfolk in preference to any other part of the kingdom; but do you choose. I am sure the time is past for doing any thing for George Tobin; had he been with me he would long since have been a Captain, and I should have liked it, as being most exceedingly pleased with him. My late affair here will not I believe lower me in the opinion of the world. I have had flattery enough to make me vain, and success enough to make me confident. When you know I am sent from the fleet, never calculate on a letter until you hear I am returned. I am always sorry when you are disappointed; and as I may now be absent for a short time, do not be anxious about letters, for you cannot hear from me. Ever believe me your most affectionate husband.'

The detached service to which the gallant Admiral here alludes, was the long projected expedition to Tenerife; which, as appears from a preceding letter to the Commander in Chief, had originated in the daring suggestion of Nelson himself. To the advantages which an attack on the town of Santa Cruz had previously offered, was now added the intelligence that had been received respecting the arrival there of a rich Spanish ship, *El Principe d'Asturias* from Manilla, bound to Cadiz with treasure and a rich cargo. On the morning of the 14th of July, 1797, at half past eight, Sir Horatio weighed and stood towards the main body of the fleet; and at noon received orders to take under his command the *Theseus*, Captain J. W. Miller, *Culloden*, Captain T. Troubridge, *Zealous*, Captain S. Hood, *Leander*, Captain T. B. Thompson, *Seahorse*, Captain Freemantle, *Emerald*, Captain Waller, *Terpsichore*, Captain R. Bowen, *Fox* cutter, Lieutenant Gibson, and a mortar-boat; and by a sudden and vigorous assault to attempt the town of Santa Cruz. Lord St. Vincent, notwithstanding the critical situation in which he was placed, liberally allowed Nelson to select such ships and officers as he approved from the fleet. The next day, Saturday the 15th, at six A. M. Sir Horatio and his squadron made sail to the westward, without waiting for the *Leander* who had not then joined from Lisbon, but followed him on the 18th; and in a hasty note he informed the Admiral, *That nothing which ought to be attempted should be left undone.*

According to the Journal^m of their proceedings, on Sunday, July 16, 1797, when dis-

^m Drawn up for the information of Lord St. Vincent under the direction of Admiral Nelson. The original copy, afterwards slightly altered, was found amongst the Nelson papers. This has been referred to and enlarged from a private Journal, which the Admiral kept until the loss of his arm. Two detailed accounts of these transactions were found amongst some papers in a Spanish schooner going home with dispatches, captured off the coast of Barbary in August 1797, by the *Alemene* and *Andromache* frigates.

tant thirty leagues from Cape St. Vincent, they were joined by the *Terpsichore*. On the 17th the Captains of the squadron came on board the *Theseus*, and received further instructions; and on the 18th the small armed men were directed to exercise themselves and fire at a target. On the 20th, when within thirteen leagues distance of *Teneriffe*, a general signal was made for the Captains; and Captain *Troubridge*, who commanded the seamen and marines to be landed, received the following orders:

To Thomas Troubridge, Esq. Captain of H. M. S. Culloden, and Commander of the Forces ordered to be landed for taking Santa Cruz, dated Theseus at sea, July 20, 1797.

‘Sir: I desire you will take under your command the number of seamen and marines named in the margin,* who will be under Captains Hood, Miller, Freemantle, Bowen and Waller, and the marines under Captain Thomas Oldfield, and a detachment of the royal artillery under Lieutenant Baynes, all of whom are now embarked on board his Majesty’s frigates *Seahorse*, *Terpsichore*, and *Emerald*. With this detachment you will proceed as near to the town of Santa Cruz as possible, without endangering your being perceived; when you will embark as many men as the boats will carry, and force your landing in the north east part of the bay of Santa Cruz, near a large battery. The moment you are on shore I recommend you first to attack the battery; which when carried, and your post secured, you will either proceed by storm against the town and mole-head battery, or send in my letter, as you judge most proper, containing a Summons of which I send you a copy: and the terms are either to be accepted or rejected in the time specified, unless you see good cause for prolonging it, as no alteration will be made in them: and you will pursue such other methods as you judge most proper for speedily effecting my orders, which are to possess myself of all cargoes and treasures which may be landed in the island of *Teneriffe*. Having the firmest confidence in the ability, bravery, and zeal of yourself, and of all placed under your command, I have only heartily to wish you success, and to assure you that I am your most obedient and faithful servant, Horatio Nelson.’

To the Governor, or Commanding Officer of Santa Cruz, the Summons of Sir Horatio Nelson, Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Bath, Rear Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of his Britannick Majesty’s forces by sea and land before Santa Cruz; dated Theseus, 20th July, 1797.

‘Sir: I have the honour to acquaint you, that I am come to demand the immediate surrender of the ship *El Principe d’Asturias* from *Manilla* bound to *Cadiz*, belonging to

“ <i>Theseus</i>	200	} Exclusive of commissioned Officers and servant The <i>Leander</i> had not then joined.
<i>Culloden</i>	200	
<i>Zealous</i>	200	
<i>Seahorse</i>	100	
<i>Terpsichore</i>	100	
<i>Emerald</i>	100	
	<u>900</u>	

the Philipine Company, together with her whole and entire cargo; and also all such other cargoes and property as may have been landed in the island of Teneriffe, and not intended for the consumption of its inhabitants. And, as it is my earnest wish that not one individual inhabitant of the island of Teneriffe should suffer by my demand being instantly complied with, I offer the following most honourable and liberal terms; which if refused, the horrors of war that will fall on the inhabitants of Teneriffe, must be by the world imputed to you and you only; for I shall destroy Santa Cruz and the other towns in the island by a bombardment, and levy a very heavy contribution on the island. {

ARTICLES.

‘ 1. The forts shall be delivered to me, and instantly a party of the British troops shall be put in possession of the gates. 2. The garrison shall lay down their arms; but the officers shall be allowed to keep their swords, and the garrison, without the condition of being prisoners of war, shall be transported to Spain, or remain in the island whilst their conduct is orderly and proper, as the commanding officer pleases. 3. Upon the express condition that the full and entire cargoes of El Principe d’Asturias, and all such other cargoes and property as may have been landed in the island of Teneriffe and not intended for the consumption of its inhabitants, be given up, and the first article complied with, not the smallest contribution shall be levied on the inhabitants; but they shall enjoy the fullest protection in their persons and property. 4. No interference whatever shall be made in the Holy Catholic Religion; the ministers of it, and all its religious orders, shall be considered as under my especial care and protection. 5. The laws and magistrates shall be continued as at present, unless by the general wish of the islanders. These terms subscribed to, the inhabitants of the town of Santa Cruz shall lodge their arms in one house, under the joint care of the bishop and chief magistrate; and it will be my pride to consult with those gentlemen, what may be most advantageous for the inhabitants. I allow half one hour for acceptance or rejection. HORATIO NELSON.’

The following judicious Regulations were also recommended by him.—First, That the boats of each ship should be kept together by towing each other, which will keep the people of each ship collected, and the boats in six divisions will be nearly got on shore the same moment. Secondly, The marines of each ship of the line to be put in their launches, which will carry them. Thirdly, The moment the boats are discovered by a firing being made on them, the bomb vessel to commence her fire on the town, and to keep it up till the flag of truce is hoisted from either the enemy, or from us. Fourthly, That a Captain should be directed to see the boats put off from the beach, that more men may be speedily got on shore with the field pieces. Fifthly, Frigates to anchor as soon as possible after the alarm is given, or the forces are ashore, near the battery in the N. E. part of the bay. Sixthly, Immediately as the forces are ashore, they are to get in the rear of the battery marked S. in the N. E. part of the bay, and to instantly storm it,

and also to take post on the top of the hill which is above it. Every ship to land the number of men as against their name expressed, with a proper proportion of officers: And the Captains are at liberty to send as many more men as they please, leaving sufficient to manage the ship, and to man the launch and another boat. Every Captain, that chooses, is at liberty to land and command his seamen, under the direction of Captain Troubridge. •

‘It is recommended to put on the seamen as many marine coats or jackets as can be procured, and that all should have canvass crop belts. The marines to be all under the orders of Captain Oldfield, the senior marine officer, and he is requested to put himself under the direction of Captain Troubridge, as is lieutenant Baynes of the royal artillery with his detachment.’ •

The experience, and the cautious mind of Nelson endeavouring to anticipate every possible obstacle, appear throughout the whole of these Orders and Regulations; copies of which having been sent to the respective Captains, the boats of the squadron were in the afternoon hoisted out to take the force, to be landed from the different ships, on board the Seahorse, Terspichore and Emerald frigates; and a general signal was then made, for the Captains of those ships to repair on board the Admiral, and receive the following final Orders:

‘*July 21.* The Culloden’s officers and men with only their arms, to be ready to go on board the Terspichore at one P. M. this day, to carry with them four ladders, each of which is to have a lanyard four fathoms long, a sledge hammer, wedges, and a broad axe. The boats oars to be muffled either with a piece of canvass or kersey. H. N.

‘*Memorandum.* The Culloden and Zealous each to make a platform for one eighteen-pounder, the Theseus a sley for dragging cannon. Each ship to make as many iron ram-rods as possible, it being found that the wooden ones are very liable to break when used in a hurry. The Seahorse to make a platform for one nine-pounder.’—Having received these orders, the Captains went on board the frigates, and stood for Teneriffe.

‘On Friday the 21st of July, I directed,’ adds the Admiral in his Journal, ‘to be embarked on board the Seahorse, Terspichore, and Emerald frigates, 1000 men, including 250 marines; attended by all the boats of the Squadron, scaling ladders, and every implement which I thought necessary for the success of the enterprise. I directed that the boats should land in the night, between the fort on the N. E. side of the bay of Santa Cruz, and the town,* and endeavour to make themselves masters of that fort; which when done, my summons to the Governor was to be sent in, and half an hour allowed for its acceptance or rejection. Although the frigates, by twelve o’clock, approached within three miles of the intended place of debarkation; yet from the unforeseen circumstance of a strong gale

* According to a private letter, ‘About two miles to the eastward of the town.’

of wind in the offing, and a strong current against them inshore, they were not able to get within a mile of the landing-place before the day dawned, and discovered our force and intentions to the Spaniards. At half past three on the morning of the 22d, the *Theseus* and squadron bore up for Santa Cruz, and at half past four we saw the *Seahorse*, *Terpsichore*, and *Emerald* off the island, with the mortar-boat, and the ships' boats pulling off shore.

' On my approach, Captains Troubridge and Bowen, with Captain Oldfield of the marines, came on board to consult with me what was best to be done; and were of opinion, that if they could possess themselves of the heights over the fort above mentioned, it could be stormed; to which I gave my assent. At nine the frigates anchored inshore, off the east end of the town, and landed their men. Stood off and on Santa Cruz with the line of battle ships, and wore occasionally. At ten o'clock made the signal to prepare for battle, intending to batter the fort with the line of battle ships, in order to create a diversion; but this was found impracticable, not being able to get nearer the shore than three miles, from a calm and contrary currents; nor could our men possess themselves of the heights, as the enemy had taken possession, and seemed as anxious to retain, as we were to get them. Thus foiled in my original plan, I considered it necessary for the honour of our King and Country, not to give over the attempt to possess ourselves of the town, that our enemies might be convinced there was nothing which Englishmen were not equal to; and confident in the bravery of those who would be employed in the service, I embarked every person from the shore on the 22d at night.

' On the 24th of July, I got the ships to an anchor about two miles to the northward of the town; and made every shew for a disposition of attacking the heights, which appeared to answer the end from the great number of people they had placed on them. The *Leander*, Captain Thompson, joined in the afternoon, and her marines were added to the force before appointed, and Captain Thompson also volunteered his services. At half past five in the evening the squadron anchored a few miles to the northward of Santa Cruz; and at six the signal was made for boats to prepare to proceed on service, as previously ordered.'

Before the Admiral left the *Theseus* to support the honour of his King and Country, by engaging in a daring attempt against an enemy now so well prepared: feeling, with the rest of his brave companions, that he might never again return, he addressed the subsequent request to Lord St. Vincent. This being the last letter which was written by Nelson with his right hand, and strongly expressing his feelings at that awful moment, a Fac Simile of the hand writing has been annexed.

Theresa of Santa Cruz
July 24th 8. P.M.

My Dear Sir,

I shall not enter on the
subject why we are not in possession
of Santa Cruz, Your partiality will
give credit that all has been
done which was possible, but
without effect, this night I have
as I am, command the whole, destined
to stand under the batteries of the Town
and I know my head will probably
be crowned with either Laurel or
Cyprus, I am only to recommend
much respect to You and my
Sir John Lewis K.B.th

Country, with every Affectionate
 Mind for You, Love it and every
 thing in the World believe in
 You most faithful
 Friends & Family

The Duke of Clarence is dead. I
 feel in the service of my King &
 Country, and I am confident take
 a lively interest for my Son in
 Law in his name being mentioned

'At eleven o'clock at night,' adds the Journal, 'the boats of the squadron containing between 6 and 700 men, with 180 on board the Fox cutter, and about 70 or 80 in a boat we had taken the day before, proceeded in six divisions towards the town. The divisions of the boats were conducted by all the Captains, except Freemantle and Bowen, who attended with me to regulate and lead the way to the attack; every Captain being acquainted that the landing was to be made on the Mole, whence they were to hasten as fast as possible into the great square, and there to form and proceed on such services as might be found necessary. We were not discovered until half past one o'clock, when being within

half gun shot of the landing place, I directed the boats to cast off from each other, give an huzza, and push for the shore. The alarm bells immediately rang, and a fire of thirty or forty pieces of cannon, with musquetry from one end of the town to the other, opened upon us; but nothing could stop the intrepidity of the Captains leading the divisions. Unfortunately, the night being extremely dark, the greatest part of the boats did not see the Mole; but went on shore through a raging surf, which stove all the boats to the left of it. It was only Captains Freemantle, Thompson, Bowen, and myself, with four or five boats, who found the Mole; which was instantly stormed and carried, although defended apparently by four or five hundred men, and the guns, six twenty-four pounders, were spiked: but such a heavy fire of musquetry and grape shot was kept up from the citadel and houses at the head of the Mole that we could not advance, and nearly all were killed or wounded. Having at this moment^a my right arm shot through, I was carried off to my ship.⁷

Previous to their making this last desperate attempt, the gallant Sir Horatio with some of the Captains of his squadron, had agreed to meet at supper on board the Seahorse, Captain Freemantle, at whose table the lady whom he had lately married in the Mediterranean presided. Nelson, on leaving the *Theseus*, being sensible of the extreme danger to which he was about to be exposed, had called his son in law lieutenant Nisbet, who had the watch on deck, into the cabin, that he might assist in arranging and burning his mother's letters; when perceiving that the young man was armed, he had begged of him earnestly to remain behind, adding, *Should we both fall, Josiah, what would become of your poor mother? The care of the Theseus falls to you; stay, therefore, and take charge of her.* Sir, replied Nisbet, *the ship must take care of herself. I will go with you to night, if I never go again.*

Thus attended by his son in law, Nelson had proceeded from the Seahorse to the Mole of Santa Cruz; and had there received his severe wound through the right elbow, as he was in the act of drawing his sword and stepping out of the boat. This sword which he had so long and deservedly valued from respect to his uncle Maurice Suckling, was grasped, when falling, in his left hand, notwithstanding the agony he endured. Lieutenant Nisbet, who had remained close to him, saw his father in law wounded from the tremendous fire of the Spaniards, and heard him exclaim, *I am shot through the arm, I am a dead man!* Nisbet placed him at the bottom of the boat, and observing that the sight of the quantity of blood which had rushed from the shattered arm seemed to increase the faintness, he took off his hat to conceal it. He then with great presence of mind examined the state of the wound,

^a This last sentence is only found in the rough copy MS. of this Journal dictated by the Admiral, and drawn up by the secretary; and has a pen drawn across it, as if Nelson had resolved not to speak himself of the wound he had received.

⁷ According to the information of an Officer who was present, the same fire from the enemy which wounded Admiral Nelson, also wounded seven other men in their right arms.

and holding the shattered arm so as to stanch the blood, he took some silk handkerchiefs from his neck and bound them tightly above the lacerated vessels; but for this attention, Nelson as he afterwards declared, must have perished. Mr. Nisbet was assisted by a seaman of the name of Lovel, one of the Admiral's bargemen; who, having torn his shirt into shreds, constructed a sling for the wounded arm. They then collected five other seamen, and at length with their assistance got the boat afloat, which had grounded from the falling of the tide. Having thus far succeeded, Lieutenant Nisbet took one of the oars that remained, and ordered the man who steered to go close under the guns of the batteries, that they might be safe from their tremendous fire. The voice of his son in law enforcing this judicious order, roused Sir Horatio from his fainting state, and he immediately desired to be lifted up in the boat, that, to use his own words, 'he might look a little about him': he was accordingly raised by Nisbet. The scene of destruction and the tempestuous sea were sublimely dreadful: A painful uncertainty prevailed respecting the fate of his brave companions; when, on a sudden, a general shriek from the crew of the Fox, which had sunk from a shot she had received under water, made the noble Admiral forget his own weak and painful state. Many were rescued from a watery grave by Sir Horatio himself, whose humane exertions on this occasion added considerably to the agony and danger of his wound. Ninety-seven men, including lieutenant Gibson, were lost, and eighty-three were saved. The first ship which the boat could reach happened to be the Seahorse; but nothing would induce the wounded Admiral to go on board, though he was assured that it might be at the risk of his life, if they attempted to row to another ship: *Then I will die*, he exclaimed, *for I had rather suffer death than alarm Mrs. Freemantle by her seeing me in this state, and when I can give her no tidings whatever of her husband.* They accordingly proceeded without further delay for the Theseus; when notwithstanding the increased pain and weakness which he experienced, he peremptorily refused all assistance in getting on board: *Let me alone, I have yet my legs left, and one arm. Tell the surgeon to make haste and get his instruments. I know I must lose my right arm, so the sooner it is off the better.*

Some account of what passed after the Admiral had been wounded, is contained in a letter from Mr. Hoste, one of the midshipmen, to his father. 'At two o'clock in the morning Admiral Nelson returned on board, being dreadfully wounded in his right arm with a grape shot. I leave you, Sir, to judge of my situation, when I beheld our boat approach with him who I may say has been a second father to me; his right arm dangling by his side, whilst with his left he jumped up the ship's side, and displayed a spirit that astonished every one. He underwent the amputation with the same firmness and courage that have always marked his character. At four o'clock several of the boats returned to the ship, not having been able to land on account of the heavy fire that was kept up by the



Painted by R. Westall, R.A.

SIR HORATIO NELSON WHEN WOUNDED AT THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR

enemy. At daylight the enemy began to cannonade the shipping, which we returned, and soon silenced them. We now began to entertain bad hopes of our men who had landed, and not without reason; for in less than half an hour afterwards, a boat, that had escaped from the shore, informed us that all our people were obliged to surrender, having stipulated that they should be sent on board their respective ships, which was granted by the governor. At nine, a flag of truce came off from Santa Cruz with a Spanish officer, and the Captain of the Emerald, who besides other bad news informed us, that lieutenant Weatherhead was mortally wounded. This was a stroke which indeed I could hardly stand against: however, convinced that it was not a time to give way, I got every thing in my power ready for his reception, and about eleven o'clock he was conveyed on board in a cradle. The surgeon examined his wound, and said he thought it impossible he could live long. I am sorry to say, his words proved too true; he lingered out to Saturday the 29th of July, and then expired, seemingly without pain. In him I lost a true friend, and the nation, I believe I may say, as brave an officer as ever was on board a ship. He was the favourite of the ship's company, and universally beloved by every person who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. On Sunday the 30th, his body was committed to the deep, and three vollies of musquetry were fired in honour to his memory. Admiral Nelson gave me a commission to act as lieutenant in his vacancy; happy would it have made me under any other circumstances.'

Captain Freemantle was severely wounded in the right arm soon after the Admiral, and fortunately meeting with a boat on the beach, had been instantly conveyed to the Seahorse. For the proceedings of Captain Troubridge and of the officers who were with him, Sir Horatio referred Lord St. Vincent to the following letter; and added, 'I cannot but express my admiration of the firmness with which Captain Troubridge and his brave associates supported the honour of the British flag; and I must not omit to acquaint you with the satisfaction I received from the conduct of lieutenant Baynes of the Royal artillery, not only from the ardour with which he undertook every service, but also from his professional skill.'

Captain Troubridge to Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. dated Culloden, July 25, 1797.

'Sir: From the darkness of the night I did not immediately hit the Mole, the spot appointed to land at, but pushed on shore under the enemy's battery close to the southward of the citadel; Captain Waller landed at the same time, and two or three other boats. The surf was so high: many put back; the boats were full of water in an instant, and stove against the rocks; and most of the ammunition in the men's pouches was wet. As soon as I had collected a few men, I immediately advanced with Captain Waller to the square, the place of rendezvous, in hopes of there meeting you and the remainder of the people;

and I waited about an hour, during which time I sent a serjeant, with two gentlemen of the town, to summon the citadel. I fear the serjeant was shot on his way, as I heard nothing of him afterwards. The ladders being all lost in the surf, or not to be found, no immediate attempt could be made on the citadel; I therefore marched to join Captains Hood and Miller, who I had intelligence had made good their landing, with a body of men, to the S.W. of the place I did. I then endeavoured to procure some account of you and the rest of the officers, but without success. By daybreak we had collected about eighty marines, eighty pikemen, and one hundred and eighty small armed seamen; these I found were all who remained alive that had made good their landing: with this force, having procured some ammunition from the Spanish prisoners we had made, we were marching to try what could be done with the citadel without ladders; when we found the whole of the streets commanded by field pieces, and upwards of 8000 Spaniards and 100 French under arms, approaching by every avenue. As the boats were all stove, and I saw no possibility of getting more men on shore, the ammunition wet, and no provisions, I sent Captain Hood with a flag of truce to the Governor, to declare, ‘I was prepared to burn the town, which I should immediately put in force, if he approached one inch farther;’ and at the same time I desired Captain Hood to say, ‘It would be done with regret, as I had no wish to injure the inhabitants; that if he would come to my terms I was willing to treat;’ which he agreed to. I had the honour to send you a copy of them by Captain Waller, which I hope will meet with your approbation, and appear highly honourable. The following parley was sent with the flag of truce: ‘*Santa Cruz, July 25th.* That the troops, &c. belonging to his Britannic Majesty shall embark with all their arms of every kind, and take their boats off, if saved, and be provided with such other as may be wanting: In consideration of which it is engaged on their part, that they shall not molest the town in any manner by the ships of the British squadron now before it, nor any of the islands in the Canaries, and prisoners shall be given up on both sides. Given under my hand and Word of Honour, SAM. HOOD. Ratified by T. TROUBRIDGE, and J. ANTONIO GUTIERREZ.’

Captain Troubridge thus concluded his letter. ‘From the small body of men, and the greater part being pike and small armed seamen which can be only called irregulars, with very little ammunition in the pouches but what had got wet in the surf at landing, I could not expect to succeed in any attempt upon the enemy, whose superior strength I have before mentioned. The Spanish Officers assure me they expected us, and were perfectly prepared with all the batteries and the number of men already mentioned under arms. This, with the great disadvantage of a rocky coast, high surf, and in the face of forty pieces of cannon, will shew, though we were not successful, what an Englishman is equal to; and I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that we marched through the town on our

return with the British colours flying at our head. P. S. I beg also to say, that when the terms were signed and ratified, the Governor in the handsomest manner sent a large proportion of wine, bread, &c. to refresh the people, and shewed every mark of attention in his power.'

Sir Horatio, in his Journal, mentions nearly the same circumstances as are contained in Captain Troubridge's letter. The Governor of the citadel at first made some little demur, and told Captain Hood that the English ought to surrender themselves prisoners of war; to which that officer replied, *Captain Troubridge has directed me, Sir, to say, that if the terms he offers are not accepted in five minutes, he will set the town on fire, and attack the Spaniards at the point of the bayonet:* upon which the Governor immediately closed with the terms. 'And here,' adds the Admiral, 'it is right we should notice the noble and generous conduct of D. Juan Antonio Gutierrez, the Spanish Governor. The moment the terms were agreed to, he directed our wounded men to be received into the hospitals, and all our people to be supplied with the best provisions that could be procured; and made it known, that the ships were at liberty to send on shore, and purchase whatever refreshments they were in want of during the time they might lie off the island.—At seven o'clock I got under weigh, the squadron in company, standing off and on. On the 27th of July, 1797, I received the remainder of the officers, seamen, and marines, on board; and ordered the body of Captain Richard Bowen* to be committed to the deep, with the honours of war.'

Nothing could surpass the steady and decided valour which the whole of the selected band of heroes displayed on this memorable though unsuccessful enterprise. Their last attempt was certainly daring and hazardous in the extreme, and it was considered by them all as the forlorn hope.—Having paid their last melancholy duty to the remains of the gallant Bowen, whose fall was a loss to his Country, Sir Horatio Nelson immediately sent off his dispatches to Lord St. Vincent on board the Emerald, Captain Waller, which sailed on the next day, July 28. Of these the following is a copy. '*Theseus, off Santa Cruz.* Sir: In obedience to your orders to make a vigorous attack on the town of Santa Cruz in the island of Teneriffe, I directed, from the ships under my command, 1000 men, including marines, to be prepared for landing under the direction of Captain Troubridge of H. M. S. Culloden, and Captains Hood, Thompson, Freemantle, Bowen, Miller and Waller, who very handsomely volunteered their services; and although I am under the painful necessity of acquainting you, that we have not been able to succeed in our attack, yet it is my duty

* This brave officer was killed in storming the Mole; his brother James, a Post Captain in the service, at present honours the situation of one of the Commissioners for the Transport service.

to state, that I believe more daring intrepidity was never shewn than by the Captains, Officers, and men, you did me the honour to place under my command; and the detail which I transmit you herewith, will I hope convince you that my abilities, humble as they are, have been exerted on the present occasion. Enclosed I also transmit you a list of killed and wounded; and amongst the former it is with the deepest sorrow I have to place the name of Captain Richard Bowen of H. M. S. *Terpsichore*, than whom a more enterprising, able and gallant Officer does not grace his Majesty's naval service; and with much regret I have to mention the loss of lieutenant John Gibson, Command^{er} of the *Fox* cutter, and a great number of gallant officers and men.'

By the same conveyance the dejected Nelson sent the following private communication to his Admiral, strikingly descriptive of the pain he endured both in mind and body, as the following *Fac Simile* will evince.

List of Killed, Wounded, and Drowned, at the Attack of Santa Cruz.

Ships' Names.	Killed.		Wounded.		Drowned. Seamen and Marines.	Total Killed.	Total Wounded and Drowned.
	Seamen.	Marines.	Seamen.	Marines.			
<i>Theseus</i>	8	4	25	0	34	12	59
<i>Culloden</i>	1	2	12	6	36	3	54
<i>Zealous</i>	3	2	19	2	0	5	21
<i>Leander</i>	1	5	1	4	0	6	5
<i>Seahorse</i>	2	0	13	1	0	2	14
<i>Terpsichore</i>	8	0	9	2	4	8	15
<i>Emerald</i>	5	3	11	0	10	8	21
<i>Fox Cutter</i>	0	0	0	0	17	0	17
Total	28	16	90	15	101	44	206

Officers killed. Richard Bowen, Captain of the *Terpsichore*. George Thorpe, first Lieutenant of ditto. John Wetherhead, Lieutenant of the *Theseus*. William Earnshaw, second Lieutenant of the *Leander*. Raby Robinson, Lieutenant of Marines, *Leander*. Lieutenant Baisham, Marines, *Emerald*. Lieutenant Gibson of the *Fox* cutter drowned.

Officers wounded. Rear Admiral Nelson, right arm shot through. Captain Thompson, *Leander*, slightly. Captain Freemantle, *Seahorse*, in the right arm. Lieutenant J. Douglas, ditto, in the hand. Mr. Waits, midshipman, *Zealous*.

Theresa July 27th 1797

My Dear Sir

I am become a burthen to
my friends and useless to my Country
but by ^{my} letter wrote the 24th you will
perceive my anxiety for the promotion of
my son in law Josiah Nisbet, when I leave
your command, I become dead to the World
I go hence and am no more seen, If from
your Bowen's Coys, you think it proper to
oblige me I rest confident you will
do it, the Boy is under obligations to me
not to remind me by bringing me from
the mode of Santa Cruz. I hope you

I will be able to give me a frigate to convey the
 remains of my carcass to England, God Bless
 You my Dear Sir & Believe me your
 most obliged & faithful
 Horatio Nelson

You will excuse my Scrawl
 considering it is my first Attempt

Sir John Lewis R B.th

Before the squadron left the island of Teneriffe, mutual civilities had passed between Sir Horatio and D. Juan: the former had requested the Governor to accept of a cask of English beer and a cheese, and he in return had sent the Admiral a couple of large flasks of the best Canary wine. During the passage from Teneriffe, Nelson at intervals, with much pain and difficulty, wrote to Lady Nelson at Bath. 'I am so confident of your affection, my dearest Fanny, that I am certain the pleasure you will receive will be equal, whether my letter is written with my right hand or my left: It was the chance of war, and I have great reason to be thankful; and I know it will add much to your pleasure to find, that

Josiah, under God's providence, was principally instrumental in saving my life. I shall not be surprised if I am neglected and forgotten, probably I shall no longer be considered as useful; however I shall feel rich if I continue to enjoy your affection. The Cottage is now more necessary than ever. Lieutenant Wetherhead is gone; poor fellow, he lived four days after he was wounded. I shall not close this letter until I join the fleet, which time seems distant, for it has been calm these three days past. I am much more recovered than any one could have expected. I beg neither you nor my Father will think much of this mishap, my mind has long been made up to such an event. God bless you. P.S. *August 16th.* Just joined the fleet: perfectly well, and I think I shall be with you, perhaps, as soon as this letter.* Good Lord St. Vincent has made Josiah a Master and Commander. I shall come to Bath the moment permission is sent from the Admiralty for me to strike my flag, should Sir Peter Parker not feel himself authorised to grant me leave of absence; when the first you will hear of me will be at the door.'

On the same day he also wrote to Earl St. Vincent. 'I rejoice at being once more in sight of your flag, and with your permission will come on board the *Ville de Paris*, and pay you my respects. A left handed Admiral will never again be considered as useful; therefore the sooner I get to a very humble Cottage the better, and make room for a sounder man to serve the State.'

Earl St. Vincent to Sir Horatio Nelson, August 16, 1797.

'My dear Admiral: Mortals cannot command success, you and your companion have certainly deserved it, by the greatest degree of Heroism, and Perseverance, that ever was exhibited. I grieve for the loss of your arm, and for the fate of poor Bowen and Gibson, with that of the other brave men who fell so gallantly. I hope you and Captain Freemantle are doing well; the *Seahorse* shall carry you to England the moment her wants are supplied. All the wishes you may favour me with shall be fulfilled, as far as is consistent with what I owe to some valuable officers in the *Ville de Paris*. Yours most truly and affectionately.'

Sir Horatio went on board the Admiral the same day, but came back to his own ship at four in the afternoon. His official leave to return to England is dated August 20, by which time the *Seahorse* had got properly fitted for the passage. The day after leaving the fleet, he fell in with the *Dido*, and sent the following account of his own and Captain Freemantle's health to Lord St. Vincent. 'I cannot let *Dido* pass, without beginning to express my thanks for your unvaried goodness to me, which I hope I shall never forget. As to myself, I am exactly as I left you. Freemantle I think very bad, and a month hence he

* Captain Freemantle did not recover for upwards of a twelvemonth, during which his sufferings were very severe. Owing to this circumstance he was prevented from returning with his gallant friend to the Mediterranean, and participating in the glorious victory at Aboukir.

may lose his arm. We have a fine fair wind.'—During the passage Nelson would not permit the surgeon to examine his arm, and his sufferings and irritation were at times very great. Being arrived at Spithead, he received the Admiralty's permission on September 2d to strike his flag, and immediately proceeded without delay to his Father and Lady Nelson at Bath. His letter, as he imagined, had not long preceded his arrival. The difference of the hand-writing had at first perplexed the readers, and it was some time before Lady Nelson had discovered with inexpressible anguish that it was actually written by her wounded husband. They had heard of an expedition on which a part of Lord St. Vincent's fleet had been detached, and painful rumours had prevailed: neither of them had resolution to read it. The dreadful change in the well known hand-writing created an uncertainty, which magnified all that could have happened. At last Mrs. Bolton, who was on a visit to her Father, at his request disclosed the contents; she was sincerely attached to her brother, and for some minutes their affectionate sympathy rendered them insensible to the joy of his return. Whilst they were alternately expecting and despairing of his arrival, Lady Nelson one evening suddenly distinguished the sound of her husband's voice directing his carriage where to stop. The affectionate mind and filial regard of a son so long absent, were rewarded by the blessings of an aged Father and by the tenderness of the faithful partner of his early and more humble fortunes.

On the 30th of August, 1797, Sir Horatio had written to Earl Spencer, as first Lord of the Admiralty; who on the 3d of September returned the following answer from Althorpe. 'Dear Sir: Had I not this day received your letter, I should have taken the first opportunity, after the intelligence reached me of the arrival of the Seahorse, to express my admiration of your very glorious, though unsuccessful attack on Santa Cruz. I shall not endeavour to describe the sensations which this, added to all your other most gallant and distinguished actions, has excited in my mind, as well as that of every other person, nor the sincere regret which we have all felt at the wound you have received. I hope, however, that you will soon find your health reestablished; and though I am naturally very anxious to see, and be personally acquainted with one whom I have so long been in the habit of admiring, I beg you would not think it necessary to leave Bath a moment sooner than may be consistent with a proper attention to your recovery.'

II. R. II. the Duke of Clarence to Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B. dated Dover, Sept. 7, 1797.

'Dear Sir: I congratulate you with all my heart upon your safe arrival at last, covered with honour and glory. As an old friend, I cannot but lament the very severe loss you have sustained in your right arm; yet I hope your health is good, and that you are gone to Bath more for the purpose of being with your Father and Lady Nelson, than for the re-establishment of a constitution, in which I am doubly interested; both as a friend, and as one who is anxious to see the Country have restored to it a brave and excellent Officer.

Excuse my anxiety, it proceeds from friendship and admiration of your public character. My best wishes and compliments attend you and Lady Nelson, and ever believe me, dear Sir, yours sincerely, WILLIAM.' .

On the same day he had written to his Royal Highness from Bath. 'Sir: I trust your R. H. will attribute my not having sent a letter since my arrival to its true cause, viz. the not being ~~now~~ a ready writer. I feel confident of your sorrow for my accident; but I assure your Royal Highness, that not a scrap of that ardour with which I have hitherto served our King has been shot away.'

During his continuance at Bath, he was attended by a surgeon of the name of Nicholls: notwithstanding the pain which he experienced, Nelson was not unmindful of those friends *whose adoption he had tried*. On the 8th of September, 1797, when writing to Sir Andrew Hammond, Bart. at Weymouth, he thus delivered his opinion respecting the late expedition to Teneriffe. 'My dear Sir Andrew: I have ever been fully sensible that you have spoken of my services in the most flattering manner; and for this last mark of your kindness, I cannot sufficiently thank you. Success covers a multitude of blunders, and the want of it hides the greatest gallantry and good conduct. You will see by my Journal, that the first attack on the 21st of July, under Troubridge, completely failed; and it was the 25th, before it could be again attacked, which gave four days for collecting a force to oppose us....My pride suffered; and although I felt the second attack as a forlorn hope, yet the honour of our Country called for the attack, and that I should command it: I never expected to return, and am thankful.'

On the 20th of September, 1798, he had the freedom of the ancient City of Bristol transmitted to him by Mr. S. Worrall; and on the 22d, a letter from the Heralds Office was sent to signify His Majesty's gracious intention of investing him with the Ensigns of the most Honourable Order of the Bath, and to request his attendance at St. James's for that purpose on the 27th. The honour of this Order, and the gracious manner of his King when investing him with the insignia of it, made a lasting impression on the mind of Nelson. It was owing to the high estimation in which he always held this badge of eminence, that he afterwards placed the other numerous marks of distinction he had acquired, round the Star of the Bath; since he uniformly considered that as the centre of the whole galaxy, and therefore wore it the nearest to his heart. This, however, occasioning an appearance of preference to some foreign Orders, that were necessarily placed by this arrangement above that of the Bath, it became altered.

Amidst the congratulations which Nelson received on his return to his native land, a letter from the father of lieutenant Weatherhead who fell at Teneriffe, and who had on all occasions gained the admiration of those with whom he served, peculiarly merits attention and commiseration: 'I am conscious, Sir, that I ought long since to have congratulated

you on your return to your native Country, and to have offered my acknowledgments for the many and great favours conferred on my poor Boy. I have more than once sat down with an intention of making this offering of my gratitude, but have hitherto constantly found my spirits unequal to the accomplishment of it. I now, Sir, though late, beg leave to present my most sincere thanks for the numerous and signal favours conferred on my Son, from the moment he entered with you on board the *Agamenon*, to the hour of his fall; and I hope you will not think them less sincere, on account of their having been so long delayed.—To the last moment of my existence I shall retain a lively remembrance of all your favours. I would willingly flatter myself, and the hope affords some slight degree of consolation, 'That you did not find my Boy totally unworthy of the generous patronage you so liberally extended towards him. 'That you may long live to serve your Country, and to enjoy those honours you have so nobly though so dearly gained, is the most earnest wish of, Sir, your greatly obliged and obedient servant, 'Thomas Weatherhead.'

Previous to his leaving Bath, Lady Nelson, at the earnest request of her husband, had attended the dressing of his arm, until she had acquired sufficient skill and resolution to perform it herself, which she afterwards did continually. On his arrival in London, he was attended by Mr. Cruikshanks, and his nephew Mr. Thomas; by Mr. Jefferson who had been surgeon of the *Agamemnon*, and, at the request of Mr. Bulkeley, one of the two surviving officers who had been on the San Juan expedition, Dr. Moseley was afterwards called in. But the wound becoming still more painful, and his spirits very low, it was also shewn to other eminent surgeons, and amongst the rest to Mr. Keate; who strongly recommending that the cure should be left to time and nature, it was accordingly preferred to more violent methods.

Sir Horatio Nelson to Earl St. Vincent, dated London, Sept. 18, 1797.

'My dear Lord: I shall be brief at first. I had a very miserable passage home, and this day am not the least better than when I left good Dr. Weir; and Cruikshanks has me now in hand. I found my domestic happiness perfect, and I hope time will bring me about again; but I have suffered great misery. My general reception from John Bull has been just what I wished, for I assure you they never forget your name in their honest praises. I have now a favour to beg of you. After George Cockburn's gallant action with the *Sabina*, I directed a gold hilted Sword to be made for him, which I had hoped to present to him myself in the most public and handsome manner; but as Providence has decreed otherwise, I must beg of you to present it for me. My good friend Grey will, I hope, inquire and get it out of the *Argo*. I feel confident of your goodness. Good Captain Locker has just been with me, and made the most kind inquiries after you. I am not to go to the levee until the end of next week. Lady Nelson sends her love. God bless you.'

Excuse my anxiety, it proceeds from friendship and admiration of your public character. My best wishes and compliments attend you and Lady Nelson, and ever believe me, dear Sir, yours sincerely, WILLIAM.’

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19th of the same month, when our religious Monarch rendered public honour to the Supreme Being for the naval victories that had been gained.

The Rev. Edmund Nelson at Bath to his Son, Dec. 1797.

My dear Horatio: I cannot sufficiently extol the praises of that all good and gracious Providence which has been your protector from such innumerable perils. Your peculiar preservation Providence has ordained for great and wise purposes: He evidently gives His angels charge concerning thee. I have lived long, and seen many days in the small sphere that it has been my lot to move in; and I regard you, my good Son, as a rare instance of personal merit rewarded with self-earned laurels. You once stood alone; and had you fallen, no hand was near to raise you. May I, O God! have regarded that blessing as properly as from frail man could be expected.—I ought to have addressed a letter to my good Lady Nelson, but I rely upon her kindness in excusing the indolence of an old, infirm Father: she knows she may depend on me in all places and all seasons, to act with affectionate kindness towards her and you. Edm. Nelson.

Towards the close of 1797, Admiral Nelson received information from Lord St. Vincent that he had written to Lord Spencer, and had desired that the *Foudroyant* might be fitted for Sir Horatio's flag as soon as she was launched: his Lordship also added that John Sykes was gunner of the *Andromache*.—Accordingly in writing to Captain Berry, Nelson had said, 'The *Foudroyant* will be launched in January, and be commissioned early in February. I am not perfectly at liberty about a first lieutenant, but I believe Galway will be the man, and Mr. Vassal second, although a much older officer; but if they do not choose to stand as I like in the ship, they may stay away, and so I have told Mr. Vassal.' About the same date a letter arrived from Captain Miller: 'A thousand thanks, my dear Sir, for your very flattering expressions of regard for me, which it will be the pride of my life to preserve. I wish that Sykes had served time sufficient, as I would have endeavoured to prevail on Lord St. Vincent to make him a lieutenant: his manners and conduct are so entirely above his situation, that nature certainly intended him for a gentleman.' Nelson also received, at this time, what he prized very highly, a few lines from the brave Sykes himself.

The *Foudroyant* not getting so forward as had been expected, the *Vanguard*, Dec. the 19th, was commissioned for his flag; and on the 10th of January, 1798, Nelson in writing to Lord St. Vincent from Bath, informed him, that the *Vanguard* was rigged, had her ground tier on board, and nearly 400 men. 'I hope,' added he, 'to be with you early in March, for to you I trust I am going, unless you are destined for the Channel. I have been much flattered by the kind notice of Lord Lansdown, who speaks of you in the manner you always ought to be spoken of. I have no wishes to convey, but that my son-in-law Josiah may merit your good opinion, and that health and every blessing may attend you, in all which Lady Nelson most cordially joins.'

Lord St. Vincent to Sir H. Nelson, dated Lisbon, Jan. 8, 1798.

‘ My dear Admiral: I congratulate you, Lady Nelson, and your Country most heartily, on your being released from the torment of the ligament, which, thank God, is now no more... Why is not a monument voted in St. Paul’s to perpetuate the memory of the gallant Bowen? I put it strongly to Lord Spencer. If you have an opportunity, pray express my surprise that no mention has been made of him in either house of Parliament.

‘ I am much at a loss to reconcile the plans in contemplation to augment this fleet and extend its operations, with the peace which Portugal seems determined to make with France, upon any terms the latter may please to impose; because Gibraltar is an unsafe depot for either stores or provisions, which the Spaniards have always in their power to destroy, and the French keep such an army in Italy, that Tuscany and Naples would fall a sacrifice to any the smallest assistance rendered to our fleet. I therefore am puzzled to account for what I hear from merchants in London and at Lisbon, upon the subject of covering trade to the two last mentioned territories, and to the Levant, filled as the seas are by privateers.—No man acquits himself more ably in a public situation than my old friend Wilkes; and I was very sure he would mark the signal services you have achieved, in his address on presenting the freedom of the city.’

The Vanguard sailed from Blackstakes to the Nore early in March, and was well officered. In addition to those already mentioned by the Rear Admiral in his letter, Mr. W. S. Parkinson was third lieutenant, Henry Compton fourth, J. Adye fifth, Bladen Capel sixth; Captain of marines W. Faddy, Lieutenants of marines Noble, Young, and Hare; Master Mr. W. Clod, Chaplain Rev. Mr. Comyn, Purser Mr. Sheppard, Surgeon Mr. Jefferson, and Admiral’s secretary Mr. J. Campbell. Captain Berry passed the Downs in the ship on the 12th of March, and proceeded to Portsmouth.

It was a painful struggle for the venerable Edmund Nelson to part with a son, whom the service of his Country had so long kept at a distance from him; but the resignation and patriotism of the old man at length soothed the yearnings of a father’s heart: on the 9th of March he wrote, as follows, from Bath. ‘ To know you are very soon to leave England, and not to say farewell, would seem unmindful of a Parent’s regard. Who can see without anxiety, that your duty long has, and will still lead you into paths where perhaps roses grow, but intermixed with many a thorn? I trust in the Lord that he will prosper your going out and your coming in. I earnestly desired once more to see you, and that wish has been heard. If I should presume to say, I hope again to see you, the question would be readily asked, ‘ *How old are you?*—*Adieu, Vale, Domine Vale!* Edm. Nelson.’

Sir Horatio Nelson to his Father at Bath, dated March 14, 1798.

‘ My dear Father: I thank you for your affectionate letter, as indeed yours always are; and I hope in a few months to return with the olive branch, and to find you in as good a

state as when we parted. I have this day taken leave of the King; and on Saturday I expect to be ordered to leave town for Portsmouth, where I hope I shall not remain forty-eight hours; but my movements now depend on Lord Spencer. Lady Nelson intends setting out for Bath the same moment I do for Portsmouth. At all times, and in all places, believe me ever with the truest filial affection, your dutiful Son.'

In taking leave of that domestic happiness which had proved such a solace to his mind, a gloomy foreboding hung on the spirits of his affectionate wife, which Sir Horatio exerted himself to disperse: 'My ambition,' he exclaimed, 'is satisfied, I now go to raise you to that rank in which I have long wished to see you.'

On the 16th of March, 1798, the Rear Admiral received his orders to hoist his flag on board the Vanguard, and he immediately made every preparation to join his ship. On the 28th he left London for Portsmouth, and on the 9th of April, after an ineffectual attempt to get to sea on the first, as he has already mentioned in his Memoir, he sailed with a fair wind from St. Helens.—On his reaching the Tagus, he wrote to Lady Nelson, dated April 24th. 'We arrived here yesterday in fourteen days from St. Helens. Lord St. Vincent is at sea off Cadiz, having wished to prevent some Spanish ships from getting out, but without effect; for one ship of the line, the Monarca, and two frigates escaped on the 12th; the Neptuno 84, and two more frigates are also on the wing, but I hope they will not escape his vigilance. The Dolphin is here, and her Captain: Josiah, is very well. If possible, I shall sail to-morrow to join the fleet. I can hardly describe to you the miserable appearance of this place after seeing England. I pray fervently for peace.'—In another letter to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, on his joining the fleet, April 29, he added, 'The new Viceroy of Mexico has got off. By their detachments it does not appear probable that the Spanish fleet will put to sea for the sake of fighting; therefore I fear we shall have a dull campaign off Cadiz; and the Earl's force will not I apprehend admit of his detaching me up the Mediterranean, to endeavour to get hold of the French squadron now masters of that sea.'

Earl St. Vincent to Sir Horatio Nelson.

'My dear Admiral: I do assure you, the Captain of the Dolphin has acquitted himself marvellously well in three instances: In getting his ship out and joining us off Cadiz soon after we arrived, in conducting a convoy of transports with troops from Gibraltar to Lisbon, and lately, in pushing out to protect the stragglers of the convoy from England in very bad weather; and he also improves in manners and conversation, and is amply stored with abilities, which only want cultivation to render him a very good character.

'I think Captain James Cornwall of the Marlborough, who fell in an action (17th Feb. 1733) that disgraced his Majesty's arms beyond any thing in naval history, except in the

instance of Benbow's Captains, had a Monument in Westminster Abbey* at the public expence: this is easily ascertained, and, if I am correct, will prove a fair precedent for the immortal Bowen.

'The Portuguese are treating for peace, and expect the definitive, either that or war, in a few days. In the mean while I fear our Ministry continue to be imposed upon by the tales of emigrants, both in respect to commotions in France and alliances of the northern powers; all of whom shrink from danger, and are scrambling for the bones which the Directory do not think worth picking, but amuse the Emperor and King of Prussia with, while they organise Switzerland, Rome, and probably Naples; to subvert the government of which they will soon find a pretence. I am very sorry to learn you find any difficulty in obtaining justice to the merits of your brother: it appears by this, and the little encouragement given on various other occasions to those who have served their Country well, that the whole patronage of the Crown, vast as it is, goes to the support of the executive in Parliament; and strikes me as the very worst species of corruption that can be exercised, because this devouring monster never ceases to crave, in course no reform can be made in the public expenditure without rendering him quite savage and ungovernable; not to say a word of the injustice done thereby to all men of friendless merit in the service of the state, civil and military.'

The desperate situation of Naples and of Italy at this time, from following half measures, is clearly displayed in two confidential letters that had been sent by General Acton on the 3d, and 9th of April, to Sir William Hamilton; which also explain the subsequent measures that were adopted in the Mediterranean. In forwarding this communication to Lord St. Vincent, Sir William Hamilton had added, 'Notwithstanding its apparent peace with the French republic, this Monarchy is threatened with immediate destruction. The last message from the French Directory at Paris was exactly the language of a highwayman, *Deliver your money, or I will blow your brains out*. As it is natural for a person in danger of drowning to catch at every twig, your Lordship will see that the greatest hope this government entertains of being saved from impending danger, is on the protection of the King's fleet under your Lordship's command. Although General Acton does not write our language correctly, it is intelligible and highly expressive. If in consequence of the application of this government to the Cabinet of St. James's, by a messenger sent directly to London six weeks ago, a British fleet should have been ordered into the Mediterranean, it will come, and this Country will be saved; if not, the only chance of respite

* Mr. Charnock in his *Biographia Navalis* (Vol. IV. p. 190) gives an account of the public services of this brave officer, and a description of the monument. Captain Cornwall was the third son of Henry Cornwall, Esq. of Bradwardin Castle, in the county of Hereford, from the old and illustrious stock of the Plantagenets. He was killed by a chain shot in the action off Toulon under Admiral Matthews, with the combined fleets of France and Spain.

from republicanism is in the Austrian army already in Italy, which, as your Lordship will see, is to be immediately augmented.'

General Acton to Sir W. Hamilton, K. B. April 3, 1798.

'My dear Sir: We are threatened with an invasion; the troops which the French are bringing to Genoa from their places in Piedmont, from the Milanese, and those even from the Roman state in Civita Vecchia, have the two Sicilies for their destination. The French squadron from Corfou is at Spezzia waiting the arrival of the troops, and ready to protect an attack with them on our coasts, while a few men of the new Romans think of coming to our frontier. Eight men of war are fitting at Toulon, which with those at Spezzia will make nineteen ships of the line and nine frigates; those however at Corfou are in a shattered condition. We find ourselves at the present moment with this prospect before us, yet with all the demonstration of friendship and good intelligence from the French government, and its Generals.

'Respecting the prepared Expedition from Toulon, Spezzia, Genoa, and Civita Vecchia, we have received from the Generals for answer, that the preparations were not certainly for the two Sicilies. At Rome and Milan we were told, that Corsica and Sardinia were the meaning of the Expedition. At Genoa, the confidential answer has been, that the Squadron and transports were directed for Portugal, or Gibraltar, if the Spaniards could not sail from Cadiz. Since this morning, however, a different answer has arrived from Paris: Our messenger has brought letters of the 22d of March, wherein we are offered Benevento, provided we pay a large sum *sufficient to satisfy the Directory* in return for such a present; and we are advised, in case of a refusal, or even of a delay in accepting the proposal, that the former resolution of republicanising all Italy shall take place. Toulon, Genoa, and Civita Vecchia are preparing means, as we are told by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to put such a project in execution, if we do not find some method to procure a deviation from a resolution so dangerous to this monarchy.'

✱ Sir John Acton then proceeded, in the name of their Sicilian Majesties, to urge Sir W. Hamilton to dispatch a British privateer at that time in the port of Naples, with the above information; adding, that five weeks had elapsed since the demands of their Majesties for protection had been sent to his Britannic Majesty. 'Every exertion,' concluded General Acton, 'shall certainly be employed on our part: We shall perish, if such is our destiny; but we hope to sell dear our destruction. I do present, my dear Sir, all these demands in the name of the King and Queen.'

The General's second letter to Sir W. Hamilton dated the 9th of April, urged the sending of the small privateer to Lord St. Vincent, though the Captain should require 6000 piastres, or ducats, for the service. 'By this time,' continued the Sicilian Minister, 'our requested help is perhaps determined, and the ships are probably on their passage to

Naples. Eighty thousand Austrians are in Italy and the Tyrol, and 20,000 more are marching, with even the garrison of Vienna; this help will certainly protect us, but with the English assistance we shall be saved.'

When the Vanguard had joined Earl St. Vincent's fleet off Cadiz, Sir Horatio had sent the following letter to Lady Nelson.—'I joined the fleet yesterday, and found Lord St. Vincent every thing I wished him; and his friends in England have done me justice for my zeal and affection towards him. I have my fears that he will not be much longer in this command, for I believe he has written to be superseded, which I am sincerely sorry for. It will considerably take from my pleasure in serving here; but I will hope for the best. The Dons have, I find, long expected my return with bomb vessels, gun-boats, and every proper implement for the destruction of Cadiz and their fleet. They have prepared three floating batteries to lie outside their walls to prevent the fancied attack; and lo, the mountain has brought forth a mouse; I am arrived with a single ship, and without the means of annoying them.—The Admiral probably is going to detach me with a small Squadron; not on any fighting expedition, therefore do not be surprised if it should be some little time before you hear from me again. I direct this to our Cottage, where I hope you will fix yourself in comfort, and I pray that it may very soon please God to give us peace. England will not be invaded this summer. Buonaparte is gone back to Italy, where 80,000 men are embarking for some Expedition. With every kind wish that a fond heart can frame, believe me, as ever, your most affectionate husband.'

Earl Spencer to Admiral Earl St. Vincent, dated March 30, 1798.

'My Lord: I am very happy to send you Sir Horatio Nelson again, not only because I believe I cannot send you a more zealous, active and approved Officer, but because I have reason to believe that his being under your command will be agreeable to your wishes. If your Lordship is as desirous to have him with you, as he is to be with you, I am sure the arrangement must be perfectly satisfactory.'—The noble Admiral replied on May 1, 'I do assure your Lordship that the arrival of Admiral Nelson has given me new life, you could not have gratified me more than in sending him; his presence in the Mediterranean is so very essential, that I mean to put the Orion and Alexander under his command, with the addition of three or four frigates, and to send him away the moment the Vanguard has delivered her water to the inshore squadron, to endeavour to ascertain the real object of the preparations making by the French.'

Mr. Udney, the British Consul General at Leghorn, when writing to Admiral Nelson, on the 20th of April, had delivered the following opinion respecting these proceedings of the enemy. 'With the same freedom and confidence, my dear Sir, which our long habits and your indulgence authorise, I will continue to give you such information as I have col-

lected, respecting the formidable armaments carrying on for the grand projected expedition by the French, with my private ideas on the present situation of affairs, which but to yourself alone I would not presume to hazard.

‘ It is ascertained that 40,000 men will be embarked in at least 400 sail of vessels under General Buonaparte; their destinations are daily circulated and varied, so that no certainty can be obtained; but from all I can learn, by well-founded intelligence, I am confident their first attempt will be on Malta, thence to invade Sicily in order to secure that granary, and then Naples; in all which places they have by their emissaries secured a strong party. What their other views afterwards may be with such an immense force, time will shew: I, for my own part, reflecting on the plan the late Empress of Russia attempted to put in execution, of getting possession of Egypt, am convinced, That Buonaparte will hereafter, and with more reason in his unbounded enterprises, pursue the same scheme of seizing and fortifying Alexandria, Cairo, and Suez. If France intends uniting with Tippoo Saib against our possessions in India, the danger of losing half an army in crossing the desert from Egypt would be no obstacle.’

In consequence of the information which Earl St. Vincent had received from Naples, he on the 2d of May ordered Sir Horatio Nelson to Gibraltar, as soon as the trade bound thither, which had come to Lisbon under his orders, appeared in sight; and placing a small Squadron under his command, instructed him on completing his water and provisions in Rosier Bay, to put to sea with the line of battle ships and such of the frigates as happened to be there; and when all communication with the garrison had closed, to open his sealed orders. The Rear Admiral was therein ordered to proceed up the Mediterranean, and endeavour to ascertain by every means in his power, either upon the coast of Provence or Genoa, the object of the projected expedition by the French.

The Commander in Chief on the same day acquainted the Portuguese Minister of the Marine, D. R. de Souza Coutinho, of this detachment being sent to confound our common and atrocious enemy; for having recently, added the Admiral, ‘ had occasion to order a squadron of much smaller force to Tunis, which has since cruised about the islands of Minorca and Majorca, and on the coast of Catalonia and Valentia, and made several captures; the odds are, that my gallant and enterprising Rear Admiral will lay hold of something, the French may have sent out to crush the other squadron lately returned to Gibraltar.’

On the 4th of May, 1798, Sir Horatio, in writing to Lady Nelson, mentioned his arrival at Gibraltar; he also noticed the fêtes that were then given at that garrison, and added, ‘ I

• *Squadron to which Admiral Nelson was appointed May 2, 1798, by Earl St. Vincent.*

Vanguard, Orion, Alexander, Caroline, Flora, Emerald, Terpsichore, Bonne Citoyenne.—Admiral Nelson had requested to have the Leander, Captain Thompson; but Lord St. Vincent sent word, that it would not then be advisable to detach that ship from the rock.

have no turn for such things, when we had better be alongside a Spaniard. Apropos, my frigate, the Sabina, is at Algeiras, about five miles from this place; she looks well, and if I catch her at sea, I shall certainly make free to take my property. The folks here are certainly very civil, but merry; and where we had better be filling water, and getting quickly to our excellent Commander in Chief.'—On the 6th of May, he sent the following account of his squadron and intended proceedings to Earl St. Vincent. 'I have ordered the ships to weigh with me on Tuesday morning. Thompson regrets not going with me; he is an active young man. Sir J. Orde will know by his eye what ships go with me, therefore I shall shew him the list. I do not believe any person guesses my destination. It shall go hard but I will present you at least with some Frigates, and I hope something better. I shall pick up Caroline off Cape Palos round Minorca, stand in sight of the coast towards Barcelona, and get in the straight line between Cape St. Sebastian's and Toulon, there I shall procure information enough to regulate my further proceedings; and as I take frigates, shall send one to have charge of each, keeping the large ships complete, to fight I hope larger ones. God bless you.'

After this Squadron had been thus dispatched, and had considerably proceeded on the service on which it had been ordered, Earl St. Vincent, on the 19th of May, 1798, received the following most secret Instructions from the Admiralty, dated May 2. In the first place the noble Admiral was informed, That in order to prevent the fleet and armament fitting out at Toulon from accomplishing their object, Rear Admiral Sir R. Curtis had been ordered to proceed with a reinforcement, and join his Lordship; which having taken place, the Admiral was to lose no time in detaching a squadron consisting of twelve sail of the line, and a competent number of frigates, under the command of *some discreet Flag Officer*, into the Mediterranean; with instructions to him to proceed in quest of the said armament. The Board also added, that they had received on that day, May 2d, a letter from Lord Grenville, signifying the King's pleasure, *That any Ports in the Mediterranean should be considered as hostile, those of the Island of Sardinia alone excepted, of which the governors, or chief magistrate, should refuse to permit the commanders of any of his Majesty's ships, arriving therein, to procure supplies of provisions, or of any articles which they might require.*

The First Lord of the Admiralty left the appointment of the Flag Officer, who should command this important Squadron, to the experienced judgment of the Commander in Chief on that station. Sir Horatio Nelson was then actually employed, with a smaller force, on the very service now ordered by their Lordships; and the preceding exertions of that officer, and his astonishing abilities, being known and admired throughout the Mediterranean, Earl St. Vincent would have acted unworthy of his high and discriminating character, if he had not continued to give that preference to Nelson, which he so justly merited.

With the secret Instructions which the Commander in Chief had thus received from home, Lord Spencer had also sent a private and confidential letter from the Admiralty, dated April 29, 1798, respecting the appointment of Sir H. Nelson to command a detached squadron. This communication, which was received also on the 19th of May, displays the great abilities of the First Lord as a Statesman. It dwells at considerable length on the late proceedings of the cabinet, the state of the continent, and the probable intentions of the French armament at Toulon. The appearance of a British squadron in the Mediterranean, was declared to be a condition on which the fate of Europe at that moment depended. Every nerve was to be strained, and considerable hazard incurred in effecting it. Yet Government entirely left it to Lord St. Vincent's determination, either to make a detachment from his fleet, or to take his whole force into the Mediterranean; and the defeat of the purpose of the Toulon armament, whatever it might be, was to have a preference to the great advantages which had hitherto been obtained, from the constant check which the noble Admiral had kept on the Spanish fleet in Cadiz. This check however was if possible to be continued; and it was hoped that it might be found practicable, to send a detachment from the fleet into the Mediterranean sufficiently strong to attain the end proposed. 'If you determine,' adds Lord Spencer, 'to send a detachment into the Mediterranean, I think it almost unnecessary to suggest to you the propriety of putting it under the command of Sir H. Nelson, whose acquaintance with that part of the world, as well as his activity, and disposition, seem to qualify him in a peculiar manner for that service. We shall take care to send you out ships, which are the best suited for foreign service of any that we have to dispose of; in order to make your fleet as effective as possible. I have thought it necessary,' concluded the noble Lord, 'to enter into this reasoning, to impress your Lordship with the great urgency and importance of the measure which has now been determined upon, and to justify our calling upon you to place yourself, at least for a short time, in a situation of more difficulty than any less pressing emergency would warrant us in doing.'

The noble Admiral lost no time in sending the purport of these Instructions to Sir Horatio; and directed him, After ranging the coast of Provence and the Western Riviera of Genoa, to leave one of the best of his frigates, and the *Bonne Citoyenne*, to watch the motions of the enemy; whilst he himself with the rest of the squadron, having taken in water and provisions for six months at Gibraltar, should proceed with the utmost dispatch to the station before Cadiz. In a private letter, Earl St. Vincent added, 'You, and you alone, my dear Admiral, shall command the important service in contemplation, therefore make the best of your way down to me. I shall bring Murray from Lisbon, for the *Colossus* is now most powerfully manned, and he is too good a fellow to be left there when so much is to be done. You shall also have some choice fellows of the in-shore Squadrons. If you fall in with the *Leander* in your way down, off Cape de Gatte, order Thompson to

Gibraltar to victual, &c. and I will give that ship to you. Captain Hope will be a very proper person to leave as a vidette, he is well acquainted with the coast. Old Luke is also a good fellow.

‘We are all affected with the loss of Captain Alexander Hood; the Action was very determined, and did honour to both parties. It would be unjust to the Frenchman not to admit, that a new ship fitted at L’Orient to go round to Brest, was no match for an old commissioned and well practised ship of ours. The manner of attack reflects immortal honour on Hood. Lady Louisa Lennox sends me word from Plymouth, that the *Foudroyant* is launched, and all agree, she is the most perfect ship that ever swam upon salt water. I understand the Marquis de Niza is coming this way with five ships of the line, and a frigate, after seeing the Brazil convoy into a certain latitude; I intend to recommend Gibraltar Bay to him, and to manœuvre between Europe and Tetuan. If his orders will admit, I have an idea of attaching him to your ten sail. God bless you.’

Owing to the severe weather which Sir Horatio and his little squadron experienced, on the 22d of May, it was a considerable time before these additional Instructions reached the *Vanguard*. Previous to that event, Admiral Nelson had written at intervals to Lord St. Vincent. ‘May 8th: I shall not make sail to the eastward until dark, and it will be late before all are clear of Europa Point. My first lieutenant, Galway, has no friends, and is one of the best officers in my ship.’ On the 17th of May, when off Cape Sicie, he sent Lord St. Vincent the following official intelligence, which had been that morning obtained by the capture of *la Pierre*, French corvette of six guns, and 65 men; that had sailed from Toulon on the preceding night: ‘The French General, Buonaparte, arrived at Toulon ten days ago, to command the secret Expedition preparing to sail from that port. Vessels with troops frequently arrive from Marseilles, who are daily embarking in the numerous transports. According to some, Buonaparte was expected to go in the *Sans Culotte*, which is said to have 3000 men on board, including her complement. It was not, however, generally believed that Buonaparte would embark; but no one knows to what place the Armament is destined. Nineteen sail of the line are in the harbour, and fifteen apparently fitted for sea: yet it is said, that only six are to sail with the transports now ready, and that about 12,000 men are embarked. Admiral Brueys has his flag in L’Orient, 120 guns. All this information is but little more than you knew when I left you. You will see by Sir James Saumarez’s account, that they have cavalry on board. I send an intelligent young man with this letter, Mr. Hartford, who has just served his time.—You may rely, my Lord, that I shall act as occasions may offer to the best of my abilities, in following up your ideas for the honour of his Majesty’s arms, and the good of our Country.’ In a private note he also added, ‘Be assured I will fight the French fleet the moment I can find them; until then adieu.’

Such had been the high spirit and exultation of the gallant Admiral, when during the night of the 20th of May, being in the Gulf of Lyons, his whole Squadron, and in particular the Vanguard, was exposed to the fury of one of those sudden tempests in the Mediterranean, which Virgil has so correctly described. The piety of our heroic countryman was only equalled by the fortitude and resources which he displayed. 'I ought not,' he said when writing to Lady Nelson on the 24th of that month, 'to call what has happened to the Vanguard by the cold name of accident: I believe firmly, that it was the Almighty's goodness to check my consummate Vanity. I hope it has made me a better Officer, as I feel confident it has made me a better man. I kiss with all humility the rod. Figure to yourself a vain man, on Sunday evening at sun-set, walking in his cabin with a Squadron about him who looked up to their Chief to lead them to Glory; and in whom this Chief placed the firmest reliance, that the proudest ships, in equal numbers, belonging to France, would have bowed their flags, and with a very rich prize lying by him; figure to yourself this proud conceited man, when the sun rose on Monday morning: his ship dismasted, his fleet dispersed, and himself in such distress, that the meanest frigate out of France would have been a very unwelcome guest. But it has pleased Almighty God to bring us into a safe port (St. Peter's, Sardinia,) where although we are refused the rights of humanity, yet the Vanguard will in two days get to sea again, as an English man of war. The exertions of Sir James Saumarez, in the Orion, and Captain A. Ball, in the Alexander, have been wonderful; if the ship had been in England, months would have been taken to send her to sea: here, my operations will not be delayed four days, and I shall join the rest of my fleet on the rendezvous.—P. S. Mr. Thomas Monk who was recommended by Mr. Hussey and my brother Suckling, was killed, and several seamen were wounded.'

This inhospitable reception which the Squadron met with in the island of St. Peter's, Sardinia, was afterwards explained to the Admiral, in a letter from Mr. Jackson at Turin. 'I was pleased to see that you had considered your reception at St. Peter's with compassion. From the information of a person who was on board one of your ships, I have reason to think, that if your letter to the Governor had been dated one day later, you would not have had to lament, that the common rights of humanity had been refused to you; and I think I may venture to say, that they will not be so hereafter. You will, I am sure, do me the justice to believe, that from the first moment I knew of your arrival in the Mediterranean, I spared no pains here on this subject; but the cruel position of this unhappy Sovereign, which you are perfectly well acquainted with, renders it unnecessary that I should enlarge upon it: The King of Sardinia's dependence on the French Republic has lately been rendered complete from the occupation of the citadel of Turin by the French troops, in consequence of a convention with their general Brune. I have not a doubt but your presence will save Naples, by sea at least; if they are not saved by land, we all know whose

fault that would be: your recollection of what has passed in the north of Italy, will be a bar to any very sanguine ideas in favour of the south.'

A more particular account of the distress of the squadron in the Gulf of Lyons, was given by Sir Horatio in the following letter to Lord St. Vincent. - 'My Lord: I am sorry to be obliged to inform you of the accidents which have happened to the Vanguard. On Saturday, May 19th, it blew strong from the N. W. On Sunday it moderated so much, as to enable us to get our top-gallant-masts and yards aloft. After dark it began to blow strong; but as the ship had been prepared for a gale, my mind was easy. On Monday at half past one A. M. the main-top-mast went over the side, as did the mizen-top-mast soon afterwards. It being impossible for any night signal to be heard or seen, I had hopes that we should be quiet until daylight; when I determined to wear, and scud before the gale: but about half past three o'clock, the fore-mast went in three pieces, and the bowsprit was found to be sprung in three places. When the day broke, we were fortunately enabled to wear the ship with a remnant of the spritsail. The Orion, Alexander, and Emerald wore with us; but the Terpsichore, Bonne Citoyenne, and a French Smyrna ship, continued lying-to under bare poles. Our situation was 25 leagues south of the islands of Hieres; and as we were lying with our heads to the N. E. had we not wore, which was hardly to be expected, the ship must have drifted to Corsica. The gale blew very hard all the day, and the Vanguard laboured most exceedingly. In the evening, being in latitude 40°. 50'. N. I determined to steer for Oristan Bay in the island of Sardinia: during the night the Emerald parted company. Being unable to get into Oristan, the Alexander took us in tow, and by Captain Ball's unremitting attention to our distress, and by Sir James Saumarez's exertions and ability in finding out the Island of St. Peter's, and the proper anchorage, the Vanguard was on May the 22d, at noon, brought safely into that harbour.'

Earl St. Vincent in his answer informed the Admiral, that he considered what had passed as a most providential event. It enabled Nelson not only to complete a supply of water, and to secure his junction with the reinforcement under Captain Troubridge, which took place soon afterwards; but it also, in a most extraordinary manner, preserved his squadron from the powerful fleet which sailed with Buonaparte from Toulon, on the very day of the tempest, and, in the thick weather that came on, must have passed the British ships at not many leagues distance.

In a former letter, Sir Horatio mentioned the arrival of Buonaparte, and his supposed intentions, at Toulon; and it may be of service to the reader to be reminded of what had been the proceedings of the Corsican.—After the subjugation of Venice, May 12, and the Treaty of Campo Formio, Oct. 17, 1797; Buonaparte, satiated for a time with plunder and the disorganization of unhappy Italy, had returned to Paris and directed his thoughts to other ob-

jects, on which his own restless ambition and the sharpened rapacity of his soldiers might be employed. Egypt, even during the French monarchy, had been regarded with military attention; and the invasion of it as an out-post to India, had occupied the minds both of the Empress of Russia, and the Emperor Joseph. In the letters from the French army that were afterwards taken by Admiral Nelson's squadron, and which are invaluable from giving an exact account of the real opinions and projects of our enemies; Kleber, in writing to the Directory, delivered the real sentiments of his nation respecting Egypt. 'I know all the importance of the possession of Egypt: I used to say in Europe, that this Country was for France the point of strength, *le point d'appui*, by means of which, she might move at will the Commercial System of every quarter of the Globe; but to do this effectually a powerful lever is required, and that lever is a Navy. Ours has existed.'

To overcome this powerful lever, Nelson eagerly renewed his pursuit of the French squadron. His letter to Lord St. Vincent is dated May 28: 'By the indefatigable exertions of the Captains, Sir James Saumarez, Ball, and Berry, and the great ability of Mr. James Morrison, carpenter of the *Alexander*, the *Vanguard* had been completed for sea on the 26th at night, and on the 27th, at daylight, I sailed to proceed on the service you were pleased to intrust to my direction. As your Lordship will observe the state of the *Vanguard* on her arrival at St. Peter's, the exertions of all classes will strike you forcibly; therefore it is only necessary to observe, That the ship was fitted under the advice of the carpenter of the *Alexander*, an old and faithful servant of the Crown, and who has been near thirty years a warranted carpenter; and I beg most earnestly, that your Lordship will have the goodness to recommend Mr. Morrison to the particular notice of the Board of Admiralty.'

The following letters continue this correspondence to the 15th of June.—'May 31, 1798. My dear Lord: My pride was too great for man; but I trust my friends will think that I bore my chastisement like a man. It has pleased God to assist us with his favour, and here I am again off Toulon.—June 11. The Mutine, Captain Hardy, joined me on the 5th at daylight, with the flattering account of the honour you intended me of commanding such a fleet. Mutine fell in with *Alcmene* off Barcelona on the 2d. Hope had taken all my frigates off the rendezvous, on the presumption that the *Vanguard*, from her disabled state, must return to an arsenal. I joined dear Troubridge, with the reinforcement of ten sail

^b In three parts; the first published in 1798, the second in 1799, and the third part in 1800.

^c It was the intention of Sir Horatio if he had fallen in with the French fleet at sea, to have made three divisions of his squadron, which are thus given in Captain Berry's narrative. •Two of them were to attack the ships of war, and the third to pursue the transports:

Vanguard.	Zealous.	Culloden.
Minotaur.	Orion.	Thesus.
Leander.	Goliath.	Alexander.
Audacious.	Majestic.	Swiftsure.
Defence.	Bellerophon.	

of the line, and the Leander on the 7th in the evening; it has been nearly calm ever since, which grieves me sorely. The French have a long start, but I hope they will rendezvous in Telamon Bay, for the 12,000 men from Genoa in 100 sail of vessels, escorted by a frigate, had not put to sea on the 2d, nor were all the troops embarked. You may be assured I will fight them the moment I can reach their fleet; be they at anchor, or under sail.'

This reinforcement which had been selected from the very best ships of Earl St. Vincent's Fleet, consisted of the Culloden, 74, Captain T. Troubridge; Goliath, 74, Captain T. Foley; Minotaur, 74, Captain T. Louis; Defence, 74, Captain John Peyton; Bellerophon, 74, Captain H. D. E. Darby; Majestic, 74, Captain G. B. Westcott; Zealous, 74, Captain S. Hood; Swiftsure, 74, Captain B. Hallowell; Theseus, 74, Captain R. W. Miller; Audacious, 74, Captain Davidge Gould, which ship joined Captain Troubridge on his entering the Mediterranean; and to this force was afterwards added the Leander, 50 guns, Captain T. B. Thompson. Captain Troubridge's orders from Lord St. Vincent were dated before Cadiz, May 24. Captain Berry's Narrative well observes, 'It was only characteristic of the general tenour of Lord St. Vincent's Command, that every ship destined to compose the squadron of reinforcement, was ready to put to sea from Cadiz Bay at a moment's notice; and it is a fact which is worthy of permanent record, as illustrative of the energy and activity of British seamen, that as soon as Sir Roger Curtis with the squadron under his command from England, was visible from the mast-head of the Admiral's ship, Captain Troubridge with his squadron put to sea, and was actually out of sight on his course to the Straits of Gibraltar, before the former cast anchor at the British station off Cadiz Bay.' The news of this reinforcement having joined Admiral Nelson, was sent home by Captain G. Grey, who had sailed from Lisbon in the packet on the 5th of July.

The flattering account of Sir Horatio's new appointment had been brought by the Mutine, Captain T. M. Hardy, and was contained in the following most secret instructions from Earl St. Vincent, dated May 21, 1798.—'In pursuance of instructions I have received from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to employ a Squadron of his Majesty's ships within the Mediterranean under the command of a discreet officer, (copies of which, and of other papers necessary for your guidance, are enclosed,) in conformity thereto, I do hereby authorise and require you, on being joined by the ships named in the margin, to take them and their Captains under your command, in addition to those already with you, and to proceed with them in quest of the Armament preparing by the enemy at Toulon and Genoa. . . . On falling in with the said Armament, or any part thereof, you are to use your utmost endeavours to take, sink, burn, or destroy it. On the subject of Supplies, I enclose also a copy of their Lordships' Order to me; and do require you strictly to comply with the spirit of it, by considering, and treating as hostile, any Ports within the Mediterranean (those of Sardinia excepted) where provisions, or other articles you may be in want of, and

which they are enabled to furnish, shall be refused.'—In some additional Instructions of the same date, by the Mutine, the Commander in Chief added, ' In a private letter from Lord Spencer, I am led to believe, That you are perfectly justifiable in pursuing the French Squadron to any port of the Mediterranean, Adriatic, Morea, Archipelago, or even into the Black Sea, should its destination be to any of those parts; and thoroughly sensible of your Zeal, Enterprise, and Capacity at the head of a Squadron of ships so well appointed, manned, and commanded, I have the utmost confidence in the success of your operations.'

Sir Horatio's correspondence with Earl St. Vincent thus proceeded. ' June 12th, 1798: As I see no immediate prospect of a letter, I shall continue my private one in form of a diary, which may not be unpleasant to refer to: therefore to begin. Being so close to the enemy, I take the liberty of keeping Orion for a few days. Owing to want of wind, I did not pass Cape Corse until this morning; at four we were becalmed. The moment we had passed I sent the Mutine to look into Telamon Bay, which as all the French troops had not left Genoa on the 6th, I thought a probable place for the rendezvous of a large fleet; and went with the squadron between Monte Christi, and Gulio, keeping the continent close on board. June 13th: Mutine joined, nothing in Telamon Bay. I then ran the Fleet between Plenosa and Elba, and Monte Christi; and, on the 14th at noon, am now off Civita Vecchia: Spoke a Tunisian cruiser, who reported he had spoke a Greek on the 10th, who told him, that on the 4th he had passed through the French fleet of about 200 sail, as he thought, off the N. W. end of Sicily steering to the eastward. Am in anxious expectation of meeting with dispatch Boats, Neapolitan Cruisers, &c. with letters for me from Naples giving me information. June 15th: Off the Ponsa Islands; my hopes of information were vain. Not finding a cruiser I shall send Troubridge into Naples in the Mutine, to talk with Sir William Hamilton, and General Acton. Troubridge possesses my full confidence, and has been my honoured acquaintance of twenty-five years standing. I only beg that your Lordship will believe, I shall endeavour to prove myself worthy of your selection of me for this highly honourable command. Not a moment shall be lost in pursuing the enemy.'

Earl St. Vincent, in writing to the Portuguese Minister of the Marine, June 8, informed him of the reinforcement which had sailed to join Admiral Nelson, ' Whose force,' added his Lordship, ' when combined, will consist of the ships which are really and truly the *Elite* of the Fleet under my command; and, when the squadron under the Marquis de Niza is added, will compose a most respectable force. It is my intention to direct the Marquis to proceed immediately from Lagos Bay up the Mediterranean, without touching at Gibraltar, in order to preserve secrecy; so necessary in all military operations, as well as to avoid giving any the smallest umbrage to Spain.'

On the joyful intelligence of a Squadron having been detached from Lord St. Vincent's

fleet into the Mediterranean, Sir William Hamilton, who had not then heard that Nelson had been appointed to the command, had sent the following letter from Naples on the 9th of June, 1798, on board the Queen Esther privateer, addressed to the commanding officer of the King's fleet in the Mediterranean. ' Sir: Lord St. Vincent will, I hope, have been informed by my letter of the 15th of April last, of the distressed situation of this Country. It had been my intention to profit by the King's leave to return home, which I have had by me several months; when, hearing of the probability of a British Squadron's being soon sent into the Mediterranean to protect the dominions of his Sicilian Majesty, and the rest of Italy, from the merciless French robbers already in possession of a great part of it, I determined not to quit my post. . . . I have just received a letter from Sir Morton Eden at Vienna, dated May 24th, informing me, that a Treaty of Defensive Alliance between the Courts of Vienna, and Naples, had actually been signed; and that the succours respectively stipulated, are 60,000 men on the part of Vienna, and 40,000 on the part of Naples. Sir Morton Eden sends me also, by order of Lord Grenville, a copy of a dispatch from his Lordship, dated April 28th; in which I am ordered, as well as Sir Morton Eden, to enforce the absolute necessity of obtaining from this Government, the free and unlimited admission for his Majesty's Ships into the Ports of his Sicilian Majesty; and also every species of provisions and supplies usually afforded to an Ally; and which his Majesty may so justly expect to receive from Italy, when cooperating to deliver that Country from a scene of Oppression and Misery which it has hardly ever experienced, even in the worst periods of its history. I am at this moment labouring with the Sicilian Government, but have not, as yet, got a decisive answer with respect to the opening of their ports, without reserve, to the King's ships; but I have already had the strongest assurances, that no species of Provisions, or Stores, which this Country affords, will be denied them. . . . All Italy, Sir, looks upon the King's Fleet you have the honour of commanding, as its guardian angel from the ruin with which it has been so long menaced; and without that protection, sooner or later it must fall. Judge then how happy we shall be to see a squadron of the King's fleet in the bay of Naples.

Before the Queen Esther privateer had sailed, Captain Thomas Bowen of the Transfer brig arrived from Gibraltar, and brought the intelligence from Lord St. Vincent of Sir Horatio Nelson's appointment. Upon which Sir William subjoined his own, and Lady Hamilton's congratulations: ' God bless you, and give you the success which your talents and bravery in the good Cause so richly deserve, and with such a chosen band under your command. Emma's most kind love attends you; who, you may be sure, joins with me heart and soul in wishing you to crown your glory by the destruction of this boasted Government.

On the 10th of June, 1798, the Neapolitan Government received the news, That the

English squadron had been discovered from the top of the Island of Ischia, coming from the westward. On which Sir William Hamilton immediately sent off the first good sailing boat he could procure, with all the intelligence he had acquired respecting the enemy: 'That the first division of the Toulon Armament had arrived off Trapani in Sicily on the 5th of June, and had been there joined, on the 7th by the second division, making sixteen sail of the line, Venetian and French: That Buonaparte was on board the *Sans Culotte*; that ten frigates, twenty gun-boats, some brigs and cutters had been also seen, with about 280 transports, said to contain at least 40,000 troops. That they had detached a frigate near the Island of Farignana, Sicily, on which an officer had landed, and had acquainted the Commandant, that Buonaparte had desired him to say, *The approach of the French fleet need not give any uneasiness to his Sicilian Majesty, with whom the Republic was in perfect Peace, and that the Armament he commanded, had another object, not Sicily.* The French, both in Sicily and in Pantelleria, made every inquiry after a British squadron being in the Mediterranean, which report they did not believe. Accounts had also been received, that Buonaparte was off Malta with twenty-four ships of the line, and 80,000 men. The French had taken a Maltese brig, just off the Island; the Maltese were all under arms, and preparing for a vigorous defence.'—The next day, June the 17th, Sir William wrote again as follows:—'My dear Nelson: I have just received your letter from Captain Troubridge. I went with him directly to General Acton, and Captain Troubridge has an Order to the Commanders of all the Sicilian Ports, that will fully answer your purpose. The official answer of the Marquis de Gallo, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to my written demand for the King's ships to be admitted into all the Ports of the two Sicilies, without any limitation, and there provide themselves with provisions and stores, of which I have given a copy to Captain Troubridge, will shew you on what grounds we stand here at this moment. It is very tantalizing to see, as we do, your ships at a distance, and to have no communication with you; but we hope in God soon to see you in this Bay with the *Sans Culotte*, &c. and that Buonaparte, with all his Scavants and Astronomers. Adieu, my brave dear Friend.'

On the return of Captain Troubridge the squadron stood for the Faro di Messina, and passed through that celebrated Strait on the 20th of June with a fair wind. When the Sicilians discovered that it was a British force, their joy is said to have been expressed by the loudest congratulations and with the sincerest exultation, in the innumerable boats that came off, and rowed round our ships. On the same day, Sir Horatio sent an express, through the Vice Consul of Messina, to Sir William Hamilton, who returned the following answer on the 26th.—'I flatter myself that you must have been informed, before you passed the Faro, that Malta had been treacherously given up to the French Republic on the 12th instant; but perhaps you may not have had a copy of the infamous Convention between

the Order of Malta, and the Republic, *under the mediation of his ⁴ Catholic Majesty*, and therefore I send you the enclosed copy of it. This Government expects daily a messenger from Vienna; and upon the Emperor's motions, it is clear that those of this Country entirely depend. They are giving time for the French to pour fresh troops into Italy: ten thousand are already arrived, and 25,000 more are coming from Marseilles. What you state in your last letter to me, is as plain and as true as possible. I read your letter to General Acton; his Excellency was struck with your statement of the actual position of the enemy, and of Sicily. . . The letter which Captain Troubridge, and myself, got from General Acton, I look upon as a sort of credential one for you upon Sicily; and as that Island to my certain knowledge is most partial to Great Britain, you will be sure of every aid from that quarter. Our good and Royal Master has, at the earnest entreaty of their Sicilian Majesties, made a noble effort in their favour by sending out the powerful squadron under you. You certainly now command here; and have already by your appearance only in these seas, saved Sicily from immediate destruction. You are sensible how much I am an enemy to half measures, and your actions have long proved your determined character. Malta itself, as you know, belongs to the Crown of Sicily. The opinion I ventured to give here, upon the arrival of the news of its having been given up to the French, was, that his Sicilian Majesty should send away Monsieur Garrat the Ambassador of the French Republic, and march on directly to Rome, sending an express to the Emperor. . . All our present dependence is on you, my dear Nelson; and I am convinced that what is in the power of mortal man to do, you will do. That God may protect you, and the brave Band you have the Honour of commanding in so just a Cause, is the constant prayer of your truly attached William Hamilton.'

On the 27th of May, Captain Hope with the frigates, which had been separated from the squadron in the tempest of the 22d, arrived in the bay of Naples; having in vain endeavoured to obtain any intelligence of Sir H. Nelson. In writing to him on the same day, Captain Hope said, 'I shall not now send you an account of my proceedings, which have been most unfortunate, but trust, when I deliver you my journal, with the intelligence I received at different times, you will be convinced my exertions to join you, were at least well intended.'—Captain Hope, having received every assistance from the Neapolitan

⁴ Charles IV. was on this occasion represented by Monsieur le Chevalier Philippe Amat, his Majesty's Charge d'Affaires à Malte. The Convention consisted of seven articles, and had been signed by Buonaparte, by le Bailli Torino Frisari, le Commandeur Bosredon Ransijat, &c. and by Il Caballero Felipe de Amat, on board l'Orient, June 12, 1798. The King of Spain, who thus promoted the views of the French, was at the same time endeavouring to secure the Pope from their rapacity and insults; and, in consequence of information from his Admiral D. Josef de Mazarredo to Lord St. Vincent, June 14, 1798, 'That his Sovereign intended to send to Italy, from Carthagena, one ship of the line, a frigate, and a smaller armed vessel to convey his Holiness to Spain in a suitable manner;' a dispatch was sent to Sir Horatio Nelson, with the signals which would be made by the Spanish ships in case his squadron should fall in with them, that all respect and ceremony might be shewn to the Sovereign Pontiff.

Government in getting in his bread and water, sailed with the frigates from Naples, June 30th, in quest of Admiral Nelson, and still without success. He was also afterwards followed by some of the best of the Portuguese ships under the Marquis de Niza, who was equally unfortunate. Thus uniformly did Lord St. Vincent, notwithstanding the inferiority of his own fleet to that of the enemy, endeavour by every means to strengthen the squadron he had detached; and this at a time when he had recommended two secret expeditions to the attention of his Government; one of which, the re-capture of Minorca, was afterwards executed with success.

In the meanwhile, Sir Horatio being baffled by the departure of the enemy from Malta on the 16th, from executing a plan which he had formed for attacking them whilst at anchor at Goza, immediately on receiving such intelligence from the Mutine brig on the 22d, had made the signal to bear up, and steer to the S. E. with all possible sail. 'At this time,' adds the Narrative of the proceedings of his squadron which is referred to by him in his 'Memoir,' 'we had no certain means of ascertaining that the enemy were not bound up the Adriatic. From the day we bore up, until the 29th of June, only three vessels were spoken with; two of which came from Alexandria, and had not seen any thing of the enemy's fleet; the other came from the Archipelago, and had likewise seen nothing of them. This day we saw the Pharos of Alexandria, and continued nearing the land with a press of sail, until we had a distinct view of both Harbours; and to our general surprise and disappointment, we saw not a French ship in either.'

That no time, however, might be lost, Nelson immediately shaped his course to the northward, for the coast of Caramania; and on the 29th whilst at sea, amidst the agitation and disappointment which he experienced at not meeting with the Enemy, sent the following letter to Earl St. Vincent. 'My Lord: Although I rest confident that my intentions will always, with you, have the most favourable interpretations; yet when success does not crown an officer's plan, it is absolutely necessary that he should explain the motives which actuate his conduct; and therefore I shall state them as briefly as possible.' He then retraced his proceedings to the 21st, when he had been close off Syracuse, and had hoisted his colours. On the 22d he had heard that Malta surrendered on the 15th of June, and that the whole French fleet had left it on the next day, as was

* Sir Horatio's Orders from Lord St. Vincent to take under his command the Portuguese Squadron, to which the Lion had been attached, and on her quitting it the Incendiary fire ship, were dated before Cadiz, June 10, 1798. The Order to the Marquis is dated July 2, and he was therein informed, 'That it had been stipulated in the Treaty of 1703, between the Courts of Great Britain and Portugal, that the Officer of either contracting power commanding the smaller number of ships, should be subordinate to the one who commanded the larger number, without consideration of their respective ranks.'

† Page 3.

‡ Or the 28th, as Sir Horatio afterwards makes it, by the ship's log.

supposed, for Sicily. ‘The wind,’ added he, ‘at this time was blowing strong from the W. N. W. The vessel that had been spoken three hours before, by the Mutine, was gone out of reach. I could not get to Malta until the wind moderated, and then might obtain no better intelligence. Thus situated, I had to make use of my judgment, with information from Naples that they were at peace with the French Republic. . . I recalled all the circumstances of this Armament before me; 40,000 troops in 280 transports, many hundred pieces of artillery; waggons, draught-horses, cavalry, artificers, naturalists, astronomers, mathematicians, &c. The first rendezvous, in case of separation, was Bastia, the second, Malta. This Armament could not be necessary for taking possession of Malta. The Neapolitan Ministers considered Naples, and Sicily, as safe. Spain after Malta, or indeed any place to the westward I could not think their destination; for at this season, the westerly winds so strongly prevail between Sicily and the coast of Barbary, that I conceived it almost impossible to get a fleet of transports to the westward. It then became the serious question, Where are they gone? Here I had deeply to regret my want of frigates; and I desire it may be understood, that if one half of the frigates your Lordship had ordered under my command, had been with me, I could not have wanted information of the French fleet. If gone to Corfu in consequence of my approach, which they knew from Naples on the 12th, or 13th, they would be arrived there by the 22d of June.

‘Upon their whole proceedings, therefore, together with such information as I had been able to collect, it appeared clear to me, That they were either destined to assist the rebel Pacha, and to overthrow the present government of Turkey; or to settle a Colony in Egypt, and to open a trade to India by way of the Red Sea. For strange as it may appear at first sight, an enterprising enemy, if they have the force or consent of the Pacha of Egypt, may with great ease get an army to the Red Sea; and if they have concerted a plan with Tippoo Saib to have vessels at Suez, three weeks at this season is a common passage to the Malabar coast, when our possessions in India would be in great danger. I therefore determined, with the opinion of those Captains in whom I could place great confidence, to go to Alexandria; and if that place, or any part of Italy was their destination, I hoped to arrive time enough to frustrate their plans.

‘I arrived off Alexandria on the 28th, and found lying there, one Turkish ship of the line, four frigates, and about twelve other Turkish vessels in the old port, and about fifty sail of vessels, of different nations, in the Franks’ port. I directed Captain Hardy of the Mutine to run close in, and to send an officer on shore with my letter to Mr. Baldwin, and to get all the information in his power. Captain Hardy, on his return, came within hail in his boat, and reported, that no intelligence could be procured of the French fleet. Mr. Baldwin had left Alexandria near three months. We observed the line of battle ship to be landing her guns, and that the place was filling with armed people. After receiving

Captain Hardy's report, I stretched the fleet over to the coast of Asia. Both Sir William Hamilton, and General Acton, I now know, said, they believed Egypt was the object of the French: for that when their Minister at Naples was pressed, on the armament appearing off Sicily, he had declared, that Egypt was their object.

'The only objection I can fancy to be started, is, You should not have gone such a long ^a voyage without more certain information of the Enemy's destination: My answer is ready, *Who was I to get it from?* The governments of Naples, or Sicily, either knew not, or chose to keep me in ignorance. Was I to wait patiently until I heard certain accounts? If Egypt were their object, before I could hear of them they would have been in India. To do nothing was I felt disgraceful; therefore I made use of my understanding, and by it I ought to stand or fall. I am before your Lordship's judgment, which in the present case I feel is the Tribunal of my Country; and if, under all circumstances, it is decided that I am wrong, I ought for the sake of our Country to be superseded: for at this moment, when I know the French are not in Alexandria, I hold the same opinion as off Cape Passaro, viz. That under all circumstances I was right in steering for Alexandria, and by that opinion I must stand or fall. However erroneous my judgment may be, I feel conscious of my honest intentions; which I hope will bear me up under the greatest misfortune that could happen to me as an officer, that of your Lordship's thinking me wrong.'

Having finished this letter, which may be considered as a portraiture of the zealous and too agitated mind of this extraordinary man, when full of heaviness and disquietude; he shewed what he had written to Captain Ball, who was one of those Captains in whom he deservedly placed the highest confidence. The original answer has fortunately been preserved; and its insertion, it is hoped, will not offend the modest and unassuming character of that great naval officer.

Captain Alexander John Ball, to Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, July, 1798.

'Sir: The very kind attention with which you have favoured me since I have had the satisfaction of being under your command, has impressed me with the most lively concern in every thing that can interest you. I therefore, with great deference, beg leave to offer my opinion on the subject of the Letter you did me the honour of shewing; and if I thought I could in the smallest degree allay the great anxiety which your zeal occasions, I should reckon it amongst the fortunate occurrences of my life.

'I was particularly struck with the clear and accurate style, as well as with the candour of the statement in your letter; but I felt a regret, that your too anxious zeal should make

^a It would seem from this, and other parts of his letter, that Sir Horatio had not at that time received the additional Instructions from Lord St. Vincent, page 62.

¹ In the Nelson Papers.

you start an idea, that your judgment was impeachable because you have not yet fallen in with the French fleet; as it implicates a doubt, and may induce a suspicion, that you are not perfectly satisfied with your own conduct. I should recommend a friend, never to begin a defence of his conduct before he is accused of error. He may give the fullest reasons for what he has done, expressed in such terms as will evince that he acted from the strongest conviction of being right; and of course he must expect that the Public will view it in the same light. The great Lord Chatham, when speaking in the House of Lords of the failure of a general officer, said, *I will not condemn Ministers; they might have instructed him wisely, he might have executed his Instructions faithfully and judiciously, and yet he might have miscarried: There are many events which the greatest human foresight cannot provide against.*

‘ You, Sir, are in search of the French Fleet without any intelligence, or guidance, but that of your own Judgment. From the nature of their Armament, with a force of ^k 50,000 men, a great Expedition is intended; and as they made Malta their first object of attack, there cannot be a doubt but their destination is to the eastward of that Island. Egypt appeared to be the most likely place to which they were bound: if they were bound thither, you had a prospect of overtaking them, and at all events of arriving there before they could have disembarked all their troops, and camp equipage; consequently you would have had it in your power to have destroyed their Expedition which probably was intended against our Settlements in India, and to have gained a great victory over the French fleet. But your only chance of accomplishing this was by an immediate pursuit; a delay of twelve or twenty-four hours to have endeavoured to obtain more correct intelligence, would have rendered your pursuit almost useless. You therefore determined to steer directly for Alexandria; and, when arrived off that port, you were informed, that the Governor was putting the place in the best state of defence, as he had received a letter from Leghorn, acquainting him, that the French Expedition was intended against Egypt, after they had taken Malta. By which it appears that your foresight enabled you to form the same judgment of the destination of the French, which watchful observers of their proceedings had discovered by other means; and I think you will find the same opinion prevail throughout Italy. If the French have given up their intention of going to Egypt, and are gone to Corfu, in consequence of intelligence that a British fleet was in the Mediterranean; the same cause that carried them there, will keep them in port, unless they hear of your exact force, and determine to risk an action. They do not know where we now are; but probably

^k The accounts of the French force varied from 40,000, to 50,000 men. In an interesting letter from a French officer at Cairo, August 16, 1798, (Intercepted letters, Part II, page 144,) he says, *Je me suis demandé à moi-même, comment le gouvernement François avoit fait tant d'efforts, et exposé une Armée de quarante mille hommes, pour venir soumettre un peuple si féroce et si abruti.*

expect to see us every day. Had you received information on the 22d instant that the French fleet had sailed for Corfu, or any port in the Adriatic, or near there; as they had five days the start of you, they could have secured a retreat before you possibly could have drawn up with them.—Under all these circumstances, I am of opinion, that your going to Alexandria will be considered as a wise measure, and I trust that success will attend you and reward your great Ardour and Zeal for his Majesty's service. If my wish, Sir, to lessen your anxiety, has hurried me into what may be construed as presumption, I trust that you will forgive it when you consider the cause; and I shall rely upon your tearing this and not mentioning the subject to any person.'

Captain Ball did not duly appreciate the irritable and impatient disposition of his countrymen, when he said, 'That the squadron's going to Alexandria, would be considered as a wise measure.' By all unprejudiced minds it certainly was so considered: but at the same time, until subsequent success had covered these services of Nelson with glory, a violent opposition prevailed against his appointment and proceedings, even in the higher departments of government. Respecting the first, Lord St. Vincent it was pronounced ought to suffer severely for sending so young an officer; and the conduct of Sir Horatio was thought to have merited impeachment. A memorable lesson to that violent and party spirit which too often rages amongst us, and calumniates the noblest exertions of unsuccessful patriotism and service.

In case the Portuguese squadron under the Marquis de Niza had joined, the following arrangement would have taken place, as appears from some letters of Earl St. Vincent to Sir Horatio. On the 2d of July, his Lordship said, 'The Marquis of Niza will I hope soon support you with a squadron of four ships of the line, well manned, commanded, and appointed. The exercise these ships have had in a cruise off the Azores, has very much improved their seamen, and they are remarkably healthy. The Marquis agrees with me that it would be best to chequer them in your line of battle; two in your starboard division which will be commanded by the Marquis, and two in the larboard commanded by Captain Troubridge; which arrangement I have signified to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.'—In another letter, dated July 5th, the Marquis' force is thus described. 'The Marquis's squadron consists of the Principe Real, Rheina de Portugal, San Sebastian, Alphonso Albuquerque, (Incendiary fire-ship) and Falião brig, one of the finest they have. The first is under the Marquis, Stone commands the second, Mitchell the third, Campbell the fourth, and Duncan, a hardy fellow who was a master's mate in our service in the American war, has the brig. Our fire ship is commanded by a good fellow of the name of Barker, brother to the late Scory Barker. God bless you, my dear Admiral, pre-

¹ A letter from one of the puisne Lords of the Admiralty, was read publicly on board the Prince George, Admiral Sir W. Parker, denouncing Lord St. Vincent in no very gentle terms, for having sent so young a Flag Officer.

serve you from all ills and cover your head with laurels, prays your sincere and affectionate friend, St. Vincent.'

From the Coast of Caramania which the squadron made on the 4th of July, they steered along the southern side of Candia, carrying a press of sail both night and day with a contrary wind. The Admiral endeavoured, as he informed Lord St. Vincent, to keep in the opening of the Archipelago, in latitude between 36 and 37 N. steering with all sail to the westward. On the 18th being in sight of Sicily, and short of water, he determined to enter the port of Syracuse; and although no person was acquainted with the harbour, yet by the skill and judgment of the officers every ship arrived safely, and immediately proceeded to get in water, wine, lemons, and bullocks with all possible expedition. 'This,' adds the Journal of their proceedings, 'was the first opportunity that the Vanguard had enjoyed of receiving water on board, from the 6th of May; so that not only the stock of that ship, but of several others of the squadron, was very nearly exhausted.' Lest any impediments might have arisen to the Admiral, in obtaining this supply, Mr. Tough, his Britannic Majesty's Consul General in Sicily, had on the 22d of June sent Sir Horatio word, 'That any kind of refreshments, or provisions which the fleet might stand in need of, he could readily procure at Palermo, and that he only waited for the honour of his commands.' The port of Syracuse, however, at this time offered a more convenient and ready supply; and every precaution had been taken, which the exertions of our Ambassador at Naples and the influence of Lady Hamilton could devise, that no possibility of delay, through the secret machinations or threats of the French, might unexpectedly arise. In writing to Lady Nelson, from Syracuse, July 20th, he said, 'I have not been able to find the French fleet to my great mortification, or the event I can scarcely doubt. We have been off Malta, to Alexandria in Egypt, Syria, into Asia, and are returned here without success: however no person will say, that it has been for want of activity. I yet live in hopes of meeting these fellows; but it would have been my delight to have tried Buonaparte on a wind, for he commands the Fleet, as well as the Army. Glory is my object, and that alone. God Almighty bless you.'

The highly wrought and harassed mind of the Admiral was about this time soothed by some letters, which he received from his Excellency Mr. Wyndham, and from Lord St. Vincent. The former sent him word, 'That his arrival in the Mediterranean had already caused a great panic amongst the French; and that on the 19th of June the French Minister had come down to Leghorn, to be at hand to gain the earliest information of whatever might happen: he had declared, however, that he was under no apprehensions, since the French, being in possession of Malta, might remain there and defy the British Squadron.'

^m This was afterwards protested against, by Lacheze, Secretary to the French Minister at Naples, in a letter to the Marquis de Gallo.

‘ You may rely,’ added Mr. Wyndham, ‘ on my giving you every intelligence in my power; and I am very certain that you will not quit the Mediterranean, without adding more laurels to the many you have already gathered, and performing some signal service to your Country.’

Lord St. Vincent, in the letter which he had sent Admiral Nelson, so far from cavilling at his hitherto ineffectual pursuit of the French; after touching on the faction that was fraught with all manner of ill will against his appointment to the Squadron, and which had proceeded so far, as to write strong remonstrances against it; declared his determination to support him, adding, ‘ In the meanwhile, God bless and prosper you, and your Gallant Train, prays St. Vincent.’ He also probably, about this time, received intelligence that Captain E. J. Foote of the Seahorse, who was in search of the British squadron, on the 27th of June after a chase of twelve hours, and a close action of eight minutes, had captured *La Sensible*, 36 guns, Capt. Bourdè; who had sailed from Malta on the 18th with a General of Division, Baraguèy D’Hilliers, and his suite, on board, going to Toulon with an account of the capture of that Island. *La Sensible* had also all the trophies on board which the French had seized; the greater part of their rich plunder was on board *L’Orient*.

Thus protected and encouraged, the envied, indefatigable, and enterprising Nelson prepared to renew his determined pursuit of the enemy, and on the 25th of July, 1798, sailed from Syracuse. Irritated beyond measure that the French should so long have baffled his vigilance, it was with difficulty he could endure the tediousness and uncertainty of the night; and the officer of the watch had frequently scarcely left the cabin, when he was again summoned to declare the hour, and to surmount the persuasion of the Admiral that it must certainly be day-break.

It had occurred to him, on leaving Syracuse, that some authentic intelligence might possibly be obtained in the Morca. The squadron, therefore, at first steered for that coast, and made the Gulf of Coron on the 28th of July. Captain Troubridge was immediately dispatched in the *Culloden* to obtain intelligence from the Turkish Governor; and without detaining the squadron returned in a few hours with a French brig prize in tow, and with information, ‘ That the enemy had been seen steering to the S. E. from Candia, about four weeks before: the inhabitants of Coron entertained the most serious apprehensions from the French Armament, and the most perfect detestation against that “ people. During the same day also a strange sail passing through the fleet, was examined by the *Alexander*, and further intelligence communicated by her to the Admiral. Sir Horatio immediately determined to return to Alexandria, and the English squadron accordingly, with every sail set, stood again for the coast of Egypt.

The French had steered a direct course for Candia, by which they made an angular passage towards Alexandria; whilst the squadron under Sir Horatio Nelson had kept a straight course for that place, without making Candia, and thus the distance was considerably diminished. The comparative smallness also of his force, made it necessary to sail in close order, and therefore the space it covered was extremely limited: This added to the constant haziness of the atmosphere, rendered all chance of desecring the Enemy very uncertain; and, on returning to Syracuse, there was still less probability of falling in with them, as the English steered to the northward, whilst the French kept a southern course to Alexandria.

The confidence which prevailed among the French was consistent with their character, and with the preparations which had been made to give to this fleet all the strength and ability that the Republic and its Allies could supply. General O'Hara, Governor of Gibraltar, in writing thence to Admiral Nelson, June 15, said, 'The French are very sanguine as to the issue of this mighty Armament, which they say has been so well planned that all Europe is to be astonished at the greatness of the Enterprise; but I trust, my dear Sir Horatio, you will be able to defeat all their mighty purposes.'—The force opposed to this armament was only a detachment from one of the numerous squadrons, by which Great Britain supported its own liberties, and endeavoured to prevent the subjugation of other powers. This detachment had been a considerable time at sea in pursuit of the enemy, and many of the ships, especially the Vanguard, had received only a temporary refit after the tempest in the Gulf of Lyons. The boasted French Armada was fresh from the dockyards of Toulon, and Venice, and had experienced no disaster. The French vanity was also cherished and augmented by their General, who was destined to receive a lesson in Egypt, that ill suited his overweening and destructive ambition. The Narrative of their proceedings, from July the 1st when they were off the old Port of Alexandria, is thus given by Admiral Bruëys, in a letter to Bruix the French Minister of the Marine, dated on board *L'Orient*, July 12, 1798.—'Citizen Minister: Previously to our arrival off the old Port of Alexandria, I had dispatched the *Juno* to bring the Consul on board. Citizen Magallon arrived on the first of July, and informed us, that an English squadron had appeared in line of battle off the Port of Alexandria on the 28th of June, that they had detached a Brig to the town, and that, on its return, they had made sail to the N. E.: the squadron was supposed to consist of fourteen ships of the line....The Commander in Chief, Buonaparte, desired to be put on shore immediately: I therefore came to anchor on the

* Intercepted Letters of the French Army in Egypt, by the Fleet under the command of Sir Horatio Nelson.
Part I. page 40.

Coast, and, during the night, succeeded in landing 6000 men in a creek to the west of the old Port, near a Castle called Marabou, about two leagues from the City. Not the slightest opposition was made to our descent. I disembarked all the troops, and the baggage belonging to them; and on the 7th of July, having satisfied myself that our ships of war could not get into the Port for want of a sufficient depth of water at the entrance, I ordered the Venetian ships, (le Dubois, and le Causse of 64 guns each, and two or three frigates,) and the transports to come to an anchor there; and stood off with the thirteen sail of the line, and the three frigates, with an intent of mooring in the road of Bequieres, or Aboukir.

‘ I arrived there in the afternoon, and formed a line of battle at two-thirds of a cable’s length; the headmost vessel being as close as possible to a Shoal to the N. W. of us, and the rest of the fleet forming a kind of curve along the line of deep water, so as not to be turned, by any means, in the S. W. This position is the strongest we could possibly take in an open road; where we cannot approach sufficiently near the land to be protected by batteries, and where the enemy has it in his power to choose his own distance....It is vexatious that there is not a Port where a Fleet can enter; but the old Port, of which we have heard so much, is shut up by a reef of rocks, some under, and some above water; forming a number of narrow channels, where the depth is only from 23 to 25, and 30 feet. The sea, too, is commonly very high: Thus you see, that one of our seventy-fours would be in no small danger there, especially as she would inevitably go to pieces in a few minutes after touching the ground.

‘ To gratify the wishes of the Commander in Chief, Buonaparte, I have offered a reward of 10,000 livres, to any Pilot of the Country who would undertake to carry the squadron in; but none of them will venture to take charge of a single vessel, that draws more than twenty feet. I hope, however, that we shall succeed in finding a channel by which our seventy-fours may enter; but this can only be the result of many laborious and painful experiments. I have already engaged two intelligent officers in this business; Captain Barré, commanding at present l’Alceste, and Citizen Vidal, first lieutenant. If they find a channel, they will buoy it for us; and we may then enter without much danger. The depth within the reefs increases to fifteen fathoms, but the getting out of the harbour will, in all

† According to a letter from Jaubert to Bruix, dated on board L’Orient, July 4th, the transports from Toulon, Marseilles, Genoa, Ajaccio, and Civita Vecchia, amounted to 293 sail: Another letter from a person of the name of Boyer (page 148,) makes them 400 sail, under convoy of fifteen sail of the line, two of which were armed *en flûte*, fourteen frigates, and several smaller ships of war.

‡ La Fortune corvette, 18 guns, commanded by Citoyen Marchand, Enseigne de Vaisseau, was afterwards detached from the fleet, on the 29th of July, to cruise off Damietta; and was captured on the 10th of August by the Swiftsure.

cases, be very difficult and very tedious, so that a squadron would engage to a vast disadvantage.

‘ I have heard nothing further of the English. They are gone, perhaps, to look for us on the coast of Syria; or rather, and this is my private opinion, they have not so many as fourteen sail of the line, *et que ne se trouvant pas en nombre supérieur, ils n'auront pas jugé à-propos de se mesurer avec nous.*’

‘ Jaubert, who was Commissary of the fleet, in ‘ writing from Admiral Brueys’ flag ship, L’Orient, off Aboukir, July 8, 1798, had said, ‘ The English fleet has played with ill luck on its side: first it missed us on the coast of Sardinia; next it missed a convoy of fifty-seven sail coming from Civita Vecchia, with 7,000 troops of the army of Italy on board. It did not arrive at Malta until five days after we left it; and it arrived at Alexandria two days too soon to meet with us. It is to be presumed that it is gone to Alexandretta, under an idea that the army is to be disembarked there for the Conquest of India. We shall certainly meet it at last; but we are now moored in such a manner as to bid defiance to a force more than double our own. Such, however, was our critical situation on the morning of the 1st of July, that in spite of the promptitude with which we disembarked, we might have been surprised by the English in the midst of our operations. Apprehensive of this, the Commander in Chief, Buonaparte, with his staff, was in his galley by four in the afternoon, surrounded by the boats and shallops of the different vessels, all full of troops and ready for the descent.’

Louis Buonaparte, aid-de-camp to his brother, in ‘ writing to Citizen Joseph, on the 6th of July, informed him, that the English squadron had been seen by la Justice frigate after the departure of the French from Malta, and yet, added he, *Elle a eu la gaucherie de ne pas nous trouver. Les Anglais doivent être furieux. Il faut être extrêmement hardi, et heureux, pour traverser une escadre nombreuse avec des forces moindres, un convoi de quatre cents petits bâtimens, et enlever en chemin une place telle que Malte, moitié par force et moitié par négociation. Jusqu’à présent j’ai cru que la fortune pouvoit abandonner mon frere, aujourd’hui je crois qu’il réussira toujours, si les troupes gardent un peu de l’esprit national qui les anime si bien.*

Such was the situation and state of mind of the French on having eluded the vigilance of Sir Horatio Nelson, and made good their landing in Egypt. Buonaparte on his landing had published a most extraordinary ‘ proclamation, in which after no common blasphemy

‘ Intercepted letters, Part I. page 18.

‘ Adjutant General Bower, in a letter to his parents, informed them, ‘ That some of the light vessels, belonging to the French fleet, made Alexandria on the 30th of June; on which day, at noon, the British squadron had been off that city.

‘ Intercepted letters, Part I. page 1.

‘ Ibid. Part I. Appendix, page 235, and 245.

he added, 'Buonaparte, the General of the French Republic according to the principles of liberty, is now arrived; and the Almighty, the Lord of both Worlds, has sealed the destruction of the Beys.'—The language of a subsequent proclamation, was still more extraordinary, as the following extract will declare. 'Cadis! Cheiks! Imans! Tchorbadgis! tell the people that we are the friends of the true Mussulmen. Is it not us who have destroyed the Pope, who said it was necessary to make war on Mussulmen? Is it not us who have destroyed the Knights of Malta, because those madmen believed, that it was the good pleasure that they should make war on Mussulmen? Is it not us who have been in all ages the friends of the Grand Seignior, (on whose desires be the blessings of God,) and the enemy of his enemies... Woe, woe, woe to those who shall take up arms in favour of the Mamelouks, and combat against us. There shall be no hope for them, they shall all perish.'—Their Army, however, in general was extremely discontented: the land and sea officers, according to *Jaubert, generally speaking, took their leaves of each other in a very cold manner. Alexandria, which †Adjutant General Boyer described, 'as a huge and wretched skeleton of a place, open on every side, and which would have surrendered on being summoned,' was attacked by Buonaparte with 25,000 men, of which 150 were slain. The massacre that ensued was dreadful. His troops then marched on the 13th of July against, what Boyer styled, a rabble of Mamelouks, 'who straggled round and round our Army, like so many cattle, sometimes facing in groups of ten, fifty, and a hundred: had we been a little more enterprising this day, I think their fate would have been decided.' On the 21st, which has been called The Battle of the Pyramids, when four thousand of these Mamelouks made a desperate charge on this numerous army of veterans, and were consequently defeated; the French proceeded to Cairo, and entered it on the 22d of July.

In the meantime the resolute Nelson, and his select band, pursued their second course to Alexandria. 'The false intelligence,' said Admiral Ganteaume in writing to †Bruix, 'received from time to time by neutral vessels, announced the return of the enemy's squadron. It had been seen off Candia steering to the westward, which unhappily confirmed us in the opinion, that it had no orders to attack us. On the 21st of July, however, two of the enemy's ‡frigates reconnoitred us.' 'On the 1st of August,' according to the Vanguard's Journal, 'at one P. M. moderate breezes, and clear: the wind north. We saw Alexandria bearing S. E. seven or eight leagues. At a quarter past two recalled the Alexander and Swiftsure, who had been detached the preceding evening by signal on the look-out towards

* Intercepted letters, Part I. page 28.

† Ibid. page 131.

‡ Ibid. page 219.

§ These were some of the frigates that were in search of Sir Horatio Nelson; and whose appearance unfortunately, just at that time, alarmed the enemy, and induced them to adopt measures of precaution and security; which considerably augmented the difficulties that our Admiral had to surmount. Had these frigates been able to join, not a ship of the enemy would have escaped.

Alexandria. At half past two hauled our wind, unbent the best bower, took it out of the stern port and bent it again. At four, Pharaoh's Tower S. S. W. distant four or five leagues, the Zealous, Captain S. Hood, made the signal for the French fleet. At five bore up for the enemy, sounding in 15, 14, 13, 11, and 10 fathom.'

Nothing could equal the joy that prevailed throughout the British squadron at the sight of the French flag, unless it were the calm determination and awful silence by which that joy was succeeded. Sir Horatio, for many preceding days, had hardly eaten or slept; but now, with a coolness peculiar to our naval character, he ordered his dinner to be served, during which the dreadful preparation for battle was made throughout the Vanguard. On his officers rising from table and repairing to their separate stations, he exclaimed, *Before this time to-morrow, I shall have gained a Peerage, or Westminster Abbey.*

The only plan that had been previously arranged in case they found the Enemy at anchor, was for our ships to form as most convenient for their mutual support, and to anchor by the stern. This was worthy of the great officers who commanded in the Squadron, and shewed the confidence which Nelson placed in their abilities. According to the Vanguard's log-book, 'At fifty-five minutes past two P. M. the general signal to prepare for Battle was made. At three, the Culloden's signal to quit her prize and join the Admiral. At fifty minutes past three, for the Mutine to come within hail. At twenty-two minutes past four for the fleet to prepare for battle, when it might be necessary to anchor with a bower or sheet cable in abaft, and springs, &c. At fifty-two minutes past four two signals were made together; viz. particular ships to engage the centre of the enemy, and others to engage the van, starboard, or weather division, or ships of the enemy. At half past five the general signal was made to form in line of Battle ahead and astern of the Admiral, as most convenient from the then accidental position of the ships, without regard to the succession denoted in the established form delivered.'

Captain T. Foley, who was one of the first of this select band of Officers, happened to lead the fleet in the Goliath. He had always kept close to the Admiral on his lee bow, and rejoiced to find himself the van ship on such a day; but this post of honour was for a few minutes disputed with him, by the Zealous, Captain S. Hood, whose abilities equally merited that proud distinction: Captain Foley set his top-gallant studding sails for a short time, and thus preserved his situation as the van ship.—It had long been a favourite idea with this officer, which he had mentioned on the preceding evening to Captains Troubridge, and Hood, That a considerable advantage would arise, if the enemy's fleet were found moored in line of battle in with the land, to lead between them and the shore, as the French guns on that side were not likely to be manned, or to be ready for action.

As soon as some of our van ships approached the small island of Bequieres, the Alert French brig began to execute the orders of her Admiral: which were, to stand towards the

British ships until nearly within gun-shot, and then to manœuvre so as best to draw them towards the outer shoal lying off that island: But adds the officer on board le Franklin from whose account this is taken, 'The English Admiral, without doubt, had experienced pilots on board; as he did not pay any attention to the Brig's track, but, allowing her to go away, hauled well round all the dangers.' On this island of Bequieres, the French had established two batteries, whence, however, they were unable from their distance to do any injury. As our squadron advanced, they opened a steady fire from the starboard side of their whole line, full into the bows of our van ships. The silent progression of the English was observed by their enemies with astonishment: On board of each ship the crew was employed aloft in furling sails, and below in tending the braces, and in hauling a range of cable on deck preparatory to their anchoring by the stern. At twenty-eight minutes past six, P. M. the French hoisted their colours.

Captain Foley had intended to fix himself on the inner bow of le Guerrier: he kept the Goliath, therefore, as near the edge of the bank as the depth of water would admit; but his anchor hung a little, and, having opened a tremendous fire, he drifted to the second ship before his anchor was clear. Then bearing up he shortened sail, anchored by the stern inside of the second of the enemy's line, le Conquerant, and in ten minutes shot away her masts. The Zealous, Captain S. Hood, observing what had passed, took the station which the Goliath had intended to have, and anchored by her stern on the inside or larboard bow of le Guerrier, which she totally disabled in twelve minutes. The third ship that doubled the enemy's van was the Orion, Sir James Saumarez, which passed to windward of the Zealous, and opened her larboard guns, as long as they bore, on le Guerrier; then passing inside of the Goliath, and being annoyed by a frigate, the Orion yawed as much as enabled her to sink this opponent by a tremendous fire; when Sir James hauled round towards the French line, and anchoring inside between the fifth and sixth ship from le Guerrier, took his station, with that gallantry he had so often displayed, on the larboard bow of le Franklin and the quarter of le Peuple Souverain, receiving and returning the fire of both. The sun was verging to the horizon, when the Audacious, Captain Gould, having poured a heavy fire into le Guerrier, and le Conquerant as she passed between them, fixed herself on the larboard bow of the latter ship, and afterwards engaged le Peuple Souve-

^b A rough sketch of the Bay of Aboukir had been taken out of a French ship, in ballast from Alexandria to Rhodes, by Captain Hallowell, and given by him to Sir H. Nelson a few days previous to the Action, who was afterwards wounded when looking over it. It was stained with his blood; and he afterwards told one of his Captains that he had sent it, as that officer thinks, to the British Museum. This was examined the evening before the action by Captain Foley, who was the only officer that possessed, in Bellin's Collection, any Chart of Aboukir. It was afterwards copied, and given to most of the squadron.

^c In a note sent during the battle, on board the Vanguard by Captain Gould, dated August 1, he said, 'I have the satisfaction to tell you le Conquerant has struck to the Audacious: the slaughter on board her is dreadful.'

rain. The *Theseus*, Captain Miller, followed; and going between the *Zealous*, and *le Guerrier* barely at sufficient distance to avoid being entangled with the shattered rigging, poured a dreadful broadside into her bow, and brought down *le Guerrier's* remaining main, and mizen mast; the *Theseus* then passed on the outside of the *Goliath*, and anchored ahead of her, inside of their third ship, *le Spartiate*, about the same time that the *Orion* had got well into her station. According to the account of the action drawn up by Rear Admiral Blanquet, Admiral Brueys at first got the top-gallant yards of his squadron across; but soon afterwards made the signal, that he intended engaging the enemy at anchor, convinced, as they afterwards said, that he had not scamen enough to engage under sail. The fire from the French line commenced from their second ship *le Conquerant*; then followed *le Guerrier*, *le Spartiate*, *l'Aquilon*, *le Peuple Souverain*, and *le Franklin*: 'All the Van,' added the French Admiral, 'were attacked on both sides by the Enemy, who ranged close along our line. They had each an anchor out astern, which facilitated their motions and enabled them to place their ships in the most advantageous position.'

Anno
Ætat. 40.

Whilst the advanced officers in the British squadron were thus proving themselves worthy of that experience and decision which directed the whole, the Admiral himself had entered into action with the remainder of his force; and was the first ship that anchored on the outer side of the enemy, within half pistol-shot of *le Spartiate* the third in the French line of battle. "Aware," says 'Mr. Willyams, "of the impossibility of the rear of the enemy, being to leeward, coming to the assistance of their van, he determined to redouble his efforts to conquer one part, before he attacked the rest." *First gain a Victory*, he exclaimed, *and then make the best use of it you can*: meaning to oppose his whole force to a part of the enemy, which, situated as they were, would soon fall. The original plan of attack which he had intended to have adopted, if Captain Foley had not judged it expedient to lead within the French line, was to have kept entirely on its outer side; and to have stationed his ships, as far as he was able, one on the outer bow and another on the outer quarter of each of the enemy. This would have certainly produced a most destructive fire, and would have caused our shot to have crossed clear of our own ships. Owing to a standing order, in case of coming to action, the squadron wore the white or St. George's ensign, which displayed the Cross; and lest through any random shot his colours should be carried away, Admiral Nelson had six ensigns, or flags, flying in different parts of his rigging.


The *Vanguard* having thus anchored in eight fathom water, without the third ship in the enemy's line, at half past six o'clock veered half a cable, and in a minute opened a most


* Two of the most correct accounts of the Battle of the Nile which have appeared, are by the Rev. Mr. Willyams, chaplain of the Swifts, who obtained a copy of the French line from his Captain; and by an anonymous writer in *Pantheon's Annual Register* for 1796, who is said to have been the late Mr. Charnock. Both of these, but particularly the first, have been of service in completing this relation of the Action.


destructive fire so as to cover the approach of the other ships, the *Minotaur*, *Bellerophon*, *Defence*, and *Majestic*, which respectively passed on ahead of their Admiral. Captain Louis, in the *Minotaur*, nobly supported his friend, and Commander, and anchoring next ahead of the *Vanguard*, took off the fire of *l'Aquilon*, the fourth in the French line. The *Bellerophon*, Captain Darby, passed on ahead, and dropped her stern anchor on the starboard bow of the enormous *L'Orient*, the seventh ship in the enemy's line; whose difference of force was above seven to three, and the weight of ball from her lower deck alone exceeded that from the whole broadside of the *Bellerophon*. The *Defence*, Captain Peyton, took his station with great judgment ahead of the *Minotaur*, and engaged *le Franklin* of 80 guns, the sixth ship of the enemy on the starboard bow, by which the line remained unbroken; which sixth ship bore the flag of Admiral Blanquet du Chelard, second in command. The *Majestic*, Captain Westcott, after being entangled with the main rigging of one of the enemy's ships astern of the Admiral, from whom she severely suffered, swung clear; and closely engaging *l'Heureux*, on the starboard bow, received also the fire of *le Tonnant*, the enemy's eighth ship, which soon made dreadful havoc on board the *Majestic*.

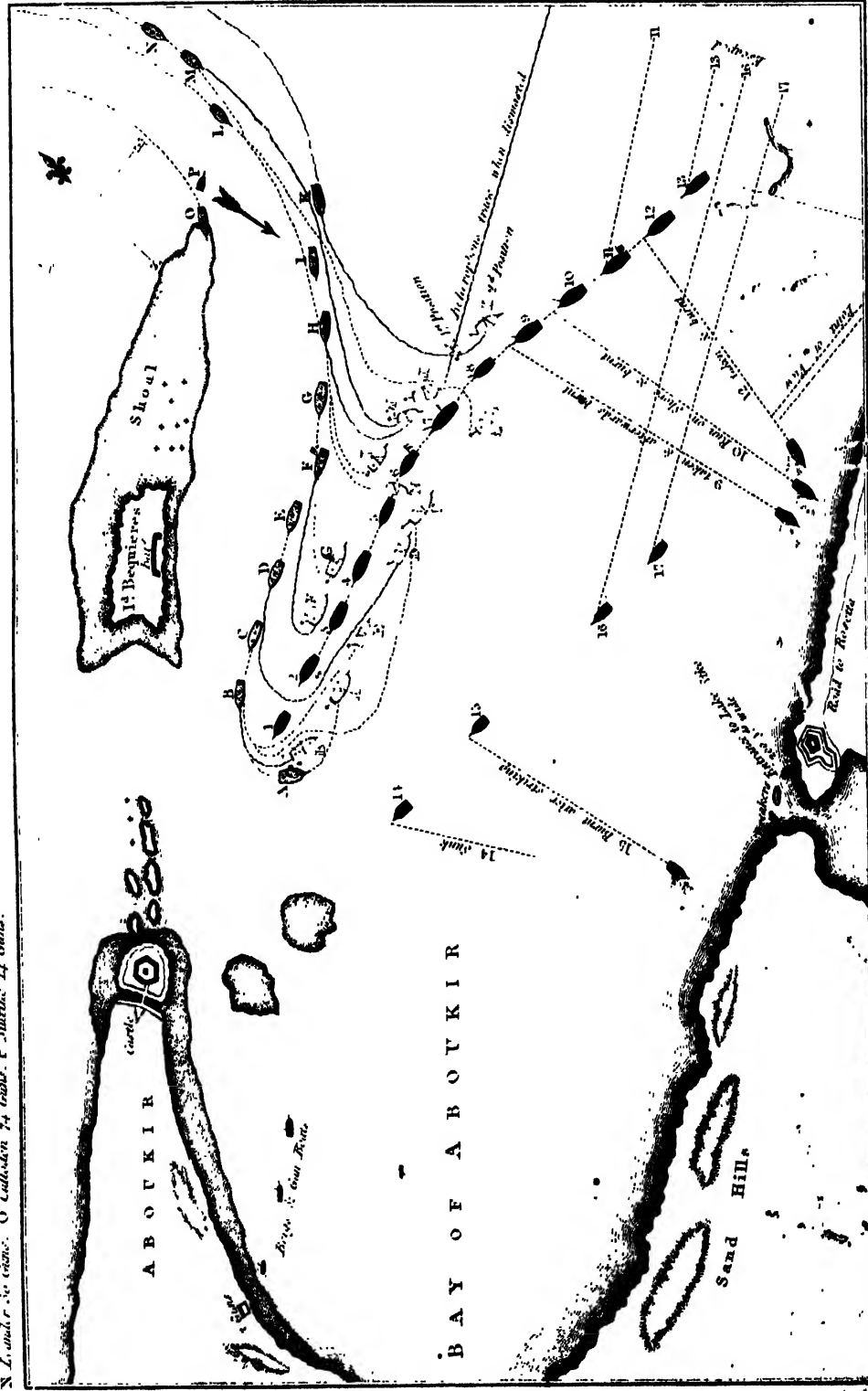
The remainder of the squadron, the *Culloden*, *Alexander*, *Swiftsure*, and *Leander*, in the next place claim our attention. Captain Troubridge, who had been detained by the towing of the prize which he had taken off *Coron*, had obtained leave by signal when two leagues to the eastward of the Admiral, to cast off the vessel. Like the rest of the squadron, he had kept constantly sounding as he advanced; but he was so much astern of them, owing to the above-mentioned cause, that when our van ships were nearing the French, the lower deck ports of the *Culloden* were, owing to her distance, what seamen term, just out of the water. The day was now closing in, which added considerably to his difficulties; when suddenly, after having sounded and found eleven fathom water, before the lead could again be hove, the *Culloden* was fast aground on the tail of the shoal running from the small island of Bequieres, on which were two batteries of the enemy: notwithstanding his own incessant exertions, with those of Captain Thompson in the *Leander* and Captain Hardy in the *Mutine* brig, both of whom immediately came to his assistance, the *Culloden* could not be got off so as to enter into the action. The sufferings and agitation of Captain Troubridge, whose presence in the battle would have been severely felt by the enemy, corresponded with his determined character and zealous disposition: the *Culloden* did not get afloat until the next morning. It was however some satisfaction to the mortified spirit of her Captain, that his ship served as a beacon to the *Alexander*, Captain A. Ball, and the *Swiftsure*, Captain B. Hallowell; which from having been detached, as already mentioned, were late before they could get into action. The gallant manner in which they at last entered the Bay of Aboukir and took their stations, notwithstanding the darkness that prevailed and their utter ignorance of the situation of the other ships of their squadron, is still spoken of with admiration by their brother officers. It formed a most

PLAN of the BATTLE of the NILE, AUGUST 1798.

The British Ships approaching the Enemy's line (corresponding to the Plan) are represented thus  with the capital A B C &c. referring to their names, and the Point of their Position the South East part of the Plan.

British Ships in their respective Stations in the Attack are represented thus  with the capital A B C &c. referring to their names, and the Point of their Position the South East part of the Plan.

British Ships in their respective Stations in the Attack are represented thus  with the capital A B C &c. referring to their names, and the Point of their Position the South East part of the Plan.



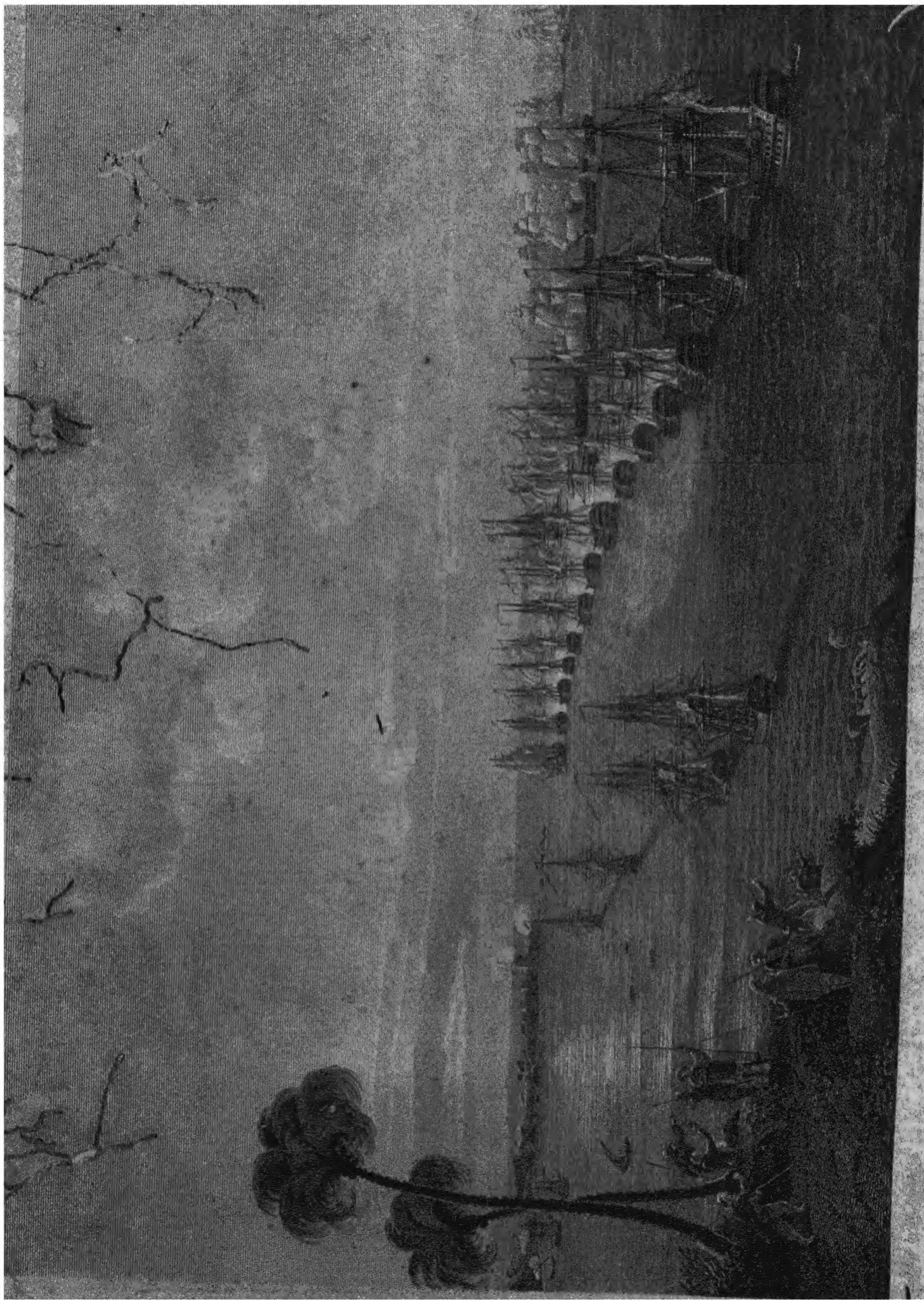
Abstract of the
BRITISH FORCE
 in Guns & Men
 actually engaged
 Ships of 74 Guns each
 1 of 60 Guns.
 N^o of Guns N^o of Men.
 958 7478
 Difference on the side of the
 French see opposite Margin.

French line of Battle in black shade. 1 Le César 74 Guns taken & afterwards burnt. 2 Le Conquerant 80 Guns taken & afterwards burnt. 3 Le César 74 Guns taken. 4 L'Amiral 74 Guns taken. 5 Le Repaire 74 Guns taken. 6 Le Franklin 60 Guns taken. 7 L'Orient 80 Guns taken. 8 Le Tonnant 80 Guns taken. 9 Le Horace 74 Guns taken & afterwards burnt. 10 Le Timoleon 74 Guns taken. 11 L'Albatros 74 Guns taken. 12 Le Mercure 74 Guns taken & afterwards burnt. 13 L'Invincible 74 Guns captured. 14 Le Jura 74 Guns captured. 15 L'Arctique 74 Guns captured. 16 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 17 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 18 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 19 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 20 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 21 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 22 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 23 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 24 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 25 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 26 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 27 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 28 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 29 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 30 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 31 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 32 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 33 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 34 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 35 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 36 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 37 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 38 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 39 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 40 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 41 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 42 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 43 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 44 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 45 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 46 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 47 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 48 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 49 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 50 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 51 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 52 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 53 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 54 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 55 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 56 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 57 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 58 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 59 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 60 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 61 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 62 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 63 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 64 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 65 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 66 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 67 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 68 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 69 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 70 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 71 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 72 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 73 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 74 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 75 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 76 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 77 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 78 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 79 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 80 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 81 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 82 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 83 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 84 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 85 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 86 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 87 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 88 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 89 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 90 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 91 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 92 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 93 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 94 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 95 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 96 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 97 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 98 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 99 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured. 100 L'Indivulge 74 Guns captured.



THE BATTLE OF THE NILE, AUGUST 1st 1798.

Engraved by J. Fisher.



Engraved by J. E. H. R.

THE BATTLE OF THE NILE, AUGUST 1st 1798.

but to be left to die upon deck: he survived only a quarter of an hour. Those of the *Etat major* and of the ship's company of *L'Orient* who had escaped death, convinced of the impossibility of extinguishing the fire which had got down to the middle gun-deck, endeavoured to save themselves. Commodore Casa Bianca and his son only ten years old, who during the action gave proofs of bravery and intelligence far above his age, were not so fortunate: they were for a time seen in the water on the wreck of *L'Orient's* mast, not being able to swim, seeking each other until three quarters past ten, when the ship blew up and put an end to their hopes and fears. *Le Franklin's* decks were covered with red hot irons, pieces of timber and rope on fire. This ship was on fire the fourth time, but providentially got under. Immediately after the explosion of *L'Orient* the Battle every where ceased, and was succeeded by a most profound silence. 'The sky was obscured by thick clouds of black smoke which seemed to threaten the destruction of the two fleets. It was a quarter of an hour before the crews recovered the kind of stupor they were thrown into.'—Nor did the renowned flag of Nelson triumph without its share of peril: Sir Horatio, himself, was dreadfully wounded, and as it was for a time thought mortally in the head. Seven of the bow guns of the *Vanguard* had been three times cleared, and one repeatedly, of the men stationed at them, who were either dead, or desperately wounded. The brave Captain Faddy of the marines fell with many of his men: the decks of the *Vanguard* streamed with blood. Twenty-seven of her crew were killed, and sixty-eight wounded.

Such was the perilous state of both squadrons, when the following view of this awful scene was beheld by the French from Rosetta; which has been mentioned by some of our naval officers, who were present, as an extraordinary instance of accuracy of observation and fidelity of description. '...The firing was extremely brisk until a quarter after nine; when we perceived, by favour of the night, a prodigious light which clearly announced some vessel was in flames: at that moment the firing was brisker than ever. At ten o'clock the vessel which was burning 'blew up with a most tremendous noise. This was succeeded by utter darkness, and a most profound silence for about ten minutes. The time that elapsed between our seeing and hearing the explosion was two minutes. The

¹ By M. E. Poussielgue, Comptroller of the Expences of the French Army, formerly a merchant at Marseilles, who had been selected by the Directory to corrupt and revolutionise the Knights of Malta: Having made himself extremely obnoxious to the Maltese, Buonaparte advanced him to the lucrative post of Comptroller. (Intercepted Letters, Part I. page 206.)

² There is a curious fact mentioned, amongst many others, by Mr. Willyams, in his *Voyage*, page 144, That when some French officers arrived after the Action from their Commander in Chief, ostensibly to offer us a supply of vegetables, they declared, That Buonaparte had expressed indignation at our unfair use of Combustibles, by means of which *L'Orient* had probably been burnt; as a further proof of which, he asserted that his camp had been twice on fire from balls of unextinguishable matter, fired from one of the English gun-boats. Captain Hallowell immediately ordered his gunner to bring some up, and to declare whence he had them: The gunner replied, That they were found in *le Spartiate*, after she was captured. It is now generally believed to have been ascertained,

firing now began again, and continued, without intermission, until three in the morning. It then grew very faint until five, when it recommenced with more fury than ever.

‘ I now took my stand on a tower called Abumandur, about a mile from Rosetta, whence I had a clear and distinct view of the whole Engagement. At eight in the morning, August 2d, I perceived a vessel on fire; about half an hour after, another, which did not appear to me to have been on fire before, suddenly blew up; its explosion was as dreadful as that on the preceding evening. The vessel that was burning removed farther from the shore, the flames insensibly diminished, and it appeared to us that the crew had succeeded in extinguishing them altogether. During this time the contest raged with redoubled fury. A large vessel, with all her masts carried away, got on shore. Several others appeared totally dismasted; but the two Fleets were so intermixed that we could not distinguish whether they were French or English, nor make out which side had the advantage. The firing continued as warm as ever until two in the afternoon; at which period, two sail of the line and two ^a frigates cut their cables, and made sail to the eastward, with all the canvas they could carry. These vessels we clearly distinguished by their colours to be French. No other vessel stirred, and the firing ceased.’

‘The Frenchmen had little idea of the solemn ¹ duty in which our brave countrymen were then engaged, in consequence of the following Orders which had been issued by Admiral Nelson, as soon as he thought the victory was secured. ‘ Almighty God having blessed his Majesty’s arms with victory, the Admiral intends returning public thanksgiving for the same at two o’clock this day, and he recommends every ship doing the same.’—Thousands of the worshippers of the Arabian prophet lined the shores of Egypt; and for three succeeding nights the whole Coast and adjacent Country were illuminated in honour of the Victory.

During the heat of the Battle, and when Nelson had received his severe wound in the head from a piece of langridge shot, some circumstances occurred which marked his cha-

that the fire on board L’Orient was occasioned by the wadding falling amongst the oil jars and buckets on her poop; as they had just finished painting her sides and had not taken the paint buckets below.

^b Le Guillaume Tell with Admiral Villeneuve’s flag, le Genereux, and the frigates la Justice, and la Diane; they were for some time pursued by Captain Hood in the Zealous, notwithstanding the state of his ship; but as no other ship was in a condition to support him, he was recalled.

¹ The classical muse of Bowles, in his Song of the Battle of the Nile, has consecrated that sublime event with a devout sense of its grandeur.

‘ Trusting in Thee alone we hope to quell
His furious might, his purpose fell;
And as the Ensigns of his baffl’d Pride
O’er the Seas are scatter’d wide,
We will take up a joyous strain, and cry
Shout, for the Lord hath triumph’d gloriously.’

racter and disposition. On being wounded, he had been assisted in going below; where, desiring that he might wait until his turn came, it was some time before he was discovered by the surgeon. The pain was intense, and Nelson felt convinced that his wound was mortal. A large piece of the skin of his forehead which had been cut to the bone, hung down over his eye, and not having any sight from the other he was left perfectly blind. Mr. Jefferson assured him, on probing the wound, that there was no immediate danger. He would not, however, indulge any hope; and having desired Mr. Comyn his chaplain to convey his dying remembrance to Lady Nelson, he ordered the Minotaur to be hailed, that he might thank her brave and gallant Captain, Louis, for coming up so nobly to the support of the Vanguard: The interview affected all who beheld it.

Mr. Jefferson having bound up and dressed the wound, requested the Admiral to remain quiet in the bread-room; but nothing could repress his anxious and enthusiastic disposition. He immediately ordered his Secretary, Mr. Campbell, to attend him in the bread-room, that no time might be lost in writing to the Admiralty. This gentleman, who is since dead, had been himself wounded; and beholding the blind and suffering state of the Admiral, became so much affected that he could not write. The chaplain was then summoned; but the eagerness and impatience of Nelson increasing, he took the pen himself, and contrived to trace some words which marked at that awful moment his devout sense of the success he had then obtained. He was after this left alone: When, suddenly, the news of the French Admiral's ship, L'Orient, being on fire, re-echoed throughout the decks of the Vanguard. Unassisted and unnoticed amidst the general confusion, Nelson contrived to find his way up the ladders, and to the astonishment of every one appeared again on the quarter-deck. He immediately gave orders that his first lieutenant, Galway, should be sent in the only boat which the Vanguard had saved, with others from his squadron, to the relief of the Enemy. After the dreadful explosion of L'Orient he was persuaded, though with some difficulty, to go to bed; but still continuing restless, he got up and signed Captain T. M. Hardy's commission for the Vanguard, as Captain Berry was to go home with the despatches, and Captain Capel's for the Mutine.

'It was by an accident,' wrote * Admiral Ganteaume to the Minister of Marine, 'which I cannot yet comprehend, that I escaped from the midst of the flames of L'Orient, and was taken into a yawl that was lying under the ship's counter. Not being able to reach the vessel of General Villeneuve, I made for Alexandria. At the beginning of the

* Intercepted letters, Part I. page 223, and 231.

'It is difficult,' observed an officer who commanded one of our ships, on reading this passage, 'to account for Ganteaume's not finding his way to any of the Admirals: Blanquet the second in command was in the ship next ahead of L'Orient; and Villeneuve was directly to leeward. He might easily have reached the latter if he had been inclined; and he was at least three miles and a half from the nearest shore.'

action, Admiral Brueys, all the superior officers, the first Commissary, and about twenty Pilots and masters of transports were on the poop of *L'Orient*, employed in serving the musquetry. After the action had lasted about an hour, the Admiral was wounded in the body, and in the hand; he then came down from the poop, and a short time after was killed on the quarter-deck. The English having utterly destroyed our *Van*, suffered their ships to drift forward, still ranging along our line and taking their different stations around us. One however, which attacked and nearly touched us on the starboard side, being totally dismasted, ceased her fire and cut her cable to get out of reach of our guns: but obliged to defend ourselves against two others, who were furiously thundering upon us on the larboard quarter and on the starboard bow, we were again compelled to heave in our cable. The 36, and 24 pounders were still firing briskly, when some flames accompanied with an explosion appeared on the aft of the quarter-deck. We already had a boat on fire; but we had cut it away. We had also thrown a hammock and some other things that were burning over board; but this third time the fire spread so rapidly, and instantaneously amongst the fragments of every kind with which the poop was encumbered, that all was soon in flames. An order was given to cease firing, that all hands might be at liberty to bring water; but such was the ardour of the moment, that in the tumult the 36 pounders still continued their fire. The flames in a short time made a most alarming progress, and we had but few means in our power of checking them. . . . *Le Franklin*, *le Spartiate*, *le Tonnant*, *le Peuple Souverain*, and *le Conquerant* are taken. *Le Mercure*, *l'Heureux*, and *le Guerrier* have been burnt by the enemy. *Le Timolcon*, incapable of making her escape, was run on shore by Captain Trulet, and set on fire. The two frigates, "*l'Artémise* and *la Sérieuse* were destroyed, without the Enemy's being able to save any thing from them; the first was burnt, and the other sunk. The sole relics then of this unfortunate Armament are comprised in the division of frigates, &c. at Alexandria, and in *le Guillaume Tell*, *le Genreux*, *la Diane* and *la Justice*. The Admiral, the Chiefs of Division *Casa Bianca*, *Thevenard*, and *du Petit Thouars*, are killed, and six other superior officers.'

Such is the general outline of the memorable events which took place on the first, and second of August, 1798; which, to use Admiral Blanquet's words, 'will ever be remembered with the deepest sorrow by those Frenchmen who possess good hearts.'—*Victory*, said

^m *L'Artémise*, Captain Estendlet, stationed on the left of the centre of the French line, a little before six o'clock in the evening of August the 1st, fired a broadside into the *Theseus*, and then struck her colours; yet notwithstanding this, she was set on fire by her Captain, who with most of his crew escaped: so that when a boat, from the *Theseus*, approached to take possession, the prize burst into flames, and soon afterwards blew up. Her former Captain, as the chaplain of the *Swiftsure* mentions, when he commanded the *Boudouse*, and in company with another French frigate, captured a British merchantman and took the Captain, his son a lad of twelve years, and the crew out of the vessel, and having brought them on board his own ship, put them all to death. He was afterwards appointed not only to *l'Artémise*, but also to a line of battle ship.

Nelson in one of his letters, *is certainly not a name strong enough for such a Scene as I have passed*: he therefore justly styled it a Conquest; in which, according to the comparative force of the English, and French, drawn up by his order, the latter had a superiority of 184 guns, and of 3,162 men. Of these, after the Action, 5,225, were killed, drowned, burnt, or missing. It should also be remembered, that their squadron was anchored in a strong and compact line of battle, describing an obtuse angle, defended by every means which the ingenuity of the first engineers in Europe could devise; flanked with gun-boats, mortar vessels, and four large frigates, with a battery of guns and mortars at the entrance of the bay; and the whole manned by soldiers and seamen who had undergone no previous fatigue, and had remained nearly a month at anchor. Yet notwithstanding this vast superiority, and these advantages, their boasted Armada was nearly destroyed or captured; and had not Sir Horatio Nelson been so severely wounded, it was generally thought by his Captains, that every ship of the Enemy would have been taken. On board the English squadron, 16 officers, 156 seamen, and 46 marines were killed; and 37 officers, 562 seamen, and 78 marines were * wounded. The brave Captain Westcott fell amongst those who on this occasion gave their lives for their Country. In addition to the ships that were destroyed during the Action, there remained afterwards in our possession, two ships of eighty guns, le Franklin, and le Tonnant, seven Seventy-fours, and la Fortune of eighteen guns.—The following thanks, addressed to the Captains, were issued by Sir Horatio Nelson, August 2d, off the mouth of the Nile. ‘The Admiral most heartily congratulates the Captains, Officers, Seamen, and Marines of the Squadron he has the honour to command, on the event of the late Action; and he desires they will accept his most sincere and cordial Thanks for their very gallant behaviour in this glorious Battle. It must strike forcibly every British Seaman, how superior their conduct is when in discipline and good order, to the riotous behaviour of lawless Frenchmen. The Squadron may be assured the Admiral will not fail, with his dispatches, to represent their truly meritorious conduct in the strongest terms to the Commander in Chief.’

On Friday morning, August 3d, the French flag was still observed to be flying on the stump of le Tonnant’s main-mast. The Admiral immediately made the *Thesus*’ and *Leander*’s signal to attack her. At their approach a flag of truce was hoisted, and on an officer’s being sent from the *Thesus*, the colours were struck. This ship had been fought in a most gallant manner, and was commanded by Captain du Petit Thouard, an officer of the French Monarchy, distinguished for his bravery and talents. Such was the close of this great and renowned Battle, the beneficial consequences of which were felt throughout the civilized world. The well known letter that Sir Horatio Nelson sent to Lord St. Vincent, which had been begun under the immediate impression of approaching death, amidst

* See the returns subjoined to the Gazette letter, Appendix. N° 2.

the dreadful scene of devastation which the surrounding ocean continued for days to display, was worthy of his devout sense of God's over-ruling providence, which has so constantly appeared in his great and extraordinary character.

'Almighty God has blessed his Majesty's arms in the late battle, by a great victory over the fleet of the Enemy, whom I attacked at sunset on the first of August, off the mouth of the Nile. The Enemy were moored in a strong line of battle for defending the entrance of this Bay (of shoals), flanked by numerous gun-boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van; but nothing could withstand the squadron your Lordship did me the honour to place under my command. Their high state of discipline is well known to you, and with the judgment of the Captains together with their valour, and that of the officers and men of every description, it was absolutely irresistible. Could any thing from my pen add to the character of the Captains, I would write it with pleasure, but that is impossible. I have to regret the loss of Captain Westcott of the *Majestic* who was killed early in the action, but the ship was continued to be so well fought by her first lieutenant Mr. Cuthbert, that I have given him an order to command her till your Lordship's pleasure is known. The ships of the Enemy, all but their two rear ships, are nearly dismasted; and those two, with two frigates, I am sorry to say made their escape, nor was it I assure you in my power to prevent them. Captain Hood most handsomely endeavoured to do it, but I had no ship in a condition to support the *Zealous*, and I was obliged to call her in. The support and assistance I have received from Captain Berry, cannot be sufficiently expressed. I was wounded in the head, and obliged to be carried off the deck, but the service suffered no loss by the event: Captain Berry was fully equal to the important service then going on, and to him I must beg leave to refer for every information relative to the victory; he will present you with the flag of the second in command, that of the Commander in Chief being burnt in *L'Orient*: herewith I transmit you lists of the killed and wounded, and the line of battle of ourselves and the French.'

On the same day, August 3, the following most honourable testimony of professional gratitude and esteem, was drawn up on board the *Orion*, and signed by all the Captains. 'The Captains of the Squadron under the orders of Rear Admiral Nelson, K. B. desirous of testifying the high sense they entertain of his prompt decision and intrepid conduct in

* In this, as well as in many other respects, a resemblance may be traced between the Admirals Blake, and Nelson. Dr. Johnson, in describing the victory of the former over the Dutch, May 18, 1652, when the *Vanguard* also greatly distinguished herself, adds, 'Blake, in his letter, acknowledged the particular blessing and preservation of God, and ascribed his success to the justice of the cause.'—Admiral Rodney's official letter respecting the victory of the 12th of April began with the same devout spirit, which appears in that from Sir Horatio Nelson. *Formidable at sea*, April 14, 1782. 'It has pleased God, out of his divine providence, to grant to his Majesty's arms a most complete victory over the fleet of the Enemy.'

the attack of the French fleet, in Bequieres Road, off the Nile, August the 1st, 1798, request his acceptance of a Sword; and as a further proof of their esteem and regard, hope that he will permit his portrait to be taken, and hung up in the room belonging to the Egyptian Club, now established in commemoration of that glorious day.'—In the first interview which Nelson had with his 'early shipmate and friend, Captain Troubridge, after the Action, he thus endeavoured to cheer the mortified spirit of that great and intrepid officer: 'Let us, my dear Troubridge, rather rejoice that the Ship which got on shore was commanded by an officer, whose character is so thoroughly established in the service as your own.' Captain Troubridge gave an account of this disaster which his ship had experienced, in a letter to Lord St. Vincent, dated August 16, 1798. 'Your Lordship will have heard by Sir H. Nelson's letters and Captain Berry, of the misfortune that befel the Culloden just as I got within gun-shot of the enemy. As we had no knowledge of the place, and the Soundings continuing regular as we stood in, I did not conceive the smallest danger; the man at the lead calling out eleven fathom, when she struck. The only consolation I have to support me in this cruel case is, that I had just time to make the signal to the Swiftsure, and Alexander, which saved them, or they must inevitably have been lost, as they would have been farther on the reef from their hauling considerably within me. Every exertion in my power was used to save H. M. Ship; but it was long doubtful whether I should be able to keep her afloat after I had got her off; the rudder was gone, and she was making seven feet water an hour. However, by great labour, on the third day we got a new rudder made and hung, and with thrummed sails reduced the leak considerably. The false keel is gone and probably part of the main, as she struck very hard for nine hours with a heavy swell. All the gripe I can see is off. I shall use every exertion to patch the poor Culloden up again, and I flatter myself I can still fight a good battle in her, if opportunity offers. I am now fagging hard at the leak, and the first harbour we make I must and will patch the old ship up, and make her last as long as your Lordship has the command. Two pumps going I shall not mind, we are fully equal to that. I endeavour, and I believe succeed in making my men believe that the leak is nothing; for they dance every evening as usual. . . . Sir Horatio will have given your Lordship all the particulars of this business in a much superior manner to what I could do. This stroke may induce the French to listen to moderate terms of peace. I took a courier of Buonaparte's with all the letters; they every one seem to have been written in a desponding state. The Captain, Barrè, who commands l'Alceste, is a son of the late Duke of Orleans by Madame Barrè. I have now upwards of twenty officers prisoners on board, not one of whom acknowledges a Supreme Being, or seems to have any principle. Robbery and murder

¹ See Vol. I. page 13: to which may be added, that the present Admiral Murray was then a midshipman on board the same ship.

are no crimes with them. Hallowell, and myself, took possession of the Island of Bequieres, and brought off from it two 13½ inch mortars, and four guns.'

In this Intercepted Correspondence, the effect which our conquest had on the Enemy is repeatedly marked and acknowledged, and a decided answer given to the ungenerous attempt that was made, by Buonaparte, to throw blame on Admiral Bruyes. 'It is not,' said Tallien, 'in the first moments that we should form a judgment on the causes of a calamity so distressing to every good Frenchman; on the contrary, we should anxiously endeavour to check that Calumny which neither respects misfortune, nor the ashes of the dead. We depart to-morrow, (August 5th) for Cairo, and shall be the first to announce this afflicting news to Buonaparte; who I hope will know how to appreciate his situation, and bear this reverse of fortune with firmness.'—In another letter, written on the same day to Barras, Tallien added, 'Consternation has overwhelmed us all. It will shock Buonaparte so much the more, as he had not the least idea of its happening.'

Amongst the Nelson Papers is a curious document drawn up by Buonaparte, and addressed to the Directory immediately after this Battle, containing his remarks on what had come to pass. It was printed at Cairo by a person who is styled *Imprimeur de l'Armée*, and begins with a narrative of the success which they had obtained; and then, after endeavouring to clear himself from all possible blame by insinuating that the French Admiral had not obeyed the instructions which had been sent from Alexandria, he adds, *Si dans ce funeste événement il a fait des fautes, il les a expiées par une mort glorieuse*. He then proceeds to mention, at the close, the brilliant exploit which our Navy had achieved, and in a manner that shews with what dexterity he could employ language to serve his purposes.—'The Destinies have wished to prove by this event, as by all others, that if they have assigned us a great preponderance on the Continent, they have given the Empire of the Seas to our rivals. But this reverse cannot be attributed to any inconstancy in our Fortune, she has not yet abandoned us: so far from it, she has in this respect served us beyond all she had ever performed. When I arrived with the fleet before Alexandria, and was informed that the English had passed by in *superior* force, a few days before; notwithstanding the *frightful tempest* which raged, at the risk of being shipwrecked I threw myself on shore. I recollect, that at the very instant when they were making preparations for disembarking, a signal was thrown out in the offing to windward, of a ship of war. 'Twas the frigate la Justice.—I exclaimed, *Fortune m'abandonneras-tu, quoi? seulement 5 jours!* I landed during that day, I marched throughout the night, I attacked Alexandria at day-break with 3,000 harassed men, without cannon and almost without cartridges; and in these five days, I was master of Rosetta, of Damenhour, or, in other words, was established in Egypt. On the 11th of July, the news was announced of our entire possession of Egypt,

and our arrival at Cairo; *et ce n'est que lorsque la Fortune voit que toutes ses faveurs sont inutiles, qu'elle abandonne notre Flotte à son destin.*' Signed Buonaparte, and certified by Major General Alex. Berthier.—What a contrast does this extract afford to the letter of Admiral Nelson; and how forcibly does it remind us of what Seneca gave as the fourth leading feature in the character of a Corsican. Fortune with this man is all in all; and in the hour of danger was addressed by him as a deity.

On the 5th of August, as soon as a ship could be made sufficiently sea-worthy for the voyage, Sir Horatio Nelson despatched Captain Berry in the *Leander*, with letters to Lord St. Vincent; and Captain Hardy of the *Mutine* brig succeeded to the command of the *Vanguard*. On the fourth the Fleet had been principally employed in fitting out the prizes for sea. On the 9th the *Swiftsure* went in chase of a sail in the N. E. and returned the next day with the French polacre, *la Fortune*, of 18 guns, and 17 men, which had been attached to the French fleet. On the 10th he wrote again to Lord St. Vincent, from the Mouth of the Nile. 'I send Sir James Saumarez with the ships and prizes named in the margin, the others not being yet ready. Although I keep on, yet I feel that I must soon leave my situation up the Mediterranean to Troubridge; than whom we both know no person is more equal to the task. I should have sunk under the fatigue of refitting the squadron, but for him, Ball, Hood, and Hallowell: not but that all have done well, but those are my supporters. My head is ready to split, and I am always so sick: in short, if there be no fracture my head is severely shaken. I shall remain off this coast as long as circumstances will allow me, and will endeavour to annoy the Enemy to the utmost of my power. God bless you.'

On the 13th of August Sir James Saumarez left the squadron, and on the same day the *Mutine*, Hon. Captain T. B. Capel, sailed to Naples with a duplicate of the Admiral's despatches, and with letters to Lord Spencer, the Hon. H. Dundas, President of the Board of Control for India, and to the Lord Mayor. From Naples Captain Capel proceeded overland to England. Sir Horatio, in his letter to the first Lord of the Admiralty, declared that if he had four bomb vessels, he would in a few hours burn the whole of the French store-ships and transports in the port of Alexandria. In the letter to Mr. Dundas, he informed him that Lieutenant Duval, who had very handsomely volunteered his services, had been sent by Alexandretta, Aleppo, and Bussorah, to Bombay, with the following letter to the Governor; dated off the Mouth of the Nile, August 9, 1798. 'Sir: Although I hope the Consuls who are, or ought to be resident in Egypt, have sent you an express of the situation of affairs here; yet, as I know Mr. Baldwin has some months left Alexandria, it is possible you may not be regularly informed. I shall therefore relate to you briefly, That a French army of 40,000 men, in 300 transports, with thirteen sail of the line, eleven frigates, bomb vessels, gun-boats, &c. arrived at Alexandria on the 1st of July; on

the 7th the army left it for Cairo, where they arrived on the 22d. During their march they had some actions with the Mamelouks, which the French call great Victories. As I have Buonaparte's despatches now before me, which I took yesterday, I speak positively, he says, *I am going to send off to take Suez, and Damietta.* He does not write favourably of either country, or people; but there is such bombast in his letters that it is difficult to get at the truth: you may be sure he is only master of what his Army covers. From all the inquiries which I have been able to make, I cannot learn that any French vessels are at Suez to carry a part of his army to India. Bombay, if they can get there, I know is the first object; but I trust the Almighty God will, in Egypt, overthrow these pests of the human race. It has been in my power to prevent 12,000 men from leaving Genoa, and also to take eleven sail of the line, and two frigates: two sail of the line, and two frigates have escaped me. This glorious Battle was fought at the Mouth of the Nile at anchor. It began at sunset, and was not finished at three the next morning: it has been severe; but God favoured our endeavours with a great victory. I am now at anchor between Alexandria and Rosetta, to prevent their communication by water, and nothing under a regiment can pass by land.—But I should have informed you, that the French have 4000 men posted at Rosetta, to keep open the Mouth of the Nile. Alexandria, both town and shipping, are distressed for provisions; they can only get them from the Nile by water: therefore I cannot guess the good which may attend my holding our present position; for Buonaparte writes that he is distressed for stores, artillery, and things for the hospital, &c. All useful communication is at an end between Alexandria and Cairo. You may be sure I shall remain here as long as possible. Buonaparte had never yet to contend with an English Officer, and I shall endeavour to make him respect us.

‘ This, Sir, is all I have to communicate. I am confident every precaution will be taken to prevent, in future, any vessels going to Suez which may be able to carry Troops to India. If my letter is not so correct as might be expected, I trust your excuse, when I tell you, my brain is so shaken with the wound in my head, that I am sensible I am not always as clear as could be wished. But whilst a ray of reason remains, my Heart and Hand shall ever be exerted for the benefit of our King, and Country.’

Admiral Sir H. Nelson, K. B. to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor.

‘ My Lord: Having the honour of being a Freeman of the City of London, I take the liberty of sending to your Lordship the Sword of the commanding French Admiral, Monsieur Blanquet, who survived after the Battle of the first off the Nile; and I request that the City of London will honour me by the acceptance of it, as a remembrance, *That Britannia still rules the Waves:* which she may ever do, is the fervent prayer of your Lordship's obedient servant.’

Previous to the sailing of the *Mutine*, the *Alcmene*, *Emerald*, and *Bonne Citoyenne* had rejoined the squadron. On the 15th Nelson issued his orders to Captain S. Hood of the *Zealous* to take the *Swiftsure*, *Goliath*, *Alcmene*, *Seahorse*, and *Emerald* under his command, and to cruise off Alexandria, or to remain at anchor as he might judge most proper: in which service he was to continue until Sept. 30th.—On the same day, August 15th, in writing to Mr. Secretary Nepean, respecting the three French prizes which had been ordered to be destroyed, he said, ‘I received last evening Earl St. Vincent’s most secret orders, and most secret and confidential letters, relative to the important operations intended to be pursued in the Mediterranean. Thus situated, it became an important part of my duty to do justice between my King and Country, and the brave officers and men who captured the ships at the Battle of the Nile. It would have taken one month at least to have fitted those ships for a passage to Gibraltar; and not only at a great expence to Government, but with the loss of the services of two sail of the line: I therefore, confiding that the Lords Commissioners would under the present circumstances direct that a fair value should be paid for these ships, ordered them to be burnt; after saving such stores out of them, as would not take too much time: And I have further thought it my duty, to tell the squadron of the necessity I am under, for the benefit of the King’s service, of directing their property to be destroyed; but that I had no doubt Government would make a liberal allowance. All which I hope their Lordships will approve.’—On the 16th *l’Heureux*, one of the prizes, was set on fire; and on the 18th, after *le Guerrier*, and *Mercur* had been burnt, Sir Horatio Nelson stood out to sea, accompanied by the *Culloden*, *Alexander*, and *Bonne Citoyenne*.

He enclosed the above communication for Mr. Nepean, to Lord St. Vincent with a letter dated August 19th, 26th: ‘We have just fallen in, off Cape Celidonia, with Sir James and the prizes, and I hope they will have a good passage to you. If I could have assured myself that Government would have paid a reasonable value for *Conquerant*, and *Sovereign*, I would have ordered them to be burnt; for they will cost more in refitting and by the loss of line of battle ships attending them, than they are worth; but the other four are a treasure to our Navy. You will see what I have written to Mr. Nepean, on my ordering *Guerrier*, *Heureux*, and *Mercur* to be destroyed, and it will I hope meet your approbation and support. The case is hard upon poor fellows at a distance, if they do not pay us liberally. I find by letters from Naples of August 1, that I am in disgrace for not finding the French fleet; but such is the chance to which officers’ characters are subject. Whether I shall be able to stay in the Mediterranean is yet a matter of doubt; but if nothing very particular demands my half head, it is my present intention to go to you, and for England: this, however, is to be a secret at Naples. I find *Vanguard* will not get masted there, they say you stopped all their masts at Gibraltar. I had a plan, if

I went home, to put Troubridge into Vanguard with Culloden's masts, yards, &c. but as I believe, from more recent examination, the Culloden must be hove down before she can be trusted out of port, that plan must be laid aside. You may depend on my paying proper attention to the Spanish business of Minorca, &c. My head is so wrong that I cannot write what I wish in such a manner as to please myself; but I have reason to be thankful.'

In a letter to his Excellency the Hon. W. Wyndham at Florence, dated August 21, 1798, Sir Horatio had said, 'That on account of his indifferent health and wound, he thought of going down the Mediterranean as soon as he arrived at Naples, unless he should find any thing very extraordinary to detain him; and this determination had been strongly impressed on his mind by some of his friends, who dreaded the effect which his going into winter quarters at Naples, might have on a mind by no means adapted to cope with the flattery of the Sicilian Court. He also informed Mr. Wyndham, that L'Orient certainly struck her colours and had not fired a shot for a quarter of an hour before she took fire. She had on board, according to the French Adjutant General of the fleet, six hundred thousand pounds sterling.—On the 27th of August, when off the Isle of Rhodes, he wrote to his Excellency Mr. Jackson, our Minister at Constantinople, informing him of the victory, and added, 'On the 14th the French took possession of the Turkish Admiral's ship at Alexandria, hauled down her colours and hoisted French ones, and seized upon all the Turkish property on shore. The French are in possession of Alexandria, Aboukir, Rosetta and Damietta on the coast, and of Grand Cairo; but all communication is cut off between their army and their transports at Alexandria by sea, by an English squadron of three ships of the line, four frigates, and la Fortune corvette, which I have left cruising there; and by land by the Bedouins: so that, if the Grand Seignior will but send a few ships of the line, and some bombs, he may destroy all their transports in Alexandria; and an army of ten thousand men may retake Alexandria immediately, as the French have only four thousand men in it, and their whole army is very sickly. I have been informed that the French have put to death two hundred Turks at Alexandria for rejoicing at our victory, and that General Buonaparte only wants a communication open by sea, to march into Syria, that the transports with stores, &c. for the army may go along with him.'

Sir Horatio enclosed this letter to Lord St. Vincent on the 1st of September, when off Candia, and added, 'If the Grand Seignior will but *trof* an army into Syria, Buonaparte's career is finished. As for Naples, she is saved in spite of herself: they have evidently broken their Treaty with France, and yet are afraid to assist in finishing the vast Armament of the French. Four hours, with four bomb vessels, would set all in a blaze, and we know what an army is without stores. Culloden sails dreadfully, but we have not a sick

man in the three ships with me. As to myself, I know I ought to give up for a little while: my head is splitting at this moment, but of this hereafter; you will give me credit for serving as long as I can. My friend Ball is the polite man to entertain the captive Admiral and the first Captain of the fleet who was saved out of L'Orient: the Admiral being wounded, I shall let him go, on his parole, at Naples, and all the rest who are in our ships. Captain Foote fortunately took the despatches away from the officer, who had them; and told him he should seek me where he had seen the French fleet.'

The first congratulatory communication which Sir Horatio Nelson received, was from the Grand Seignior, dated August 24, 1798; the following translation of which was certified by Mr. J. S. Smith, who had succeeded Mr. Jackson at the Ottoman Porte. 'Certain intelligence being arrived, (August 23d,) from Rhodes, of the English squadron in the Mediterranean having directed its course to the Egyptian coast, and of its having attacked the French fleet which was riding at anchor before *Eboukhor*, on the farther side of Alexandria, where it burnt the Admiral's ship L'Orient, sunk several others, and was occupied in destroying the rest; this joyful advice has not failed giving the Sublime Porte the highest satisfaction. In expressing thus her complete approbation and pleasure at the English Commander's brave and gallant behaviour on this occasion, the Sublime Porte entertains hopes that the English squadron once united with the Ottoman fleet, many desirable advantages might be reaped from their junction; and that such future measures would be adopted and pursued, as should doubly lead to increase the ancient good intelligence and amity, subsisting between the Sublime Porte, and the Court of Great Britain. The esteemed English Minister, our friend, is therefore requested in the name of the Sublime Porte to signify the same, both to his Court, and to the English Commander before named.'

On receiving an official confirmation of this decisive victory, August 29, the following communication from the Grand Seignior was made to Mr. Smith, Sept. the 8th. 'It is but lately, that by a written communication it has been made known, how much the Sublime Porte rejoiced at the first advice received of the English squadron in the White Sea having defeated the French off Alexandria in Egypt. By recent accounts comprehending a specific detail of the Action, it appears now more positive, that his Britannic Majesty's fleet has actually destroyed by that Action the best ships the French had in their possession. This joyful event, therefore, laying this Empire under an obligation, and the service rendered by our much esteemed friend Admiral Nelson on this occasion, being of a nature to call for public acknowledgment, his Imperial Majesty, the Powerful, Formidable, and Most Magnificent Grand Seignior has destined as a present in his Imperial Name to the said Admiral, a Diamond *Aigrette*, (*Chelengk*), and a Sable Fur with broad sleeves; besides 2000 sequins, to be distributed amongst the wounded of his crew. And as the English

Minister is constantly zealous to contribute by his endeavours, to the increase of friendship between the two Courts, it is hoped he will not fail to make known this circumstance to his Court, and to solicit the permission of the Powerful and Most August King of England, for the said Admiral to put on and wear the said Aigrette and Pelice.'— It was on this occasion, that Mr. Smith suggested to the Minister of the Grand Seignior the propriety of establishing an Order, to be styled The Order of the Crescent; and of making Sir Horatio Nelson the first Knight Companion of it; and also to have medals of the Order struck, to be given and worn by subordinate officers: both of which were immediately done by the Ottoman Porte.

The Grand Seignior had also, on the 15th of August, sent a despatch to the Emperor of Morocco, informing him of the irreligious and rebellious System which the French had openly promulgated, and of their intended attack on Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem; requesting the Emperor to employ every means in his power to intercept supplies coming to the French invaders of Egypt. His Imperial Majesty had also, on the 1st of September, published the following '*Hattissheriff*', addressed to the Caimakam Pasha.

'*To you Caimakam Pasha these are directed.* Ever since the Grand Vizier, Izzed Mehemmed Pasha came to that office, constant instructions were given him, to attend to the defence of the Ottoman Dominions, and not to be off his guard against the plots of enemies. He, from selfish motives, has attended to nothing but his own interest: So that being ignorant of the ill designs of those swinish Infidels the French, from not procuring proper intelligence, he knew nothing of them himself, and he did not apprise the inhabitants of Egypt thereof in good time.

'When the unhappy tidings came to our Imperial ear, a month after that insufferable event had come to pass, we call God to witness, our concern and grief were such as to produce tears, and to deprive us of sleep and rest. We have therefore immediately deposed him from the office of Grand Vizier, and have appointed in his place Yousouf Pasha, Governor of Erzerum; until whose arrival at our Sublime Porte, we appoint and name you to be Caimakam. Now, it being incumbent upon all the true believers to combat those Infidels, the French, and as it is become a positive duty for our Imperial Person to deliver those blessed habitations from their accursed hands, and to revenge the insult, and injury, which they have offered to Mussulmans; no delay whatever is to take place for the arrival of the Grand Vizier; but the most vigorous measures must be pursued, to attack them by sea and land.

* An admirable manifesto against the system of perfidy, and treachery, which the French had pursued against the Turks, was published at Constantinople, Sept. 10, 1798, and sent to the English Minister.

' Wherefore, by a deliberation with the illustrious *Ulemas*, the Ministers, and with the military departments, our subjects; you must, with full confidence in God, and in the Prophet, fix upon the effectual means, for delivering the province of Egypt from such accursed wretches. You will acquaint all true believers in the respective quarters, that we are at war with the French; and, turning night into day, you will make the utmost efforts to take revenge on them. . . . We shall witness your exertion; and may the Omnipotent God ordain his divine favour to attend our measures, and render us successful in taking revenge of the Enemy.'

Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. to Lord Spencer, dated Vanguard, Sept. 7th, 1798.

' My Lord: On the 15th of August, I received Earl St. Vincent's most secret orders, and letters; and as not a moment was to be lost, I determined to destroy the three prizes, *Guerrier*, *Heureux*, and *Mercure*, which had not sailed with Sir James Saumarez, and they were set on fire on the 18th. I rest assured that they will be paid for, and have held out that assurance to the squadron. For if an Admiral, after a victory, is only to look after the captured ships, and not to the distressing of the enemy, very dearly indeed must the nation pay for the prizes. I trust that 60,000*l.* will be deemed a very moderate sum for them; and I am bold to say, when the services, time, and men, with the expence of fitting those three ships for a voyage to England are considered, that Government will save nearly as much as they are valued at. I rejoice, in the present instance, that a particular regard for my own interest cannot be supposed to actuate me; for if the moderate value of 60,000*l.* is paid, my share can only be 625*l.*; while, if it is not paid, I have defrauded the Commander in Chief and the other classes of the sums set off against them: viz. Commander in Chief 3750*l.* Junior Admirals each 625*l.* Captains each 1000*l.* Lieutenants' class each 75*l.* Warrant officers each 50*l.* Petty officers each 11*l.* Seamen and Marines each 2*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*

' Your Lordship will do me the justice to say, that paying for prizes would in many instances (and it is not a new idea of mine) be an amazing saving to the State, without taking into calculation what the Nation loses by the attention of Admirals to the property of the captors; an attention absolutely necessary, as a recompence for the exertions of the officers and men. An Admiral may be amply rewarded by his own feelings, and by the approbation of his superiors; but what reward have the inferior officers, and men, but the value of the prizes? If an Admiral takes that from them, on any consideration, he cannot

' Respecting the Expedition against Minorca under General Stuart, and the probability that the cooperation of Sir Horatio Nelson, with a part of his squadron, might be required.

expect to be well supported. However I trust, as in all other instances, if to serve the State any persons or bodies of men suffer loss, it will be amply made up to them; and in this respect I rest confident my brave Associates will not be disappointed.'

On the 26th of August, Captain Hood informed Sir Horatio, that Captain Hallowell had seized a polacre ship under Greek colours with a French pass, going from the old to the new port of Alexandria, which he had burnt; and that Captain Hope, of the *Alcmene*, had captured the *Leger* express-boat with despatches from General Buonaparte, which were saved as they were sinking, owing to the alertness of two seamen at the hazard of their lives. When a French officer came off from Alexandria requesting that all private letters might be sent on shore, Captain Hood had given them, instead, a copy of the Decree of the Executive Directory, ordering all letters found on board Enemy's ships to be forwarded to them. Owing to the exertion and attention of Captain Foley, all communication by water had been prevented between Rosetta, and Alexandria. Captain Hood also mentioned the arrival of four Portuguese sail of the line, under Rear Admiral the Marquis de Niza, in search of Admiral Nelson; but that on hearing he was gone to Naples, they had made sail thither. The gallantry of Lieutenant de Busk of the *Goliath*, in cutting out the *Torrida* armed ketch under the forts of Bequieres, was also commended.—In his private letter of the same date, Captain Hood added, 'The Lieutenant Colonel, to whom Foley is to give a passage, says, 'That one division of the Army is encamped and throwing up works about twenty-five leagues from Cairo, in the Desert towards Syria; and he thinks Buonaparte expects to be attacked that way, as the Mamelouks did not engage the French with more than 2,000 men in the *great Battle*, the remainder being on the opposite side of the Nile, to the number of 4, or 5,000. He is of opinion, that if they had attacked together, the French Army could not have withstood them, for they rode even to the mouths of their field-pieces. I shall be happy to hear that you may soon have a good sight of Old England.'

Captain Capel on his arrival in the Mutine at Naples immediately wrote to the Admiral. 'I am totally unable, Sir, to express the joy that appeared in every countenance, and the bursts of applause and acclamations we received. The Queen, and Lady Hamilton fainted: in short, Sir, they all hail you as the saviour of Europe. A courier sets off tomorrow for Vienna, and I shall accompany him.—On the 28th of August, in latitude 37° 45' longitude 16° 50', I fell in with two line of battle ships, one under three jury top-masts, the second had a jury mizen-top-mast, having the other ship in tow. I passed so close, as to make their hulls out distinctly. I also shewed them French colours, which they answered by the same; and I have not the smallest doubt from those circumstances, and the perfect recollection I have of *le Guillaume Tell*, and *le Genereux*, that it was those ships; they were steering to the N. E. apparently for Corfu. The two frigates had parted, the wind was then against them. Captain Hoste will be ready to sail again in a few days.'

'This letter was soon followed by one from his friend Sir W. Hamilton. 'It is impossible, my dear Sir Horatio,' wrote the former, 'for words to express in any degree the joy which the glorious and complete victory you gained over the boasted French fleet, at the Mouth of the Nile, on the first of August, occasioned at this Court and in this city. A battle, I believe, of the greatest importance that was ever fought, and the expected good consequences of which are incalculable. History, either ancient or modern, does not record an action that does more honour to the heroes that gained the victory. You have now completely made yourself, my dear Nelson, immortal. God be praised, and may you live long to enjoy the sweet satisfaction of having added such glory to our Country. This kingdom feels its immediate good effects; and their Sicilian Majesties, their Ministry, and the nation at large are truly sensible of it, and loudly acknowledge eternal obligation to your undaunted courage, and steady perseverance. You may well conceive how happy Emma and I are, in the reflection that it is Nelson, our bosom friend, who has done such wonderful good in having humbled these proud robbers and vain boasters. Look in the Malta Gazette enclosed, and read if you can without laughing the following words: *Une seule Nation—je me trompe, un seul Gouvernement est encore l'Ennemi de la France, et le votre. Le Cabinet de Londres conspire contre la paix, et l'humanité: mais reposez vous sur les Guerriers François du soin de le soumettre, de punir, d'abaisser l'orgueil de L'Angleterre. Elle apprendra bientôt que la Victoire est fidele aux François, sur les deux elemens. En vain ses vaisseaux fatigueront de leur poids les mers qui vous entourent. Ses soldats n'oseront toucher le sol de votre Isle, ou s'ils paroissent ils y trouveront comme a Ostende, le deshonneur, ou la mort.*

'Captain Capel's arrival at Vienna with your glorious news, will I hope determine that wavering Government to take a firm and decided part. The King of Naples has raised 50,000 men more, and has 30,000 ready in tolerable discipline. They must learn of you. You did not wait for daylight to attack the French fleet on the first of August; nor for the arrival of your four ships from Alexandria; nor did the Culloden's being on shore prevent your falling on the Enemy directly, like a hawk on its prey. That is the way to do business: *Audendo, agendoque, res publica crescit, non iis consiliis quæ timidi cauta appellant.* How proud am I of feeling myself an Englishman at this moment: Great Britain alone has truly faced the enemy in support of the good cause, and Sir Horatio Nelson is the greatest hero of that Great Britain. Adieu my dear and brave Friend.'

There was also another letter, which bespoke the mind of the great and illustrious Theresa, written by the Queen of Naples to the Marquis de Circello, the Neapolitan Ambassador at the Court of London, on first hearing of Admiral Nelson's success. 'I address you,' said her Majesty, 'with the greatest joy. The brave and gallant Admiral Nelson has gained a most complete victory. I wish I could give wings to the bearer

of this news, and at the same time to our most sincere gratitude. The whole of the seacoast of Italy is saved, and this is alone owing to the generous English. This battle, or, to speak more correctly, this total defeat of the Regicide Squadron, was obtained by the valour and courage of this brave Admiral, seconded by a Navy which is the terror of its enemies. The victory is so complete, that I can still scarcely believe it, and if it were not the English nation which is accustomed to perform prodigies by sea, I could not persuade myself it had happened. It has produced a general enthusiasm. You would have been moved at seeing all my children, boys and girls, hanging on my neck, and crying for joy at the happy news that has been doubled by the critical moment in which it arrived. Fear, avarice, and the malicious intrigues of the republicans had made all the money disappear, and there was no one who had courage to propose a plan to restore its circulation; and this want of money produced much discontent. We have been struggling, owing to the republicans, with all those troubles which afflict *la belle Italie*: many who thought things desperate, began to lay aside the mask. The brave Nelson is wounded, he had the modesty not to mention it. Recommend the hero to his Master, he has filled the whole of Italy with admiration of the English nation. Great hopes were entertained of some advantages being gained by his bravery, but none could flatter themselves with such destruction: *Tout le monde est ivre de joie*.—Sir Horatio, in a letter to Lady Nelson, dated at sea, Sept. 16, 1798, described more fully this exultation of the Queen of Naples. ‘The kingdom of the two Sicilies is mad with joy; from the Throne to the peasant all are alike.’ According to Lady Hamilton’s letter, the situation of the Queen was truly pitiable: I only hope I shall not have to be witness to a renewal of it. I give you Lady Hamilton’s own words. ‘How shall I describe the transports of the Queen?’tis not possible: she cried, kissed her husband, her children, walked frantic about the room, cried, kissed and embraced every person near her; exclaiming, *O brave Nelson! O God bless and protect our brave deliverer! O Nelson, Nelson, what do we not owe you! O Victor, Saviour of Italy! O that my swoln heart could now tell him personally what we owe to him!*’ You may judge, Fanny, of the rest: but my head will not allow me to tell you half; so much for that. My fag, without success, would have had no effect, but blessed be God for his goodness to me.’

A second account of Nelson’s victory was soon afterwards brought to Naples by the *Terpsichore*, Captain Gage, who had been sent with the intelligence from off Candia by Captain Dixon of the *Lion*. Sir William Hamilton, in sending the Admiral word of this, added, That on the 9th of September two Maltese speronara boats had arrived at Naples, with information that the inhabitants of that Island, on hearing of the overthrow of the French fleet in Egypt, had risen, and massacred many of the French; that the main body of them had retired into Valette, whilst the Insurgents had taken possession of two forts, and had hoisted the Neapolitan flag with that of St. John;

but being in want of arms and ammunition, they had sent to request them at Syracuse, the Governor of which had dispatched their speronaras to Naples. They also added, that le Guillaume Tell, and the two French frigates had got into Malta.—‘A pleasant apartment,’ wrote Sir William, ‘is ready for you in my house, and Emma is looking out for the softest pillows to repose the few wearied limbs you have left: come here for God’s sake, my dear Friend, as soon as the service will permit you. Orders are given to supply the King’s fleet with all sorts of stores, and provisions. Think of their waiting here for news from Vienna, before they give essential assistance to the Maltese to recover their Island, which his Sicilian Majesty claims as his property.’

Notwithstanding all these congratulations and professions, the mind of this great officer, yet untainted by the intrigues of an Italian Court, secretly dreaded to refit his ships at Naples. Naturally averse from the character of foreigners, and possessing some idea of the danger of the torrent of adulation and distinction, which was ready to burst upon him, Nelson remembered that as a man, his mind possessed the weakness common to all: he therefore earnestly wished, yet without possessing resolution to execute it, to avoid any intercourse with Naples; and this will be sufficiently evident from his letters. In writing to Lord St. Vincent on the 20th of September, 1798, he said, ‘I detest this voyage to Naples; nothing but absolute necessity could force me to the measure. Syracuse in future, whilst my operations lie on the eastern side of Sicily, is my port, where every refreshment may be had for a fleet. I have sent Mr. Littledale to prepare matters at Naples. On the day Hoste left me, I was taken with a fever, which has very near done my business: for eighteen hours my life was thought to be past hope; I am now up, but very weak both in body and mind, from my cough and this fever. I never expect, my dear Lord, to see your face again; it may please God, that this will be the finish to that fever of anxiety which I have endured from the middle of June; but be that as it pleases his goodness, I am resigned to his will.

‘Dear Troubridge and Ball are gone on to Naples, and I hope are there. Murray must be also arrived with the stores, &c. Jackson shall fit us out, and your arrangements, my dear Lord, shall be, and ever are as punctually attended to by me, as if you were present; for I hold it to be the highest contempt, to alter the mode of discipline and regulations established by the Commander in Chief. My first order was, to pay the strictest attention to all the orders and regulations of the Commander in Chief; and I can truly say, that I have endeavoured to support your orders with all my might. We shall do very well whilst you stay below, but if you should go home I shall be unfit for this command where I want so many indulgences.’

The long expected arrival of the Vanguard at Naples, and the extraordinary manner in which the hero of Aboukir was received, are thus described by himself in a letter to Lady

Nelson. 'The poor wretched Vanguard arrived here on the 22d of September. I must endeavour to convey to you something of what passed; but if it were so affecting to those only who were united to me by bonds of friendship, what must it be to my dearest wife, my friend, my every thing which is most dear to me in this world?—Sir William and Lady Hamilton came out to sea, attended by numerous boats, with emblems, &c. They, my most respectable friends, had really been laid up and seriously ill; first from anxiety, and then from joy. It was imprudently told Lady Hamilton in a moment, and the effect was like a shot; she fell apparently dead, and is not yet perfectly recovered from severe bruises. Alongside came my honoured friends, the scene in the boat was terribly affecting: up flew her Ladyship, and exclaiming, 'O God, is it possible!' she fell into my arm more dead than alive. Tears, however, soon set matters to rights; when alongside came the King. The scene was in its way as interesting; he took me by the hand, calling me his deliverer and preserver, with every other expression of kindness. In short all Naples calls me *Nostro Liberatore*; my greeting from the lower classes was truly affecting. I hope some day to have the pleasure of introducing you to Lady Hamilton, she is one of the very best women in this world; she is an honour to her sex. Her kindness with Sir William's to me, is more than I can express: I am in their house, and I may now tell you, it required all the kindness of my friends to set me up. Lady Hamilton intends writing to you. May God Almighty bless you, and give us, in due time, a happy meeting.'

In a public letter to Lord St. Vincent, dated Sept. 27, 1798, he added, 'I feel it my duty to mention to your Lordship, that when the Vanguard came in sight of Naples, several leagues off, the King came on board; and taking me by the hand thanked me for my conduct. No words of mine could do justice to his Majesty's expressions of regard and gratitude to our King, Country, and myself: they were such as did honour to and evidently came from the royal heart. His Majesty staid on board near three hours, going all over the ship and examining every thing; for he prides himself on being a Seaman. What precious moments the Courts of Naples and Vienna are losing; three months would liberate Italy, but this Court is so enervated that the happy moment will be lost. Even Malta, which is offered by deputation to his Sicilian Majesty, and his colours hoisted on the forts, the ministry will not step forth about; but hope that I shall be able to take the Island for them; from which place, incredible as it may appear, they have no news since September the 5th. I have heard nothing of the Portuguese squadron: I do not find any person here very anxious for their return to Naples. The Marquis fired a shot from his morning-gun into the town; which I wonder at, when your Lordship's attention in the ports of her faithful Majesty is considered. I fire no watch-gun.'—In his private letter of the same date, to Lord St. Vincent, Nelson delivered the following liberal testimony, which he constantly repeated, to the merit of his friend Captain Troubridge.

Dear Troubridge, whom we went to visit yesterday, is better than I expected; the active business, and the scolding he is obliged to be continually at, does him good. I am not surprised that you wish him near you; but I trust you will not take him from me. I well know he is my superior; and I so often want his advice and assistance. A deputy was here this morning from Cephalonia; but the thing is so in embryo, that I can say no more than that it is probable; when I get the ships, a squadron shall try what can be done. May God bless you, my dear Lord. Nothing shall again induce me to send the squadron to Naples, whilst our operations lie on the eastern side of Sicily, we should be ruined with affection and kindness. *Sept. 28.* We all dined with General Acton yesterday; and he told me that this Country was determined to declare, and not wait for the Emperor; that they well knew the plan of the French against them. After dinner the Queen sent for her son Leopold, to bring me a letter; the youngster acquitted himself with elegance and affection: I send a copy of her Majesty's letter. I have been in form to Court to pay my respects to the King, and am just desired by him to dine on board Caraccioli's ship at anchor in the Bay. I wish it could have been on shore, but until the war that is not possible. A new French Minister le Combe St. Michel arrives to day; I hope he will make an impertinent speech, and be instantly turned off. *Sept. 29th:* The weather is still dreadfully bad, we can hold no communication with the ships: I well knew how sad Naples Bay is for ships to refit in. This being my birthday, Lady Hamilton gives a fete. The King has directed the Court mourning to cease for the day; but none of my brave companions can join the festive scene. I am better, certainly; but truly stand some chance of being killed with kindness.'

To Lady Nelson, dated Sept. 28, 1798.

'The preparations of Lady Hamilton for celebrating my birthday to-morrow are enough to fill me with vanity; every ribbon, every button, has Nelson, &c. The whole service is marked H. N. Glorious 1st of August!—Songs and sonnetti are numerous beyond what I ever could deserve. I send the additional verse to God Save the King, as I know you

'The Admiral could not have spoken more correctly of this Speech, had he heard it. It began in the following manner: 'In vain may the political horizon be covered with new clouds. The French Republic, powerful in its resources, and strong in its loyalty, will always refuse to give credit, even notwithstanding actual evidence, to all hostile projects that should not be announced as such. As prompt to resume a warlike position, as it is disposed to preserve a pacific and amicable attitude. . . . The French Nation, equally resolved not to suffer, nor to impose any restraint, will be ever eager to form those salutary ties, the beneficial effect of which is to unite the interests of all States.'

'Said to have been written by a Mr. Davenport.

'Join we in great Nelson's name,
First on the rolls of Fame
Him let us sing.
Spread we his fame around,
Honour of British ground,
Who made Nile's shores resound,
God save the King.'

will sing it with pleasure. I cannot move on foot, or in a carriage, for the kindness of the populace; but good Lady H. preserves all the papers as the highest treat for you. The Queen yesterday being still ill, sent her favourite son to visit and bring me a letter from her of gratitude and thanks.—Miserable accounts of le Guillaume Tell. I trust God Almighty will yet put her into the hands of our King. His all powerful hand has gone with us to the battle, protected us, and still continues destroying the Unbelievers: All glory be to God. The more I think, the more I hear, the greater is my astonishment at the extent and good consequences of our victory.'

Her Majesty the Queen of Naples to Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson.

'This letter will be delivered to you by a Child, who is very dear to me. I envy him the pleasure which he will have of seeing you, and am much distressed that my indisposition prevents me from expressing all my esteem and gratitude. This Child must serve in the Navy; I hope he will follow your steps, and that he will be able one day to acquire, at least, a part of your glory. My dear Leopold has declared his regret, and like a child of his tender age with tears, that he had never before known so brave a man. In order to gratify his ardent desire I have sent him to you, when he will declare how anxious I am to be sufficiently recovered to assure you of my gratitude, deeply engraven on my heart, and which I shall always preserve for a man, so illustrious. *Croyez que ma reconnoissance estime pour vous, mon valeureux et glorieux General, m'accompagnera au tombeau.* Signée CHARLOTTE.'

The praise of a Queen, thus communicated by her son who was intended to emulate the career of Nelson in the Royal Navy, could not fail of making a lasting impression on this loyal and gallant warrior; but his mind still revolted at the general character and politics of the Neapolitans, which it required some potent spells to overcome. In writing on the 30th of September to Lord St. Vincent, he thus gave vent to his then unsubdued feelings: 'I trust, my Lord, in a week we shall all be at sea. I am very unwell, and the miserable conduct of this Court is not likely to cool my irritable temper. It is a Country of fiddlers and poets, whores, and scoundrels.'

Owing to the capture of the *Leander* by le *Genereux*, on the 18th of August, near the Island of Candia, after a gallant and almost unprecedented defence by Capt. T. B. *Thompson, it was a considerable time before any official account of the Battle of the Nile reached Lord St. Vincent. The following is the letter of congratulation which he then returned. 'My dear Admiral: God be praised, and you and your gallant band rewarded by a grateful Country, for the greatest achievement the history of the world can produce. I most sincerely lament the loss of Captain Westcott, and the number of brave officers and

* Since made Comptroller of the Navy, on the resignation of Sir Andrew Hammond, Bart. Capt. Thompson's letter to Sir H. Nelson respecting this action, is given in a subsequent page.

men who have fallen on this signal occasion. Notwithstanding all that has been said against me for appointing you to command the detached squadron, the event has proved that my judgment was correct. At this distance, I can give you no directions as to prospective events, in truth you want none and will do much better by following your own impulse. I think you had better keep the *Alexander*, if you can get her masted; for it is upon the cards, that the French will send the squadron they have ready at Brest to the Mediterranean, when Lord Bridport is driven up channel, or off his station by autumnal gales. Captain Hoste will return to you Captain of the *Mutine*, the moment he has victualled and stored her at Gibraltar. Remember me kindly to Troubridge, and all your heroes.'

Captain Cuthbert Collingwood, from off Cadiz, to Admiral Nelson.

'I cannot, my dear Friend, express how great my joy is for the complete and glorious victory you have obtained over the French; the most decisive, and in its consequences, perhaps, the most important to Europe that was ever won; and my heart overflows with thankfulness to the Divine Providence for his protection of you through the great dangers which are ever attendant on services of such eminence. So total an overthrow of their Fleet, and the consequent deplorable situation of the Army they have in Africa, I hope will teach those tyrants in the Directory a lesson of humility, and dispose them to peace and to justice; that they may restore to those States they have ruined all that can be saved out of the wreck of a subverted government, and plundered people. I lament most sincerely the death of Captain Westcott, a good officer and a worthy man: but if it were a part of our condition to chuse a day to die on, where could we have found one so memorable, so eminently distinguished, amongst great days? I have been here, miserable enough, all the summer; but I hope to go to England very soon. The *Barfleur*, Northumberland and some other ships, are expected to relieve the old ones.

'Say to Lady Nelson when you write to her, how much I congratulate her on the safety, the honours, and the services of her husband. Good God what must be her feelings, how great her gratitude to Heaven for such mercies. Pray give my hearty congratulations to all my friends in your fleet.

'I am glad to understand my worthy Ball, and Darby are recovering. May success ever attend you, my dear Friend, is the constant prayer of your faithful and affectionate Cuthbert Collingwood.'

BOOK THE THIRD.

SECTION II.

From the arrival of Admiral Nelson at Naples, after the Battle of Aboukir, to his return to England with Sir William Hamilton.

WHILST SERVING ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS VANGUARD, AND FOUDROYANT.

From 1798, to 1800.

THAT anxiety respecting the proceedings of the detached squadron under Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, which so long had prevailed throughout England during the summer and autumn of 1798, had been painfully increased by the unfortunate capture of the *Leander*. Lord Spencer unable to bear the dreadful state of uncertainty and the variety of rumour which depressed and irritated the nation, had retired into the country with the hope of weakening apprehensions he could not subdue. In a letter which his Lordship sent on Sept. 30, 1798, to Sir Horatio Nelson, the indefatigable and upright Minister thus described the state of his own and the public mind. 'You may easily, my dear Sir, conceive the anxiety we have been under about you, and your operations; and the distance at which you are placed from us, increased as it is by the present inconvenient situation of Europe for communication, makes it impossible almost to know how and what to write. After the receipt of your two letters of the 26th of May, and 15th of June, the only ones I have received from you since you parted from Lord St. Vincent off Cadiz, I waited for a considerable time in the greatest anxiety, expecting every day to hear some glorious account from you; and until the 16th of this month, when I received a letter from Sir W. Hamilton, enclosing your's to him of the 20th and 22d of July, I did not quite give up all hopes of your having had some very considerable success; notwithstanding the positive assertions of the French papers, that Buonaparte and his whole force were landed in Egypt. Since the receipt of these letters, we have again been put on the tip-toe of expectation, both by the French papers and by accounts from Constantinople; and in spite of our former disappointment everyone in London is fully convinced that you have gained an important victory. . . . God bless you, dear Sir Horatio, and grant that we may very soon have some good tidings from you.'

Such was the state of affairs at home, when on the morning of the 2d of October, 1798, the Honourable Captain Capel arrived at the Admiralty with a copy of Sir Horatio Nelson's despatches to Lord St. Vincent, containing an account of the destruction of the

French fleet; and a subsequent letter, dated August the 7th, referring their Lordships to Captain Capel as a most excellent officer and fully able to give every information. The joy that prevailed throughout Great Britain, declared how ill the nation would have supported an unsuccessful officer. Public spirit revived; the stocks, that fluctuating level which marks the national confidence in Government, rose in an extraordinary manner; and the Minister who sat at the helm of the State was enabled to meet the opening of Parliament with another signal Victory which he had not expected.

Admiral Nelson was immediately advanced by his Majesty to the Peerage. On the 4th of October, Lord Spencer sent for Mr. Maurice Nelson the elder brother of the family, and requested to know if he had ever heard of any title which Sir Horatio would prefer. This worthy relative of the noble Admiral, who was universally beloved and respected, wished that the Name might be retained. Accordingly, on the 6th of October, 1798, Sir Horatio Nelson was created a Peer of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe in the county of Norfolk. On the 20th of the ensuing month, the King delivered the following most honourable commendation of the Battle of the Nile, on the meeting of Parliament: ‘The unexampled series of our Naval Triumphs has received fresh splendour from the memorable and decisive Action, in which a detachment of my Fleet under the command of Rear Admiral Lord Nelson attacked, and almost totally destroyed a superior force of the enemy, strengthened by every advantage of situation. By this great and brilliant Victory, an enterprise of which the Injustice, Perfidy, and Extravagance had fixed the attention of the world, and which was peculiarly directed against some of the most valuable interests of the British Empire, has, in the first instance, been turned to the confusion of its authors; and the blow thus given to the power and influence of France has afforded an opening which, if improved by suitable exertions on the part of other powers, may lead to the general deliverance of Europe. . . .’

On the 22d of November a message was brought down to the House expressive of the Sovereign’s wish to reward the noble Admiral: ‘His Majesty having taken into his consideration the signal, and meritorious services performed by Rear Admiral Lord Nelson, in the memorable and decisive victory obtained over a superior French fleet off the mouth of the Nile, not only highly honourable to himself, but eminently beneficial to these kingdoms; and his Majesty being desirous to confer upon him some considerable and lasting mark of his Royal favour, in testimony of his approbation of his great services, recommends it to his faithful Commons, to consider of the means of enabling his Majesty to extend and secure an Annuity of 2,000*l.* per annum to Rear Admiral Lord Nelson, and the two next heirs male on whom the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile and Burnham

* It is a singular circumstance, that the letters in the name of HORATIO NELSON, should make the following anagram; HONOR EST A NILO.

Thorpe in the county of Norfolk shall descend, in such manner as shall be most advantageous to their interests.' This was followed by a * grant of Arms expressive of the great achievements of the noble Admiral, and of the honours which he had received from the Sublime Porte: The appropriate motto to which is said to have been selected by his own Sovereign, *Palmarum qui meruit ferat*.

The thanks of both houses of the British Parliament and of the Parliament of Ireland were unanimously voted. Gold medals, similar to those which had been given by the King for the other great naval Actions in the war, were by his Majesty ordered to be presented by Lord Spencer to Admiral Nelson and to the Captains who served under his orders: the first Lieutenants of the ships engaged were distinguished by promotion, and the senior Marine Officer in the Squadron was recommended to H. R. H. the Commander in Chief, that he might have a step in brevet rank conferred upon him; which was granted.

Lord Minto, late Sir G. Elliot, Viceroy of Corsica, whose friendship for the noble Admiral has been frequently mentioned; in his speech, Nov. 21, 1798, on the motion for the thanks of the House which had been made by Earl Spencer, and was supported by the Duke of Clarence, thus spoke the general sense of both houses of parliament and of the whole nation. 'I' should not intrude on your Lordships if it were possible to content myself with a silent vote on this occasion; but I shall no doubt be excused, if a participation in the general exultation and enthusiasm excited by this extraordinary Action, enhanced I confess by a warm affection for the man, urges me to add my voice however feeble to that of the House; and I feel no shame in seeking, perhaps, by these means to gratify what will be thought the justifiable pride of such a friendship, especially when I can do so in unison with the acclamations of his Country, or rather with the full chorus of all Europe and of the whole world. It is, however, by no means my intention to enlarge on this vast and fertile subject. . . Neither my powers, which are inadequate to much smaller tasks, nor the powers of the most eloquent men of this or of any other age or country, are such as to exalt by any possible flight of language, of imagination, or even numbers, this more than Epic Action. In truth whoever would reach the height of this sublime subject, for such it is, would perhaps do well to abide by those few, short words contained in that simple, modest, dignified and above all pious account which we possess under the hand of Lord Nelson himself. On this point I cannot refrain, and I am sure the House will go along with me, from contrasting the fervent and sincere piety of our christian Conqueror, with the despicable and profane hypocrisy with which these French atheists, actuated as they will say by policy, but as I suspect by fear, were at that very moment pretending to worship Mahomet. Of the action itself I would only say, that as it has done more to exalt the reputation of our Country, and added more to the affluent and already accumulated stock of British naval

* See Appendix, N^o 4.

z From the Nelson Papers.

glory; so it has contributed more essentially to the solid interests and security of this Empire, as well as to the salvation of the rest of the world, than perhaps any other single event recorded in history. Were I to indulge myself on the details of this memorable day, and in tracing all its beneficial consequences, I should quickly be drawn out of my own depth and beyond the limits of your Lordships' time. I refrain therefore, content with having used the opportunity of rendering to this great man and signal event, the homage at least of an ardent and humble affection. I will indeed trust that the sentiments I profess towards my extraordinary friend will not be deemed entirely of a private nature, and may be admitted into somewhat of a higher class; since they were excited by a daily and hourly contemplation, for a considerable period of time, of the most unremitting exertions of Zeal, Ability, Application and Courage in the service of his Country: Not on one occasion but on all, not in one branch of service but in all; in a long course of naval vigilance and perseverance, in battles at sea, in sieges on shore.—That friendship, I say, is somewhat more than private, which was not indeed created, for it had an earlier date; but which was raised in my breast to the highest pitch of admiration and devotion by those exploits, which it is the singular felicity of my life to have witnessed with my own eyes on the ever-memorable St. Valentine's day; I mean on the 14th of February, when the Spanish fleet was defeated off Cadiz by the great and immortal St. Vincent: It was on that day my illustrious friend performed those prodigies of Valour and Conduct never equalled, I believe, before in the history of war, nor ever to be surpassed, if it be not, indeed, by this very Battle of Aboukir: For it is the peculiar privilege of my friend, that, from the beginning of his life, there have been few of his actions which could be surpassed, unless it were by some other action of his own.

There is one other point of Excellence to which I must say a single word, because I am, perhaps, the man in the world who has had the best opportunity of being acquainted with it. The world knows that Lord Nelson can fight the battles of his Country; but a constant and confidential correspondence with this great man, for a considerable portion of time, has taught me, that he is not less capable of providing for its political interests and honour in occasions of great delicacy and embarrassment. In that new capacity I have witnessed a degree of Ability, Judgment, Temper and Conciliation, not always allied to the sort of spirit which without an instant's hesitation can attack on one day the Spanish Line with his single ship, and, on another, a superior French Fleet moored and fortified within the islands and shoals of an unknown bay. What can I add to these two short facts? they are themselves a volume of praise, and must leave behind them all the common and vulgar forms of panegyric. It is enough for me to declare my hearty concurrence with this vote.

The next most gratifying reward which a Nelson could receive, was the suffrage of

other great men in his own profession. Admiral Lord Howe, on the 3d of October, deservedly took the lead: ‘Though conscious, Sir,’ wrote that veteran seaman, ‘how many letters of congratulation you are likely to receive by the same conveyance, on the subject of your despatches by Captain Capel, I trust you will forgive the additional trouble of my compliments on this singular occasion: Not less memorable for the Skill, than cool Judgment testified under considerable disadvantages in the superior force and situation of the Enemy.’—‘With what pleasure,’ said Admiral Goodall, ‘do I congratulate you, my dear Nelson, on your glorious victory. I know not where to place the preference in my praises; whether in the boldness of the attempt, or in the skill with which it was conducted, unrivalled in our Annals. I had often been obliged to stand in the breach against the senseless criticisms of the noble and ignoble of this Country; you know them to be governed by the tide of swoln and immediate success. How often have I been questioned, *What is your favourite Hero about? the French Fleet has passed under his nose, &c. &c.* To all which I uniformly answered, ‘I know him well; if Fortune has not crowned his labour and anxiety in the event, yet something capital will be done. I know him and most of his gallant Companions who are to support him in the day of battle. You will not hear from him until he has thundered in the Storm and directed the whirlwind that will overwhelm the enemy.’ My opinion has been entirely confirmed: Your gallantry, my dear Friend, has silenced both jealousy and censure, and raised a name which will exist in futurity as long as history, or monumental tablets are preserved.’

Another letter, from the venerable Edmund Nelson to the Rev. Bryan Abbot in the neighbourhood of Burnham Thorpe, though it has repeatedly been before the public, cannot have lost all the interest which it originally possessed. ‘My great and good Son went into the world without fortune, but with a heart replete with every moral and religious virtue: these have been his Compass to steer by, and it has pleased God to be his shield in the day of battle, and to give success to his wishes to be of use to his Country, which seems sensible of his services. But should he ever meet with ingratitude, his scars would plead his cause; for at the Siege of Bastia he lost an eye, at Teneriffe an arm, on the memorable 14th of February he received a severe blow on his body which he still feels, and now a wound on the head. After all this, you will believe that his bloom of countenance must be faded; but the spirit beareth up as yet as vigorous as ever. On the 29th of September he completed his fortieth year, chearful, generous, and good; fearing no evil, because he has done none; an honour to my grey hairs which with every mark of old age increase fast upon me.’

When mentioning this excellent Parent of the illustrious Nelson, the disinterested conduct of his late elder son Maurice, claims remembrance as displaying a greatness of mind which must ever honour his memory. In writing to Lady Nelson, whilst the entail

of his brother's honours was under the consideration of Government, Maurice declared that his brother William should have the preference: *It will be my wish and request to the Admiral, added this generous and noble relative, not to put my name in the Patent. I move in too humble a sphere to think of such a thing.*---The Lord Mayor, Anderson, on the 19th of October, transmitted to the Admiral the congratulations and vote of thanks of the Common Council for the sword of the French Admiral Blanquet, which had been deposited in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London; as also the thanks of that honourable Court to the Captains, officers, and seamen of the squadron, who, under the command of Admiral Nelson, had manifested to the world an additional instance of the superior discipline and irresistible bravery of British seamen. A Sword of the value of two hundred guineas was also voted to Lord Nelson, and the freedom of the city to Sir Edward Berry. The East India Company unanimously ordered a grant of 10,000*l.* The Turkey Company, a present of Plate of great value. The city of Liverpool voted the freedom of that borough, and town, as the only mark of respect which amidst the honours so deservedly bestowed by the King, and the applauses and acclamations of the whole body of the People, and the surrounding world, it was in their power with propriety to present; and the Mayor of Liverpool, Leyland, was also instructed to request, 'That the noble Admiral would please to make known to the several Captains and other officers, and seamen of his squadron, the very grateful sense which the Corporate Body of Liverpool, as representing the second Seaport in the Kingdom, entertains of the heroic Valour, the exemplary Discipline, and the great and enterprising spirit of the British Seamen which shone forth upon the late wonderful and unrivalled Victory.'

Amidst the liberal subscriptions by a Committee at Lloyd's for the relief of the widows and children of all those brave men, who, in obtaining the late Victory, had given their lives for their Country, the munificence of an individual was very remarkable: Mr. Alexander Davison, whose early friendship for Nelson has been already mentioned, on being appointed sole Prize Agent for the ships that had been captured, at the battle of the Nile, immediately ordered medals* to be struck in gold, silver, gilt metal, and copper, at an expence of near 2,000*l.* The first, in gold, were presented to every Captain; the second in silver, to every lieutenant and warrant officer; the third, in gilt metal, to every petty officer; and the fourth, in copper, to every individual Seaman and Marine serving on board during the Action.

Nor was the praise that was due to Lord St. Vincent for his selection of Sir Horatio

* For a list of Presents made soon after the battle of Aboukir to Lord Nelson, see Appendix, N^o 5.

* Many of these Medals were afterwards found by the Russian sailors scattered over the island of Tenedos, in 1807; owing to the explosion that took place on board the Ajax, when that ship was burnt in the roads of Tenedos.

and his squadron, forgotten amidst the general exultation at the victory. Earl Spencer in writing to that Commander in Chief, Oct. 9, 1798, said, ‘ After having had a week to reflect on the event of the Engagement on the coast of Egypt, and all the various most important consequences which will ensue if proper use is made of it; I cannot help once more congratulating your Lordship on the subject, and repeating how strongly impressed I feel with the great share which your very judicious selection of the Ships and Captains who composed that Squadron, has had in insuring to us so brilliant and decisive a result.’ Mr. Nepean in a letter to Lord St. Vincent, on the same day, added, ‘ The enclosed is a notification of Nelson’s Peerage. I would give a great deal were it possible for me to be present at your first meeting. You will hardly be questioned now upon the propriety of your choice.’

Such being the state of exultation at home, and the liberal spirit which his Country displayed on this memorable occasion; our attention is now again directed to the noble Admiral himself and his brave followers in the Mediterranean. The reception which he had met with from all ranks at Naples, had weakened, if not entirely subdued the strong aversion which he felt from remaining long in that enchanting city. Overcome with fatigue and harassed by the importance and variety of duty that was intrusted to him, he too much felt the value of his friend the English Minister; and being constantly at his house enjoyed a delightful, but dangerous relaxation in the extraordinary talents and captivating flatteries of Emma, Lady Hamilton. On the 4th of October, in writing to Earl St. Vincent, he described the state of Naples towards the close of 1798, and evidently shewed a growing partiality for the Queen’s opinions; which possessed a violent and vindictive spirit that had not been duly appreciated by his unsuspecting and loyal integrity: who saw only an insulted woman, and the daughter of the great Theresa. ‘ My dear Lord: I cannot, am not able to tell you the quantity I have to communicate. This Country by its system of procrastination will ruin itself: the Queen sees it and thinks as we do. The ministry, except Acton, are for putting the evil day off, when it will come with destruction. War at this moment can alone save these kingdoms. I am decidedly in opposition to Gallo. General Mack is hourly expected here from Vienna to command the Neapolitan army: Acton says they are ready to march. I have scolded, anger is necessary; you will not believe I have said or done any thing, without the approbation of Sir William Hamilton. His Excellency is too good to them, and the strong language of an English Admiral telling them plain truths of their miserable system, may do good. Ball sails, if possible, to-morrow with Terpsichore and Citoyenne. Murray, who gives us every thing he has, very handsomely goes off Malta with him for a few days. Vanguard I hope will be next, with Audacious, &c. Our wants are great, our means few. I need not tell you we cannot get much from this small arsenal, but they give us all they have. Culloden is getting forward,

Troubridge is indefatigable; none but him could have saved poor Culloden. We all dine this day with the King on board a ship; he is very attentive. I have been with the Queen, she is truly a daughter of Maria Theresa. I am writing opposite Lady Hamilton, therefore you will not be surprised at the glorious jumble of this letter. Were your Lordship in my place, I much doubt if you could write so well; our hearts and our hands must be all in a flutter: Naples is a dangerous place, and we must keep clear of it.'

In another letter, to Lady Nelson from Naples, dated Oct. 1—6, the noble Admiral thus described the feelings of his affectionate and too grateful heart: 'Our time here is actively employed; and between business and what is called pleasure I am not my own master for five minutes. The continued kind attention of Sir William and Lady Hamilton must ever make you and I love them, and they are deserving the love and admiration of all the world. The Grand Seignior has ordered me a valuable diamond; if it were worth a million, my pleasure would be to see it in your possession. My pride is being your husband, the Son of my dear Father, and in having Sir William and Lady Hamilton for my friends. While these approve of my conduct, I shall not feel or regard the envy of thousands. Could I, my dearest Fanny, tell you half the honours which are shewn me here, not a ream of paper would hold it. On my birth-day, eighty people dined at Sir William Hamilton's; one thousand seven hundred and forty came to a ball, where eight hundred supped. A rostral column is erected under a magnificent canopy, never, Lady H. says, to come down while they remain at Naples. A little circumstance has also happened which does honour to the King of Naples, and is not unpleasant to me. I went to view the magnificent manufactory of china. After admiring all the fine things sufficient to seduce the money from my pocket, I came to some busts in china of all the Royal Family: these I immediately ordered, and, when I wanted to pay for them, I was informed that the King had directed whatever I chose should be delivered free of all costs: it was handsome in the King.'

Mr. Spencer Smith, in his second despatch from Constantinople to the Admiral, dated September 11, 1798, gave a more detailed account than what he had done in his preceding letter, of the measures which the Sublime Porte had taken to remunerate and honour Lord Nelson.—'The effect of the confirmation of your brilliant Victory upon the public here, was every thing that could be expected or desired by the friends of the good cause; and upon the Government such as you yourself, Sir, could not but feel gratified to witness. I have now the pleasing task of making known to you the munificent demonstrations of gratitude on the part of this Court.

'On the 8th instant I had a conference in form with his Excellency the Reis Effendi. I opened it by the presentation of an accurate Turkish translation of your despatches from Rhodes, both of your letter and statement of the battle of the Nile for the use of the Grand Seignior, which was not only perused but devoured: any additional details would

be here extremely acceptable. The interesting conversation which naturally ensued on this topic, was interrupted by the entry of a messenger from the imperial presence with a sealed bundle, which the Reis Effendi immediately opened before the assembly with infinite veneration; when it was found to contain a rescript, under his Highness's own hand, ordering the ministry to deliver certain presents, both to the victorious British Admiral, and to the King's Representative here, and to accompany the same by a letter from the Caimakam Pasha to the one and by a ministerial memorial from the Reis Effendi to the other; in which his own gracious expressions of sensibility and esteem were to be copied. The first and chief article of the presents for you was a diamond Aigrette, called by the Turks *Chelengk*, of considerable intrinsic value, approaching 18,000 dollars; but of infinitely more ideal worth, as being not only the most honourable badge of military glory that a Turkish conqueror could receive from his Sovereign; but, moreover, from the one in question being a part of the imperial insignia worn by the Ottoman Monarchs, and taken from one of the royal turbans. Still the Sovereign's present upon such an occasion would not be complete, according to the etiquette of this Court, without the addition of the next article, which is a dignified Pelisse of sables of a prime quality, valued at 5,000 dollars. Last in order, though not least in value, came the token of his Highness's humane remembrance of our gallant countrymen, who bled upon a day when so much was achieved towards the deliverance of his Empire: I allude to a purse of 2000 sequins, to be distributed amongst the wounded of the crews under your command. I was moreover informed, that to enhance the distinction intended you by these presents, it was resolved to send them with the Caimakam's letter, in the hands of a special commissioner on board a sloop of war, to whom I was requested to attach an officer of our legation.

In presenting the translation of your letter from Rhodes, I suggested that the governor of Syria should lay an embargo upon all vessels capable of being converted into transports, fireships, and bomb or gun-boats: this plan of mine was in a manner immediately adopted. The cooperation of the Russian force, which I had also suggested, was adjourned to a conference appointed to be held on this day; whereat, besides the Russian Envoy Mr. Tamara and myself, Vice Admiral Ouchakof who had just then anchored was invited to assist; and it was rendered still more complete by the attendance of the Ottoman port Admiral, and sundry Ministers of the naval and military departments of the empire. Before this assembly, I enforced my preceding ideas in every possible manner, under the sanction of your name, much to the inward satisfaction of our friends the Turks: who, moreover, supported my wishes by example: having in the forty-eight hours which had elapsed, actually armed and moored a dozen sail of the flotilla under the windows of our conference pavilion. The Vice Admiral was as liberal of general offers, as he was parsimonious of his force; finding abundance of reasons against its employment upon any ser-

vice, but that in the neighbourhood; which convinced me it had been the chief object of their promptitude.'

Captain Hood in a letter from off Alexandria to Mr. Smith at Constantinople, dated September 20, 1798, took some notice of the effect which the Battle of the Nile had produced on the French army. 'Some days ago Admiral Ganteaume set off for Cairo, as they say, to consult General Buonaparte. Their transports are getting provided with two months provisions. We have been told the army at Cairo mutinied on hearing of the defeat of their fleet; that Buonaparte assembled his officers and men, and told them he had been allowed to choose his troops, which were the bravest in France, and that they ought not now to be alarmed, but to put confidence in him; in six months they should be again in France. How he is to manage this I am at a loss to discover, unless he intends to risk an action with the ships that are now at Alexandria; and after his supposed disabling of the British squadron, to move his troops to Corfu, or the Adriatic: this we must guard against. If they once begin to retreat, and the army of D'Jezzar Bey can be put forward in time, they will be most effectually able to harass them. From Captain Hope I am given to understand that D'Jezzar Bey is assembling a large body of men with the greatest activity to attack the French, and that he has issued his commands to all the Beys and Chiefs of the Arabs and others, who can in any manner annoy the enemy, to harass them until he is ready. He has sent several times to Constantinople, being doubtful whether they are not playing a double game with him; but he says in any case his army shall march, whether on his own ground or that of the Porte, to drive the common enemy out of Egypt. I plainly perceive we have infinite management to make use of, to cultivate and increase a good understanding between all parties, and must by steady and persevering measures bring forward these people to the main object. They put great faith in the British Nation: our actions, indeed, speak more than all the rhetoric in the world.'—In a private letter from off Alexandria, dated September 27, addressed to Admiral Nelson, Captain Hood gave a further account of the state of the French. 'I most heartily congratulate you on the favourable prospect now before us of destroying those miscreants of the earth. The Turks I find are putting some of them into the gallies already, and even their consuls into the common jail; many heads have fallen, and more are expected to follow: they had all been dipping in French gold, and a wonderful deal of villany has been discovered. Buonaparte has his army at present very much divided: he is now trying to buy over the Abyssinians and to get a port low down in the Red Sea. Many of his Generals are dissatisfied with his conduct. Be assured we shall be happy to extend our endeavours to the utmost of your wishes, nor will there be any such word as *Difficulty*. Hallowell and myself beg we may stay until a change in this business takes place. Our ships are in a perfect state for it and do not want to be relieved.'

The following note from the Russian Emperor Paul to the noble Admiral, written in French, is dated Petersburg, October 8, 1798. ‘ Vice Admiral Nelson: Considering the cause of my Allies as my own, I am unable to express the pleasure which your success has afforded me. The complete victory which you have gained over the Common Enemy, and the destruction of the French Fleet, are assuredly sufficient titles to draw on you the suffrages of that part of Europe which still retains its reason. In order to give you a marked acknowledgment of the justice rendered by me to your military talents, I have sent you a box, with my portrait, enriched with diamonds; and I beg that you would feel assured of my high regard, and I pray God that he may keep you under his holy and gracious protection. PAUL.’

The Russian Admiral Ouchakof to Lord Nelson, dated Dardanelles, 1st September, 1798.

‘ Most esteemed Admiral: In my preceding letter, August 31, I had the honour to inform you, that according to the plan agreed on for the combined Russian and Ottoman squadrons, ten gun-boats were to be detached to Rhodes conveyed by two Russian and two Turkish frigates, there to receive such information as might be necessary previous to proceeding to their ultimate destination at Alexandria: and I therein, moreover, requested you to inform me what were your intended operations. Now that I am arrived at this anchorage, the gun-boats and frigates before mentioned will be immediately despatched to Rhodes, and when arrived at that island will wait for your Excellency’s orders, whether it would be necessary to proceed to their place of destination.’—It may here be remarked, the above mentioned service was the only exertion made by the Russians in the Egyptian war, and that in the most reluctant and inefficient manner. The waiting of this Russian and Turkish force at Rhodes for orders from Admiral Nelson at Naples, relative to what should pass at Alexandria, is a striking example of their indifference at that important crisis to the general interests of Europe.

The manner of opening the war which the Neapolitan Court had at length decided on, is given in the following letter from the Sicilian Minister Acton, written in English, to Sir William Hamilton, dated Caserta, October 13, 1798. ‘ I acquaint you, my dear Sir, by the King’s orders, with the resolutions taken last night and this morning, about the operations of his Majesty’s army, and must beg of you to present this intelligence to Admiral Nelson. It has been determined, that 30,000 men should march as soon as possible towards the best positions in the Appenines, in order to cover the kingdom from its threatened invasion; and that 15,000 men should be ready on our frontiers, to support the first army for the garrison of Rome and other places, and to keep the communication open and free with this kingdom, if the Romans should happen to forsake their offers of joining with us in the expulsion of the French from their territories. The intention of sending 8,000 men at the same time to Leghorn has not as yet appeared prudent, until we hear

from the Emperor. I beg of you, my dear Sir, to present to Admiral Nelson these ideas. His Sicilian Majesty leaves to the brave Admiral to combine with these operations what he may think fit and proper at the moment; and feels with warm gratitude his most kind declarations to support the King, his Royal Family, and his two kingdoms. His Majesty thinks also that the Admiral's name and cooperation with the Sicilian arms would prove of the most essential weight, and raise the spirit of the, until now, dejected Italians. The recovery of Malta, and the drawing the French from Corfu, would be an essential service; and according to what Admiral Nelson was so kind as to tell me for his Majesty's intelligence, he has already provided for these important objects.'

Respecting the first of these services, an attempt had been already made on Malta by Sir James Saumarez as he passed that island with the prizes towards the end of September; an account of which was given by him in the following letter to Lord Nelson, dated Orion at sea, September 26, 1798. 'My dear Admiral: On Sunday we fell in with the Marquis de Niza's squadron off Malta; the day following we were kept in sight of that island by light airs and calms, which continued most of Tuesday. On that morning a deputation from the principal inhabitants came on board this ship, to solicit for a supply of arms and ammunition; at the same time informing me that the French garrison in the town of la Valette were driven to great distress, and that they had good grounds to believe the appearance of the English squadron would induce them to surrender, if they were summoned to that purpose. I waited on the Marquis de Niza, who readily concurred in sending a flag of truce with the enclosed proposal (dated Sept. 25) to the French General, who returned the following concise answer, after three hours deliberation: 'You have without doubt forgotten that they are Frenchmen who are at Malta; *le sort de ses habitans ne doit pas vous regarder; quant à votre sommation les François n'entendent pas ce style. Le Général Commandant en chef les îles de Malte et du Goze. Signé Vaubois.*'

'Although it has not answered the expectation we had formed, it has convinced us they are disposed to hearken to more moderate terms. Their situation is such, that they cannot hold many weeks without supplies which they are entirely cut off from. I only lamented that it was not in my power, consistent with my situation, to remain there with two or three ships.'

Admiral Lord Nelson to Earl St. Vincent, dated Naples, Oct. 13, 1798.

'My dear Lord: The Leander is gone, but with great honour to her Captain and crew. General Mack arrived at Caserta on Tuesday; on Thursday I went with Sir William and Lady Hamilton to meet this General at dinner with the King and Queen. Their Majesties introduced us to each other with every expression of esteem and regard; the Queen, however, could not help saying, *General, be to us by land, what my hero, Nelson, has been by sea.* The Emperor has desired the King of Naples to begin and he will support him.

Mack says he shall march in ten days; their Majesties have given him their confidence, and I feel I am in full possession of it. This evening I shall have in writing the result of last night's Session as the Queen calls it, not a Council, for in that case Gallo must have been on it; but he is tottering, and the Queen has promised he shall not be the war minister. Acton was going down, but we have set him up again. Lady Hamilton is an angel, she has honoured me by being my ambassadress to the Queen; therefore she has my implicit confidence, and is worthy of it. You, my dear Lord and Friend, make great allowances for my defects; my intentions are good, I vouch for no more.—Your Admirals must be mad. Parker might have a right to speak, Orde could have none; if the first was not to go on the service, I had just as much right as Orde. I thank God on your account that your expectations have not been disappointed in me. We sail on Monday morning. When at sea I shall detach Audacious and Goliath to join my dear friend Ball off Malta, to whom I shall intrust the blockade. The government here are very sanguine about Malta, expecting to get hold of it in a short time. I am not so sanguine: the French have bread and water. I shall send to the French Commanders a proper letter, offering my mediation with the injured and plundered Maltese; but should the French ships escape, in that case I shall not trouble myself either with their capitulation, or in obtaining mercy for the deluded people who have joined them. If the French get thirteen more ships into the Mediterranean, you will take care of me; and I will fight them the moment I can get at them, and I trust to the blessing of God whom I praise and adore for all his mercies. May Heaven bless you. I cannot write a stiff, formal, public letter, you must make it as it should be. I feel you are my friend and my heart yearns to you.'

The secret intentions of the French at this time against Naples, and the desperate state of Sardinia, were described by Mr. Jackson in a letter to the Admiral from Turin. 'One of the first fruits in the Mediterranean of your most glorious and decisive victory seems to have been the insurrection of the Maltese. The last letters from Paris mention the great probability of an attack upon the kingdom of Naples: the French have for some time past been collecting considerable forces in the Roman states, probably for that purpose. No considerable reinforcements have lately arrived from France, and from the most accurate accounts their effective force now in Italy does not much exceed 50,000 men. . . I do not trouble you with any of the politics of this unhappy country, which rubs on from day to day with great and increasing difficulty. His Sardinian Majesty is pushed very hard by his *good Ally* the French republic; but he has a strong support in the love and attachment of his brave subjects, who have no mind to change their government. It is impossible to say what may be effected by force; certainly things are in such a state that the worst may be apprehended. In case of distress his Sardinian Majesty is determined, at whatever hazard, not to refuse the rights of humanity to the British fleet.'—Respecting

Tuscany, Mr. Wyndham informed the Admiral, 'That its government had received official promises from the French Directory and their General de Brune, that the neutrality of the Grand Duke would be inviolably respected, provided no troops of any of the belligerent powers should march against Tuscany, or shew any intention to pass through it; in which case the French would be constrained, as an act of precaution, to take possession of Leghorn, or such parts as they might judge necessary for their security. I have the honour,' added Mr. Wyndham, 'to give you this information, in order that you may abstain, if it be more advantageous, from coming to Leghorn with any of his Majesty's ships of war for the present, to avoid giving the French a pretext which they undoubtedly would be glad to lay hold of; and perhaps, in the present state of affairs in Italy, the neutrality and quiet of Tuscany is to be wished for, *at least for a few weeks longer*. I believe for certain that the Genoese republic has entered into an agreement with France, obliging itself to protect the French commerce from Leghorn to Genoa and Marseilles with a regular and constant convoy, on condition of being allowed one half per cent on the value of each cargo to Genoa, and two per cent to the ports of France, and nine per cent to Spain.'

A sufficient squadron being now ready to accompany the Admiral to Malta, consisting of the Vanguard, Minotaur, Audacious, Goliath, and Mutine, he prepared to sail from Naples; and in a letter to Earl St. Vincent gave the following account of his taking leave of the King: 'On Monday the 15th, at eight o'clock, the King and Prince Leopold came on board and did me the honour of breakfasting. At ten the squadron weighed anchor, at eleven his Majesty left the ship, expressing himself in the most flattering manner towards me. The King had all the respect paid him by the squadron that our situation would admit of, and which it was not only our duty but so much our inclination to shew him. The King having desired my return to Naples in the first week in November, I shall come back, after having arranged the blockade of Malta, and endeavour to be useful to the movements of their army. In thus acquiescing with the desire of the King of Naples, I give up my plan, which was to have gone to Egypt, and attended to the destruction of the French shipping in that quarter; but I hope that before Captain Hood quits his station, both the Turkish and Russian squadrons will be on that coast, when all will be right I hope, although I own myself not willing to trust any of our allies to do that which we could perform ourselves. I have reason for thinking that the strong wish for our squadron being on the coast of Naples, is that, in case of any mishap, their Majesties think their persons would be much safer under the protection of the British flag than any other.

'October 19th. My letter on the subject of our dear friend Troubridge, which was lost with many others in the *Leander*, was to authorise you to add a paragraph to my public letter, if you thought it more to the advantage of Troubridge; for I thought it better to make no mention of his disaster. *I consider Captain Troubridge's conduct as fully entitled*

to praise as any one officer in the squadron, and as highly deserving reward. He commanded a division equally with Sir James Saumarez, by my order dated in June; and I should feel distressed if any honour which is granted to one be not granted to the other. This part of my letter I wish you, my dear Lord, to make use of to Lord Spencer should any difference be made. The eminent services of our friend deserve the very highest rewards. I have experienced the ability and activity of his mind and body: It was Troubridge who equipped the squadron so soon at Syracuse: It was Troubridge who exerted himself for me after the action: It was Troubridge who saved the Culloden, when none that I know in the service would have attempted it: It is Troubridge whom I have left as myself at Naples, he is as a Friend, and as an Officer a Nonpareil.'

Off Malta, October 24. In a letter to Lady Nelson he said, 'I am just arrived off this island. The French are not yet turned out; but I shall do my best in negotiating. There is no fighting I assure you; if there were, it should be settled before night. Our hearts are in the trim, and God is with us, 'Of whom then shall we be afraid?'—In writing to Lord St. Vincent, Oct. 24, 1798, he added, 'This day at noon I joined the Marquis de Niza, who very handsomely had shifted his flag from the Principe to the Sebastian in order to continue the blockade of Malta, and to permit Colossus to proceed in the execution of your orders. As the Marquis is not now wanted here, I have ordered him to Naples to refit, and be ready to act as the times may require and his Sovereign may wish. I do not like going back from the eastward, but I give up my own opinion for this time, as it is impossible to foresee how the new war may turn out. Although I have no fears, yet it is good to be on the watch. I have only time to say that I will do my best.'

Sir William Hamilton in a letter from Caserta, dated October 26, 1798, furnished his noble friend with a detail of the proceedings of the Neapolitan government in preparing for the war. 'My dear Lord: You will see by the copies of —'s Letters the evidence of what we knew before, the corruption and rascality of the members of the French Directory, and the certainty of the present intention of the French republic to ruin and plunder this kingdom. I have been with General Acton this morning: he shewed me a letter from Mons. Baptiste the Neapolitan charge d'Affaires at Vienna, with a message to him from the Baron Thugu in the Emperor's name, advising the King of Naples to act openly against the French at Malta, as his Imperial Majesty would certainly support him. This takes off all difficulties; but I must do justice to this government by assuring you it was determined, before the receipt of this letter, that the Neapolitan army should march forward with the King at their head; and at the same time they had resolved to declare it a war of religion. I received this morning a melancholy letter from Captain T. B. Thompson, late of the *Leander*, with the one enclosed for you. It makes one's heart bleed for

what he and Captain Berry must have suffered; but it is plain they did all that gallant officers could possibly accomplish.'

Captain T. B. Thompson to Admiral Sir H. Nelson, dated Trieste, Oct. 18, 1798.

'Sir: It is with extreme pain I have to relate to you the capture of his Majesty's ship *Leander* late under my command, by a French 74 gun ship, after a close action of six hours and a half. On the 18th of August last, being within five or six miles of the west end of Gozo near the island of Candia, we discovered at day break a large sail in the S. E. quarter standing directly for the *Leander*. We were then becalmed, but the stranger bringing up a fine breeze from the southward we soon made him to be a large ship of the line. As the *Leander* was in officers and men upwards of eighty short of complement, and had on board a number who were wounded on the 1st, I did not consider myself justified in seeking an Action with a ship that appeared of such considerable superiority in point of size; I therefore took every means in my power to avoid it. I however soon found that our inferiority of sailing made it inevitable; and I therefore with all sail set steered the *Leander* a course which I judged would receive our adversary to the best advantage, should he bring us to battle. At eight o'clock the strange ship, still continuing to have the good fortune of the wind, had approached us within long random shot, and had Neapolitan colours hoisted, which he now changed to Turkish; but this deception was of no avail, as I plainly made him to be French. At nine he had ranged up within a half gun shot of our weather quarter: I therefore hauled the *Leander* up sufficiently to bring the broadside to bear, and immediately commenced a vigorous cannonade on him, which he instantly returned. The ships continued nearing each other until half past ten, keeping up a constant and heavy firing; at that time I perceived the enemy intending to run us on board; and the *Leander* being very much cut up in rigging, sails and yards, I was unable, with the light air that blew, to prevent it. He ran us on board on the larboard bow, and continued alongside us for some time. A most spirited and well-directed fire, however, from our small party of marines, commanded by the serjeant, on the poop and from the quarter-deck, prevented the enemy from taking advantage of his good fortune; and he was repulsed in all his efforts to make an impression on us. The firing from the great guns was all this time kept up with the same vigour, and a light breeze giving the ship way, I was enabled to sheer clear of the enemy, and soon afterwards had the satisfaction to luff under his stern, and passing him within ten yards, distinctly discharged every gun from the *Leander* into him. As from henceforward there was nothing but a continued series of heavy firing, within pistol shot, without any wind, and the sea as smooth as glass, I feel it unnecessary to give you the detail of the effects of every shot, which must be obvious from our situation: I shall therefore content myself with assuring you, that a most vigorous cannonade was kept up from the *Leander* without the smallest intermission, until

half past three in the afternoon. At that time the enemy having passed our bows with a light breeze and brought himself on our starboard side, we found that our guns there were nearly all disabled by the wreck of our own spars, which had all fallen on that side; this produced a cessation of our fire, and the enemy took the opportunity to ask us if we had surrendered. The *Leander* was now totally ungovernable, not having any thing standing but the shattered remains of the main and fore-mast, and bowsprit, her hull cut to pieces, and the decks full of killed and wounded; and perceiving the enemy who had only lost his mizen topmast, though greatly shattered, approaching to place himself athwart our stern, in this defenceless situation I asked Captain Berry if he thought we could do more? He coinciding with me that further resistance was vain and impracticable, and indeed all hope of success having for some time vanished, I therefore now directed an answer to be given in the affirmative, and the enemy soon afterwards took possession of H. M. Ship.

‘ I cannot conclude this account without assuring you how much advantage his Majesty’s service derived, during this action, from the gallantry and activity of Captain Berry of the *Vanguard*. I should also be wanting in justice, if I did not bear testimony to the steady bravery of the officers and seamen of the *Leander* in the hard contest, which, though unsuccessful in its termination, will still I trust entitle them to the approbation of their Country. The enemy proved to be le *Genereux* of seventy-four guns, commanded by M. Lejoille, *chef de division*, who had escaped from the action of the first of August, and, being the rearmost of the French line, had received little or no share of it; having on board 900 men, about 100 of whom we found had been killed in the action, and 188 wounded. The *Leander* had 35 killed, and 57 wounded.’—Captain Thompson^b was, himself, severely wounded.

The blockade of the island of Malta had been intrusted to the vigilance and skill of Captain Ball; and is dated by Lord Nelson, in his Memoir, as taking place from the 12th of October, 1798. The state of the islands of Malta and Gozo on that day, with an account of the revolution that had taken place, is given in an interesting report which was sent to his Lordship. The French force in Malta then consisted of about 3000 soldiers and sailors, and of 100 Maltese; the only part of the inhabitants who would take up arms for

^b The Court Martial which afterwards was assembled to examine the conduct of Captain Thompson, his officers, and crew, declared, That his gallant and almost unprecedented defence of H. M. late ship the *Leander* against so superior a force as that of le *Genereux*, was deserving of every praise his Country and the assembled court could give; and that his conduct, with that of the officers and men under his command, reflected not only the highest honour on himself and them, but on their Country at large. The thanks of the court were also given to Captain Berry, who was present on the occasion, for the gallant and active zeal he had manifested. Upon the return of Captain Thompson to the shore from the *Alexander* in which the court martial had been held, he was saluted with three cheers by all the ships in harbour at Sheerness.

the French. About 10,000 of the Maltese were in arms; they had twenty-three guns on the island, of which twelve were mounted; they had also two galleys and four gunboats. On Saturday, the day previous to the insurrection of the Maltese, the French, in addition to their usual professions in the gazette, had issued a manifesto declaring that they should consider the plate and riches of the churches as sacred, promising neither to take nor request any thing: the very next morning, when the churches were opened for public worship, they began their plunder. The Maltese, injured and irritated beyond bearing, immediately flew to revenge themselves. Amongst the French whom they put to death, was a general officer who had been very active; with his wife they found a plan for entering all the towns in the island, murdering the strongest and richest of the inhabitants and taking possession of the best houses. They also found a paper in which the various classes of the people were assigned different employments; sixty Maltese had been destined to bury the dead. About eight days previous to this event there had been an action between the French and Maltese, in which the former had lost 800 men, the latter had only five killed and five wounded: it lasted between three and four hours. In the sortie above 50 of the French threw down their arms, and begged to join the Maltese; but they were fired on indiscriminately with the others. The Maltese beheaded all the bodies of the French which they could find, on the spot, and carried their heads about the island with parsnips in their teeth, as the French had given out that they had no provisions at Malta but parsnips.

On the 15th of October, 1798, after receiving the King and Prince Leopold at breakfast on board the Vanguard, Lord Nelson had sailed from Naples to reinforce the blockade of Malta; and on the 24th had joined Captain Ball and the Marquis de Niza. The Marquis had written to his Lordship on the 22d, and had requested that he might be considered in the situation of an Admiral commanding an English squadron; and might then regard those officers of a rank inferior to himself as being under his orders, when they were not under the immediate eye of their own Chief. 'I do not,' added the Marquis, 'desire to have the power to direct them in the smallest degree contrary to any commands they may receive from you, or from any officer who is my senior; I merely wish that they should have the same deference for me, that they would shew to any officer of my rank who has the honour of serving under you. It is not any personal consideration which has urged me to represent this; but it is my duty to preserve the honour of my nation, as well as that of my military rank, and especially the good of the service and the support of discipline.'—On the 24th, Admiral Nelson returned the following excellent reply. 'My Lord: I am honoured with your Excellency's letter this evening; and in my public situation I have the honour to acquaint you, That I consider your Excellency as an Officer under my command, and standing precisely in the same situation as an English Rear Admiral junior to me; which

is having no power or authority to give the smallest order to any ship or vessel, but those I may think right to place, by order, under your command.'—The next morning the Marquis sailed for Naples.

On the 28th of October, 1798, the Commandant of the French troops in the castle of Gozo signed the capitulation which Nelson had approved. Captain Ball immediately directed Captain Creswell of the marines to take possession, when H. B. M. colours were hoisted. The next day the place was delivered up in form to the deputies of the island, his Sicilian Majesty's colours were hoisted and he acknowledged the lawful Sovereign. The island of Gozo contained 16,000 inhabitants; in the castle were found 5,200 sacks of corn, one eighteen-pounder, two twelve-pounders, four six-pounders, fifty barrels of powder and a quantity of other ammunition. Lord Nelson, in consequence of his promise to the King to return to Naples during the first week in November, sailed from Malta on the 30th of October at night, leaving its blockade to Captain Ball with the *Alexander*, *Goliath*, *Audacious*, *Terpsichore*, and *Incendiary* fireship. It was the Admiral's wish on leaving Malta, as he informed Mr. Spencer Smith, to go with two sail of the line and two sloops to Egypt: 'But I could not,' he adds, 'refuse the King, especially as my orders are to protect the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; however I hope soon to be able to make my appearance off Zante, Corfu, &c. I send you a proclamation I have written relative to those islands. The Porte ought to be aware of the great danger at a future day of allowing the Russians to get footing at Corfu. My whole heart is in Egypt, for I long to see the destruction of Buonaparte and his boasted armament.'—The correct knowledge which the Admiral expressed in this letter respecting the political importance of the Seven Islands, and chiefly of Corfu, he had derived from a valuable correspondence with H. B. M. Consul General of those islands, &c. Spiridion Foresti. These islands lie contiguous to the coasts of Albania and the Morea, and extend from north to south to the distance of about 300 miles; they consist of Corfu, Paxo, Santa Maura, Ithaca, Cephalonia, Zante, and Cerigo. They were taken from the Venetians by the French in 1797; in the month of March, 1799, they were retaken from the French by the combined Russian and Turkish squadrons, and were made a republic during the following year, 1800, in the month of March, by virtue of a treaty between those two powers. Corfu, which is the key of the Adriatic, commands the commerce of the Levant; and the Seven Islands serve as so many outposts to watch the fluctuating proceedings of the Turkish government.

On the 6th of November, 1798, Captain Troubridge in writing from Naples to the Admiral, said, 'I told the Marquis and squad of the taking of Gozo; he replied, *I could have*

* On the first of November, 1798, the Freedom of the Drapers Company, as a mark of their high and grateful sense of Lord Nelson's important services, particularly on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of August, was voted to the noble Admiral, which was followed by innumerable other marks of civic respect.

done that any day, but it was of no moment—Malta was the thing. I bowed, and we parted. He has ordered his ships to get ready with all possible despatch; some are doing it, and some are thinking about it. The weather is so bad we can do but little. I think they are cheating us about the wine, but that is nothing new here; for between ourselves for a carline I could buy all the Generals in the place, from Pignatelli downwards. I long much to see you. God send I may never behold this degenerated place again; every man here is our bitter enemy. Are any stores to be received for Hood, &c. in case of our not succeeding at Corfu? I take the liberty of mentioning this, as I could by a rope run to the Alliance, haul my boats backwards and forwards with light loads, and employ the boats on more material work when the wind ceases. Nov. 7. Captain Louis has begged of me to stop proceedings respecting his men (who had been guilty of drunkenness and neglect of duty) until he hears from you: he tells me he is sure, from their particular good conduct since, that their contrition is sincere.—In consequence of this application from the gallant Captain of the Minotaur, Lord Nelson sent him the following private letter, with an official one enclosed. ‘I have endeavoured to write such a letter as I wish to be placed in public and read to your ship’s company. Believe me I shall never forget your support. *A friend in need is a friend indeed*: never was it better applied than to the Minotaur. I have written to Troubridge to stop the court-martial according to your request.’

Admiral Lord Nelson, K. B. to Captain Louis. 1798.

‘Sir: I have this moment received your letter enclosing a petition from the ship’s company of the Minotaur. In the common course of service I ought not to pay attention either to the petition of your ship’s company, or to your kind interference in their behalf. I am glad, however, that the prisoners have not presumed to say a syllable on their conduct, which merits the yard arm. But, Sir, I can never forget your noble and effectual support to my flag on the most glorious first of August; and in remembrance of the gallant conduct of the Minotaur’s ship’s company, in obedience to your orders, I do, from these considerations alone, permit you to withdraw your letter for a court-martial on the prisoners.’

His Royal Highness Admiral the Duke of Clarence to Lord Nelson.

‘My dear Lord: On Captain Capel’s arrival with the news of your glorious victory, I was both astonished and hurt at not receiving a line from my old friend. But being now assured that you had written by the Leander, I take up my pen to congratulate you on your victory, of which no one thinks more highly than I do. My real friendship for you and my love for the navy would not allow me to be silent in the House of Lords, and I hope I said what I ought; at least it was what I felt. Lord Minto’s speech was elegant, judicious and well turned. Every body meant well, but were not so able to express it as his Lordship. I most highly admire the disposition your Lordship made of the King’s

ships, and of your determination and instant decision of going down at once to the attack of the enemy. I admire and approve exceedingly your Lordship's having in so public a manner returned thanks to the Almighty, for His gracious assistance afforded to his Majesty's arms: I have frequently been surprised it has not been practised in our fleets oftener, and I trust every successful Admiral will in future follow your Lordship's good example. You, my dear Nelson, I hope well know my sentiments respecting the discipline of the Navy; I need not, therefore, say much relative to that Order you issued, in which you ascribed the honourable and meritorious exertions of the Seamen and Marines to *obedience and good order*; for which the King and the Country are to thank the invincible and immortal St. Vincent. Having said thus much, I suppose you must be tired; I will therefore for the present take my leave. Adieu, my dear Lord, accept my most sincere wishes for your health and welfare, and ever believe me your best friend, WILLIAM.*

On the arrival of the Vanguard and Minotaur in Naples bay, they found the Royal Family were at Caserta; upon which Lord Nelson repaired thither, and on Nov. 6, 1798, being a gala day, he was received by the King's desire at court; when he presented a memorial from the inhabitants of Malta, as their deputy, and also the colours taken at Gozo. In the evening he was two hours in conference with the Queen; the result of which interview is thus mentioned by him in a letter written the next day to Lord St. Vincent. 'I am, I fear, drawn into a promise that Naples bay shall never be left without an English man of war. I never intended leaving the coast of Naples without one, but, if I had, who could withstand the request of such a Queen?—Leghorn must be speedily attended to: the Grand Duke, I fancy, begins to *see fear*. I hold still sending Troubridge, with Minotaur, Emerald, and Flora cutter to Corfu and those islands; if nothing can be done there, to go to Egypt and see and arrange all matters in those ports, either by victualling Hood's squadron, staying himself, or, which I have reason to hope, finding the Turks and Russians willing to continue the blockade, to withdraw our ships from that distant coast. Your new expedition will I doubt not far exceed our most sanguine wishes; for I can say with truth, that you do not mind stripping yourself to take care that the service at a distance should, as far as human prudence can do, secure success: I am a living example of your goodness in that respect, for such a select Band as you gave me never can I fear be equalled; and I trust that our Country will not forget that it was principally to you my success has been owing. The King goes to the army to-morrow, in three days he hopes to march. His Majesty is determined to conquer or die at the head of his army, which is composed of 30,000 healthy good looking troops.'

Earl St. Vincent in sending Lord Nelson the fresh Instructions which he had received from the Admiralty Board, dated Oct. 3, 1798, added, 'What relates, my dear Admiral, to

* From the Nelson papers.

cooperation with the armies of the Allied Powers, cannot be in better hands than yours. You are as great in the Cabinet as on the Ocean, and your whole conduct fills me with admiration and confidence. The thorough knowledge you possess of local circumstances and of the disposition of the contracting parties, qualifies you most eminently for the uncontrouled direction of the naval part; and you have some very able men under your command, in whom you well know every degree of confidence is to be placed when you have occasion to make detachments. The possession of Minorca would greatly aid the blockade of Toulon when the season will admit of that operation; and in case of success you are authorised to take Commodore Duckworth under your command, and employ him and the squadron under his orders on that service. The bombs and their tenders may be useful at Corfu and Zante. At a convenient time you will certainly not forget what is due to your friends at Genoa. Captain Murray informs me that Captain Foley is in a very bad state: should you be of that opinion, I desire he may come away; and perhaps Sir William and Lady Hamilton would take their passage with him hither, and go to England. I heartily congratulate you, my dear Lord, on the title the King has been pleased to bestow on you, which, as you may see, has come to my knowledge since the commencement of this letter.—It may be necessary here to remark, that this letter, written by Earl St. Vincent, came from a Naval Officer who in general never suffered any one to act, but from written orders, by which he was expected implicitly to abide. The principal objects that had been recommended in the Instructions from the Admiralty were, 1. The protection of the coasts of Sicily, Naples, and the Adriatic; and, in the event of war being renewed in Italy, an active cooperation with the Austrian and Neapolitan armies. 2. The cutting off all communication between France and Egypt, that neither supplies nor reinforcements could be sent to the army at Alexandria. 3. The blocking up of Malta. 4. The cooperating with the Turkish and Russian squadrons, which were to be sent into the Archipelago. After explaining the engagements that were likely to be entered into between Great Britain and the Ottoman Porte, in the ninth article of a proposed Treaty, and the number of ships which Russia had promised to furnish against the common enemy, in consequence of a Treaty which she had recently concluded with the Porte; Mr. Secretary Nepean added, That the protection of the coasts of Naples and Sicily, and an active cooperation with the Austrian and Neapolitan armies were the objects to which a principal part of the squadron should be particularly directed.’

The service which the second and fourth articles of these Instructions pointed out, had been ably performed by Captains Hood and Hallowell, and the officers associated with them. Lord Nelson, when writing to his Commander in Chief, Nov. 2, 1798, respecting what had been done on the coast of Egypt, had said, ‘ It would appear from Captain Hood’s advices from Alexandria, that Buonaparte’s whole force does not exceed 23,000.

men, many of whom have the dysentery. Murat Bey has 20,000 men above Cairo, and Ibrahim Bey has more than that number below Cairo, both on the Syrian side of the Nile. Buonaparte has been trying to open a Treaty with the Abyssinians on the one hand, and has been preparing the transports at Alexandria on the other; he must soon move from Cairo, that is very certain. I long to send ships to Egypt, for I fear to trust business of importance to any but English.'—The French naval force in the ports of Alexandria on the 20th of October, commanded by Dumanoir le Pelley, chief of division, had been certified by Captain Hood to be one ship of 64 guns, one of 54, three of 40, four of 36, one of 34, and the Salumine, 119 men, whose number of guns was not known; with four brigs, and seven gun vessels and galleys.

On the 1st of November, 1798, Captain Hood had enclosed the following report from Captain Hallowell, dated October 24, to Lord Nelson; and had commended the manner in which his associate, with his usual zeal and bravery, led the boats to the various attacks in person.—‘ Dear Hood: Yesterday afternoon I made an attack on the castle of Aboukir with six gun-boats, and our own boats. The cowardice of the Turks is not to be described. I made use of every argument in my power to get them forward. I kept in my boat ahead of them to lead them on, sometimes coaxing, and sometimes swearing at them for poltroons; but to very little effect. I had six men in each boat, but the Turks would not do any thing for them: however I would not allow them to fire until they got within point blank shot, and by keeping the Turks in conversation and threatening to complain to the Captain Pasha of their conduct, I at length got them within reach of the enemy’s cannister shot; when the rascals were so frightened I could not keep close in for any time. The Captains of their vessels are, if possible, greater cowards than their men. In the evening three of the enemy’s gun-boats came out of the lake and anchored close under the camp. I could not make the Turkish gun-boats go down to them; and as they have no arms of any kind, except their Great Gun, I could not arm my boats.

October 25, in continuation. ‘ This day I made an attack on the French gun-boats, and camp. The Turkish boats having got far to leeward, I could only get four of them up, with the Torride. Our little boat, which throws shells, set fire to the camp three times. The army was dispersed in all directions, and in their flight exposed to our grape and cannister; but with the assistance of asses they shifted their field pieces continually. On our gun-boats ceasing to fire, to let me advance with the ship’s boats to bring off the enemy, every sandhill sheltered a party of soldiers, and many of the trees concealed French troops who were waiting our approach. As we advanced, an irregular fire of musquetry was opened from every little eminence and place that afforded the least shelter, and I had the mortification to find when I got within twice the boat’s length of the beach, that they had hauled both their boats on shore. Troops closing round us in all directions, I was obliged to make a stern board with our boats and come out again. I have had very

great difficulty in managing some of the Turks; they will do as they please, and sometimes my greatest apprehension is that I shall lose some of them by their awkwardness and fear. Today whilst I was giving directions to one of them to anchor, the Captain came forward and positively refused to let them bring up; upon which I ordered our people to cut away the anchor, when, a scuffle ensuing, one of our seamen received a bad cut with a sabre on his shoulder, and, having no arms to defend themselves, they had recourse to their hand-spikes, with which they beat one Turk's brains out; and wounded the Captain, whom I left afterwards stretched along the deck with his head tied up. Had I not got on board instantly with Hassan, I believe every Turk would have been murdered; as our launch pulled up alongside and the sailors were throwing in cutlasses to assist their shipmates. I fear if you take the Turks into the western port you will not get them out again: When one man is wounded, or killed, their confusion is so great they cannot be governed; and if a shell were to burst near them, every man would seek for shelter in any place; and it becomes a matter of indifference to them whether they drift on shore, or where they go, as long as they get out of the line of fire. One or two of them have lately behaved tolerably well, but the rest are of the description I have just given.'

During Lord Nelson's residence with the Neapolitan Court at Caserta, his friendship for Sir William and Lady Hamilton, added to his state of ill health, led him to indulge a confidence which was fatally adapted to mislead his affectionate disposition and to warp his judgment. In writing to Earl St. Vincent, Nov. 9, 1798, when on the eve of leaving Caserta, he thus introduced his new secretary: 'I believe Lady Hamilton has written so fully, and I will answer so ably, on all subjects, that but little remains for me to say. Your commands respecting the Queen were executed with so much propriety, that if I had never before had cause for admiration it must then have commenced: Her Ladyship's and Sir William's inexpressible goodness to me is not to be told by words, and it ought to stimulate me to the noblest actions, and I feel it will. My mind I know is right, but, alas, my body is weak. Captain Thompson's Action reflected great credit on the *Leander*.'

Lord Nelson to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence.

'I know my letter to your Royal Highness, by the *Leander*, was lost by the unfortunate capture of that ship, and I trust you will forgive my not writing so much as my inclination in truth prompts me to do; but I find my left hand is fully employed in not only the business of the squadron, but also in working for the good cause in this country. The army marched Nov. 23d into the Roman state, 32,000 men. Five thousand men embarked yesterday on board my squadron, destined to possess Leghorn if the Grand Duke wishes to preserve his dominions from plunder and anarchy. By possessing that port any number of troops and stores may be pushed in a few days into Tuscany, and if the French leave Leghorn on their left they may be cut off. But the great difficulty their Sicilian

Majesties feel, is the want of money to continue a war in which they find themselves engaged, from the anger of the French to all Monarchs and their determination to plunder this fine kingdom of Tuscany; when all Italy will have had the Fraternal Embrace and be equally miserable. The King, Queen, Generals Acton and Mack, have all assured me, and I am convinced, that this Country cannot, under its present difficulties, carry on the war without pecuniary assistance from us; and I hope that the King, who is all goodness, will use his influence that assistance in money may be given to save this monarchy from the destruction which otherwise awaits it: and allow me to say, what no English merchant will deny, that our trade to Italy, under its proper government, is most advantageous to Great Britain. I hope God will also put it into the heart of the Emperor to assist his Father in law and his Brother. . . . The wind moderates, and I am going off to try and sail. My heart is true to the Good Cause, and I wish to approve myself a faithful servant to the best of masters. May God bless your Royal Highness, is the sincere prayer of your attached and affectionate Nelson.'

On the 18th of November, 1798, the Admiral had issued his orders to his squadron at Naples, respecting the Neapolitan troops that were to be conveyed to Leghorn, according to an arrangement previously made by General Fortiguerra. The following official notice of that expedition was sent to Earl St. Vincent, dated on board the Vanguard, Leghorn roads, November 28.—'My Lord: It having been considered at a Council held at the camp at St. Germain, as a proper military measure to take possession of Leghorn, I offered to embark the troops destined for this service in the squadron under my command (Vanguard, Culloden, Minotaur, Alliance, Principe Real, Albuquerque and St. Sebastian) amounting to 5,123 men, and sailed from Naples with them on the 22d. It blowing a strong gale during that night and the next day, none but the British ships kept me company, with which I am arrived here. The Ministers of their Majesties of Great Britain and of the Two Sicilies came on board; and they thinking that a summons in my name, as well as that of the Neapolitan General would be proper, I submitted to their better judgment.'—The troops were afterwards immediately landed, and possession taken of the port and fortress of Leghorn. Lord Nelson anchored in the evening, and found five Genoese vessels lying in the roads, two of which were armed vessels of 20 guns, the other three were laden with corn. The Terpsichore, Captain Gage, anchored between the armed vessels, which were taken possession of, and the others were seized by the boats. On the 29th, the day after this transaction had taken place, his Excellency Mr. Wyndham in writing to Lord Nelson said, 'I certainly understood from your Lordship that you had no design of real conquest at Leghorn, and that you had no intention of revenging yourself on the French for their former robbery of the English: I even understood that you and the General both declared, You came to rescue the Grand Duke and the country from the French, but by

no means to force him from his neutrality. The constant orders I have to respect the neutrality, have never been varied. . . I am, however, instructed to require of the Grand Duke a full indemnification for the losses sustained by the French invasion of Leghorn. The last note from Lord Grenville stated that I should make a fresh and positive demand; and, in case of a refusal, that orders would be sent out to his Majesty's commanding officer in the Mediterranean, and to me, in consequence. The Grand Duke gave for answer, 'That he was willing to refer the case to any Sovereign in Europe, the choice of whom he left to the King entirely, and his Royal Highness would abide by that decision. I have since had no answer whatever. The Grand Duke wrote himself a letter, stating the same, to the King in his own hand writing.'—On Lord Nelson's leaving Leghorn, Mr. Wyndham added, Nov. 30, from that place, ' Since your Lordship's departure I have been busied in promoting, as far as I could, the hints which you gave me; and I hope I have in a great degree succeeded, notwithstanding it is by no means an easy task to be interpreter and mediator at the same time, with three powers at variance in opinion: Captain Troubridge, the auditor of Leghorn, Signor Frulani, and the Neapolitan General, were with me all together. What you do, I will certainly second; your Lordship's judgment and prudence will decide better than me: I am happy to obey, and particularly one of your very high authority, acquired by real and uncommon merit.'

Captain Troubridge to Admiral Nelson, dated Culloden, Leghorn roads, Dec. 1, 1798.

' My Lord: As soon as your Lordship was gone, I went on shore and found a general hurry and movement. I advised the old General to seize immediately all the French in the Mole, or let me do it; but he said his orders were very particular not to make war with the French. I asked him whether taking Rome was to be considered as a hostile transaction of the King of Naples; if it were, why not act as his King had done? At last he agreed, but took two days, and then wanted the whole of the Genoese vessels in ballast to be let go. I represented the matter to Mr. Wyndham, as being quite contrary to our agreement, and we settled how I should act. I believe the only thing which at last brought the General to take any steps, was my telling him the Mole would be destroyed by fire, and probably the town; and in the bustle the French, Genoese, &c. might take the place from him. This staggered him, and he agreed, as I have told you, to a half measure. Dec. 5. I enclose General Naselli's proclamation. Mr. Wyndham has been with the General to press him to put his proclamation in force, which ordered all the crews of the French ships, and the vagabonds to depart in two days; four have now elapsed and no orders are given, nor any attempt made to force the substance of the proclamation to be executed: the true Neapolitan shuffle takes place on all occasions. If the King of Naples had good officers I should have no fears, at present I really feel distressed for him. Mack's orders and the letters from the King of Naples are very different. The Grand Duke is

perfectly satisfied with what we have done; not so with the Neapolitans.—Wilmot^c is very active and to be trusted in any service. The moment this port is in safety I shall be off and put my orders in execution.'

On Lord Nelson's arrival at Naples, Dec. 5th, from Leghorn, a number of persons overwhelmed him with odes and congratulatory poems on the battle of the Nile. Amongst the rest the English composition of a mendicant Irish priest, M'Cormick, of the order of St. Francis, was presented; which, though possessing little merit, was remarkable for a passage that predicted the taking of Rome^d by the Admiral's ships. This passage struck his Lordship; but he represented to the Friar the impossibility of getting ships up the Tiber to act against Rome. The mendicant replied, *I nevertheless see that it will come to pass*. Lord Nelson ordered his secretary, Mr. Tyson, to give the poor man some dollars for his labour and good wishes, and for a time the Friar and his prediction were equally forgotten.

The day after the Admiral's return, he sent the following account of his intended proceedings, and of the Neapolitan army, to Earl St. Vincent.—'My dear Lord: On my way back from Leghorn I fell in with the Portuguese squadron, which had got to my rendezvous, Porto Ferrajo. The Marquis de Niza deserves credit for his perseverance, but his ships cannot do what ours can. My arrangements respecting Corfu and Egypt have from necessity been overturned; and a part of my squadron is kept on this coast of Italy. I expect dear Hood every moment from Egypt, his provisions must be very short; he deserves great credit for his perseverance. I received yesterday a private letter from Lord Spencer, of October 7, declaring that the first Lieutenants of all the ships *engaged* would be promoted. I sincerely hope this is not intended to exclude the first Lieutenant of the Culloden; for heaven's sake, for my sake, if it be so, get it altered. Our dear friend Troubridge has endured enough, his sufferings were in every respect more than any of us; he deserves every reward which a grateful Country can bestow on the most meritorious sea officer of his standing in the service. I have felt his worth every hour of my command; and had before written to you my dear Lord on this subject, therefore I place Troubridge in your hands. The state of this country is briefly as follows: The Neapolitan army is at Rome, Civita Vecchia is taken, but in the Castle of St. Angelo are 500 French troops. The French have also 13,000 troops at a strong post in the Roman state, called Castellana. General Mack is gone against them with 20,000: the event in my opinion is doubtful, and on it hangs the immediate fate of Naples. If Mack is defeated, in fourteen days this country is lost; for the Emperor has not yet moved his army, and, if the Emperor

^c Captain of H. M. S. Alliance, a young and excellent officer, who was afterwards killed at the siege of Acre. He had previously been several times wounded in the service of his Country.

^d See preceding Memoir, Part III. page 4.

will not march, Naples has not the power of resisting the French. It was not a case of choice, but of necessity, which forced the King of Naples to march out of his kingdom, and not wait until the French had collected a force sufficient to drive him, in a week, out of his dominions.'—It must be acknowledged that the King of Naples, throughout the whole of his conduct on this occasion, displayed a spirit which did honour to his character: in personal courage he was by no means wanting. In his manifesto published at San Germano, Nov. 22, his Majesty declared, 'It is better to die gloriously for God and our Country than to live shamefully oppressed.' On the approach of his army to Rome, Championet, the French General, having placed a strong garrison in the Castle, immediately retired; and the King buoyed up with delusive hopes, established his head-quarters at the Farnese Palace.

On the 9th of October, 1798, Lord Spencer in writing to Lord St. Vincent had said, 'The exception of the first Lieutenant of the Culloden was necessary, on account of that ship not having got into action from the circumstance of being aground: I am however so fully convinced of the merit both of Captain Troubridge and his officers on all occasions, that I beg you would be so good as to give the first vacancy of Commander that arises, to the first Lieutenant of the Culloden.'—The distinction thus made respecting the Culloden's first Lieutenant, was, as Lord St. Vincent himself observed, in promising to pay it the earliest attention, a just one; for had Lord Spencer promoted him with the others, some future Commander in Chief might have quoted it as a precedent for a bad purpose. Yet notwithstanding this, and all the previous conduct of Earl St. Vincent, Lord Nelson had already imbibed, whilst at Naples, the seeds of distrust and suspicion respecting his hitherto beloved Commander in Chief: In writing to Lady Nelson from that place, Dec. 11, he said, 'I have not received a line from England since the first of October. Lord St. Vincent is in no hurry to oblige me now: in short I am the envied man, but better that than to be the pitied one. Never mind; it is my present intention to leave this country in May. The poor Queen has again made me promise not to quit her or her family, until brighter prospects appear than do at present. The King is with the army and she is sole Regent; she is in fact a great King. Lady Hamilton's goodness forces me out at noon for an hour. What can I say of her's and Sir William's attention to me? They are in fact, with the exception of you and my good Father, the dearest friends I have in this world. I live as Sir William's son in the house, and my glory is as dear to them as their own; in short I am under such obligations as I can never repay but with my eternal gratitude. The improvement made in Josiah (Captain Nisbet) by Lady Hamilton is wonderful; your obligations and mine are infinite on that score; not but Josiah's heart is as good and as humane as ever was covered by a human breast. God bless him, I love him dearly with all his roughness.'

Lord Nelson to the Russian Vice Admiral Ouchakof, dated Dec. 12, 1798.

‘ Sir: I have not yet heard of the junction, off Alexandria, of a Turkish and Russian squadron with my invaluable friend Captain Hood. I hope soon to be informed that all the French shipping in Alexandria is destroyed, as also the whole French army in Egypt. Malta is blockaded by a squadron of three sail of the line and four frigates. Mortars and cannon have been lately sent from this arsenal for the use of the Maltese, 15,000 of whom are in arms against the town of la Valette. These brave Maltese are fighting under the Neapolitan flag. I most fervently hope that Corfu will soon surrender to the efforts you are making against it.—Egypt is the first object, Corfu the second.’

The affairs of Naples were at this time in so desperate a state, that nothing more was wanting to increase the perplexity and irritability of Lord Nelson. The King had indeed placed himself at the head of his army, but his troops were led on by General Mack. It is also a fact which was well known to many of the English Captains in Lord Nelson's squadron, that these troops by whom the King of Naples alone hoped to preserve his dominions, had, owing to a strange fatality, been raised by a French artillery officer, Le Combe St. Michel, who had acted his allotted part, as ambassador from the republic. Having received money from the King of Naples, he selected such of his subjects as he knew were favourably inclined towards the French; the event therefore corresponded with this deep laid treachery: When the King's army approached the enemy, the flight of the Neapolitans became general; their cannon, tents, baggage and even military chest, were all left behind them. Dejected and overcome by what had happened, the King of Naples retraced his steps, and on the 14th of December, 1798, returned home. Preparations were instantly made, with the greatest secrecy, for the retreat of the Royal Family to Sicily under the protection of Lord Nelson. The *Terpsichore*, Captain Gage, was left off Leghorn, according to his Lordship's directions, with orders from Captain Troubridge in the uncertain state of Tuscany to be ready to remove the Grand Duke, our Minister, and the factory, in case circumstances should require it. Should events come to an extremity, Captain Gage was ordered to proceed off Naples with great caution, and, in case of its being in possession of the enemy, he was to proceed to the Lipari islands and inquire there whether the Admiral was at Messina or Palermo.

It demanded the utmost caution and much address in Lord Nelson to elude the vigilance of French spies, and to avoid the suspicion of the Neapolitan nobles, so as to secure the safe retreat of the Royal Family. In this, however, he received very essential service from the English Ambassador and Lady Hamilton. At a considerable risk, this extraordinary and daring woman had explored a subterranean passage leading from the palace to the sea side. One of the sentries was alarmed by a bell that had accidentally been touched, and but for the presence of mind which Lady Hamilton displayed, the whole

design would have been frustrated. Every thing being at length ready for the retreat of the Royal Family from Naples to a more secure part of their kingdom, General Pignatelli was appointed Vice Regent; and the following orders respecting the Neapolitan ships were on the 22d of December, 1798, transmitted by Lord Nelson to the Portuguese Rear Admiral, the Marquis de Niza: ‘Notwithstanding my former orders of yesterday’s date, you are in the present circumstances, by the very particular desire of their Sicilian Majesties, to obey the following Instructions: To instantly remove her most faithful Majesty’s squadron to as great a distance from the town as you can, and to remove all the Neapolitan ships of war without your ships, and in case *of either the entry of the French troops into Naples, or an insurrection of the people against its legitimate government*, in that event you are to destroy the ships: but you are not to consider, under the present circumstances, a refusal to admit *your boats on shore, as an insurrection against the government*; since it may arise from fear of the French, in case they unfortunately should get to Naples. And whereas General Fortiguerra has received the most positive instructions from the King, to procure and send off to the ships of his Majesty such spars and stores as may be necessary to rig them with jury masts, you are therefore to lend them such stores, from the ships under your command, as may be required to navigate them to the mole of Messina; when you are at liberty to take the articles lent back again if you want them. When any one ship of the ships of his Majesty is put into a state to be navigated, you will directly order her to sail and to be manned by part of the crew of the ship you may order to attend her, if Neapolitan seamen cannot be found to man her. You will of course direct such men as are wanted to equip them for sea. Herewith you will receive an order for Captain Hope of H. M. S. Alcmena to put himself under your command. Given on board the Vanguard at Naples.’

A narrative of the subsequent proceedings of Lord Nelson, with some account of what had happened immediately previous to the removal of the Royal Family, is thus given by himself in an official letter to Earl St. Vincent, dated Palermo, Dec. 28, 1798. ‘My Lord: For many days previous to the embarkation, it was not difficult to foresee that such a thing might happen; I therefore sent for the Goliath from off Malta, and for Captain Troubridge in the Culloden and his squadron from the north and west coast of Italy; the Vanguard being the only ship in Naples Bay. On the 14th of December, the Marquis de Niza with three of the Portuguese squadron arrived from Leghorn, as did Captain Hope in the Alcmena from Egypt; from that time the danger for the personal safety of their Sicilian Majesties was daily increasing, and new treasons were found out, even to the Minister of war. The whole correspondence relative to this important business, was carried on with the greatest address by Lady Hamilton and the Queen; who having been in constant habits

^b The passages in italics were underlined by Lord Nelson.

of correspondence, no one could suspect them. It would have been highly imprudent either in Sir William Hamilton, or myself, to have gone to Court, as we knew that our movements were watched, and that even an idea was entertained by the Jacobins of arresting our persons as hostages, as they foolishly imagined, against the attack of Naples should the French get possession of it. Lady Hamilton, from that time to the 21st, every night received the jewels of the Royal Family, &c. &c. and such clothes as might be necessary for the very large party about to embark, to the amount I am confident of full two millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling. On the 18th, General Mack wrote that he had no prospect of stopping the progress of the French, and entreated their Majesties to think of retiring from Naples, with their august family, as expeditiously as possible. All the Neapolitan Navy were now taken out of the mole, consisting of three sail of the line and three frigates. The seamen from the two sail of the line in the bay, left their ships and went on shore; and a party of English seamen, with officers, was sent from the Vanguard to assist in navigating those ships to a place of safety. From the 18th, various plans were formed for the removal of the Royal Family from the palace to the water side. On the 19th, I received a note from General Acton, saying that the King approved of my plan for their embarkation; during that day, the 20th, and 21st of December, very large assemblies of people were in commotion, and several people were killed and one was dragged by the legs to the palace. The mob on the 20th were very unruly, and insisted that the Royal Family should not leave Naples; however they were pacified by the King and Queen speaking to them. On the 21st, at half past eight P. M. three barges with myself and Captain Hope landed at a corner of the arsenal. I went into the Palace and brought out the whole Royal Family, put them in the boats, and at half past nine they were all safely on board the Vanguard; when I gave immediate notice to all British merchants, that their persons would be received on board every and any ship in the squadron; their effects of value being before embarked in the three English transports which were partly unladen, and I had directed that all the condemned provisions should be thrown overboard, in order to make room for their effects. Sir William Hamilton had also ordered two vessels to be hired for the accommodation of the French emigrants, and provisions were supplied from our victuallers. In short every thing has been done for the comfort of all persons embarked. I did not forget, in these important movements, that it was my duty not to leave the chance of any ships of war falling into the hands of the French, and therefore every preparation had been made for burning them before I sailed; but the reasons given me by their Sicilian Majesties¹ had induced me not to destroy them until the last moment. I therefore issued

¹ It is singular that Helen Maria Williams, whose work will be more particularly noticed in the ensuing year, should have asserted the contrary, in her letters respecting the State of Manners and Opinions in the French Republic (Vol. I. p. 142). She also states, that Lord Nelson's vessel was dismasted during the passage to Sicily, and that a polacre, with a cargo of attendants and others belonging to the Court, was swallowed up by the waves: both of which are equally incorrect.

my directions to the Marquis de Niza . . . and instructed him to join me at Palermo, leaving one or two ships to cruise between Capri and Ischia, in order to prevent the entrance of any English ships into the bay of Naples. On the 23d, at seven P. M. the Vanguard, Samnite, and Archimedes, with about twenty sail of vessels, left the bay of Naples. The next day it blew much harder than I ever experienced since I have been at sea: your Lordship will believe my anxiety was not lessened by the great charge that was with me; but not a word of uneasiness escaped the lips of any of the Royal Family. On the 25th, at nine A. M. Prince Albert, their Majesties' youngest child, having ate a hearty breakfast, was taken ill, and at seven P. M. died in the arms of Lady Hamilton: and here it is my duty to tell your Lordship of the obligations which the whole Royal Family, as well as myself, were under on this trying occasion to her Ladyship. They necessarily came on board without a bed, nor could the least preparation be made for their reception. Lady Hamilton provided her own bed and linen, &c. and became their slave; for, except one man, no person belonging to the court assisted the Royal Family. I must not omit to state the kindness of Captain Hardy and of every officer in the Vanguard, all of whom readily gave up their beds for the numerous persons attending the Royal Family. At three P. M. being in sight of Palermo, H. S. M. Royal standard was hoisted at the maintop-gallant mast head of the Vanguard. The Vanguard anchored at two A. M. December 26, and at five I attended her Majesty and all the Princesses on shore; the Queen being so much affected by the death of Prince Albert, that she could not bear to go on shore in a public manner. At nine A. M. his Majesty went on shore, and was received with the loudest acclamations and apparent joy.'

Soon after the arrival of the Royal Family at Palermo, which hitherto had been the residence of the Sicilian Viceroys, Lord Nelson received an interesting letter from Captain Troubridge, describing the state of Tuscany. Captain Troubridge mentioned the strange conduct of the Marquis Manfredini, who had endeavoured to make the Tuscans believe that all the horrors of war and the loss of their property were inevitable, if the good will of the Great Nation were not purchased. This Nobleman had been tutor to the Grand Duke, and when his Highness succeeded to the government, the Marquis, who was esteemed a man of abilities, had been created Prime Minister. Nothing could be better than the conduct of the people of Tuscany before this treachery commenced; they had enrolled themselves to the number of 80,000, and had carried all their silver to the mint. The high spirit of Captain Troubridge, in common with that of every officer who had been present at Aboukir, was also at this time particularly insulted by the illiberal manner in which the French government had endeavoured to sully the glory of that victory. Utterly devoid of that generosity which exalts the vanquished, the eloquence of the Parisian orators had attempted to vilify what they had not sufficient resolution to commend. The whole of Briot's speech in the Council of Five Hundred, Sept. 19, 1798, had been of this description;

and in their ministerial paper, the *Directeur*, Sept. 25th, was the following extraordinary passage: ‘The valour of the English, which so many poor creatures take delight to celebrate, consists in nothing else than overpowering their enemies by superiority of numbers. Nelson, reinforced by every Traitor, after adding to his squadron squadrons still more numerous, attacked the French on board their ships lying at anchor in an open road. The British, emboldened by a stupid superiority, could be no other than successful . . . In point of glory and renown on which side was the hero? To burn ships is a kind of puny trick which bespeaks weakness: it was but a hypocritical victory.’ The *Clef du Cabinet* observed, ‘That if the Opposition Party in our Parliament retained any degree of energy, *Admiral Nelson would not easily justify his conduct.*’—Previous to the anniversary of the republic, in September, 1798, and before the news of our victory had reached Paris, it had been publicly given out, that amongst other *grand spectacles* there would be exhibited a superb representation of the English fleet in flames: the preparation, however, that had been accordingly made for this purpose, was afterwards changed into a fortified harbour.

At the close of the year 1798, Lord Spencer had sent several letters to the noble Admiral, from which the following extracts have been taken. In answer to that dated Sept. 7th, Lord Spencer said, ‘Your letter relative to the Prizes which you burnt at Aboukir, has been under the consideration of government; and though the case is one for which there has never yet been any precedent, and by the strict rules of the service could not be admitted as a claim, yet I believe I can take upon me to assure you, that the singular merits of your situation will have such weight, as to induce us to deviate from the usual practice; and an arrangement is making to allow a sum equivalent to the amount of the least valuable of the other prizes; as it is reasonable to suppose that the ships, which you were under the necessity of burning, were the worst conditioned amongst those that were captured. The *Foudroyant* was already sent out to you, and four bomb vessels, before I received your letter of the 16th of September. In yours of the 19th you mention the family of the late Captain Faddy of the marines: I have paid all the attention I could to his widow, and though the age of his son will not allow of his receiving a marine commission immediately, he shall be considered as a candidate for one in due time, when he shall be qualified according to our rules.’—‘*Admiralty, Dec. 25, 1798.* I am happy to find that the *Culloden* was capable of being continued in service, as I well know the value you so deservedly set on Captain Troubridge’s assistance. In the strict execution of the King’s orders, respecting the Medals to be given on occasion of the battle of the Nile, Captain Troubridge, not having actually been in action, would have been excluded; but I am very happy to tell you, that I have been expressly authorised by his Majesty to present him with a Medal, as well as all the other Captains in the line on that day, for his services

both before and since, and for the great and wonderful exertions he made at the time of the action, in saving and getting off his ship.'

The cordiality which had thus prevailed between the first Lord of the Admiralty and Lord Nelson, was however at the close of 1798, interrupted by the appointment of Captain Sir Sidney Smith to cooperate with his brother in the Mediterranean; and as the irritation which this produced in the mind of Lord Nelson has been already laid before the public, it becomes necessary to state the fact with impartiality and correctness. Lord Spencer's motives for this appointment were consistent with the rest of his upright conduct; and it is to be presumed that his Lordship was not entirely aware of the general impression, which such an appointment would create throughout the Mediterranean. Ministers at that time were anxious to make the most of the emotion and sensation which the battle of Aboukir had excited in Turkey, and in consequence of Sir Sidney Smith's former residence at Constantinople, and his near connexion with the British Minister at the Ottoman Court, they had judged it expedient to send out this naval officer. Lord Spencer, however, in obeying the determination of the Cabinet, had added, with his usual prudence and attention to the service, the following clause in his instructions* to the Commander in Chief: 'Should the arrangement of the force to remain for the present in the Levant to cooperate with the Turks, lead to there being only one or two ships of two decks on that service; it may be most advisable that, from the local and personal acquaintance Sir Sidney is possessed of with the Turkish officers, he should be the senior officer; but I have given him to understand, that if a large force should be thought necessary, his standing on the list will not admit of it; there being so many Captains of distinguished merit who are his seniors.' Earl Spencer afterwards explained his conduct on this subject to Lord Nelson, in the most open and explicit manner, by a private letter, dated March 12, 1799, from which it appears, that a very great misunderstanding had arisen respecting the nature of Sir Sidney Smith's appointment, who had been sent to serve in the Mediterranean entirely under Lord Nelson's orders.

Lord Nelson, on first hearing of this appointment, immediately sent an official and afterwards a private letter to Earl St. Vincent, in both of which he requested permission to retire. In the first, dated Dec. 30, 1798, from Palermo, after mentioning the manner in which his health had suffered from the great anxiety he had undergone, he added: 'And now finding that much abler Officers are arrived within the district which I had thought under my command, and, I flatter myself, having made the British Nation and our gracious Sovereign more beloved and respected than heretofore; under these circumstances I entreat, if my health and uneasiness of mind should not be mended, that I may have your Lordship's permission, to leave this station to my gallant and most excellent second in

* From the Nelson Papers.

command, Captain Troubridge, or some other of my brave friends who so gloriously fought in the battle of the Nile.'—In his private letter the next day, Dec. 31, he wrote with less reserve: 'I do feel, for I am a man, that it is impossible for me to serve in these seas with a squadron under a junior officer: Could I have thought it, and from Earl Spencer? Never, never was I so astonished as your letter made me. As soon as I can get hold of Troubridge, I shall send him to Egypt to endeavour to destroy the ships in Alexandria. If it can be done, Troubridge will do it. Sir Sidney writes to Sir W. Hamilton, that he shall go to Egypt and take Captain Hood, and the squadron, under his command. He has no orders from you to take my ships away. Pray grant me your permission to retire.'

Earl St. Vincent returned the following answer: 'I am not surprised at your feelings being outraged, at the attempt Sir Sidney Smith is making to wrest a part of your squadron from you. I have received much the same letter from him, as the one you describe to have been addressed to Sir W. Hamilton; a copy of which, with my answer, you have enclosed, and orders for you to take him immediately under your command. I have informed Lord Spencer of all these proceedings. For the sake of your Country and the existence of its power in the Levant, moderate your feelings and continue on your station. With leave to go home in my pocket, I dare not avail myself of it, because I think his Majesty's service would suffer by my absence. In this I may be mistaken, for Lord Keith is certainly an able man; but having been three years in the trammels of this command, and having found the means to enforce Obedience to my orders in the refractory, I feel I can do more than a new man. The sensations you must have gone through before and since your departure from Naples, must have been very trying; nevertheless, I trust the greatness of your mind will keep up the body, and that you will not think of abandoning the Royal Family, whom by your firmness and address you have preserved from the fate of their late royal relations in France. Employ Sir Sidney Smith in any manner you think proper: Knowing your magnanimity, I am sure you will mortify him as little as possible, consistently with what is due to the great characters senior to him on the list.'

These sentiments of Earl St. Vincent were supported by nearly a similar letter from General O'Hara, Governor of Gibraltar; in which he said; 'I trust, my dear Lord, that our Government has sufficient honour, dignity, and wisdom, to support Officers of such splendid merit as yours against any machinations. I hope you will not quit the station in times of such critical danger, but stick by the bark with your usual spirit, ability and fortitude. The flight of the Royal Family of Naples was a circumstance that would so certainly happen, as not to give me the smallest surprise; but between ourselves, it is a matter of astonishment, how Sir W. Hamilton, after residing in that sink of abomination for thirty years, could ever have any hope, or place any confidence in Neapolitan Faith, Virtue, or Courage.'

Lord Nelson to Commodore Duckworth.

‘ My dear Sir: I have received the notification of the force expected from Brest,¹ and if they do get into the Mediterranean, I am confident they will first go to Toulon; which when you are apprised of, I submit to your consideration, in concert with his Excellency General Stuart, the propriety of uniting our forces: At what point this would be best, I should be truly happy in coinciding with you and the General. I am well aware of the small force of the General and yourself, should an invasion of Minorca take place; but I have the very highest opinion of General Stuart, who by his abilities would make even a bad army a good one. I wish to send you two sail of the line, and to request your look out upon Toulon: I am sure it cannot be in better hands; but our situation respecting Italy every day alters from bad to worse, so that I cannot answer for my present intentions. You may be assured of my ardent desire to do every thing which can render your command pleasant, and for the security of the invaluable acquisition of Minorca.’

From the time of the King of Sicily’s retreat from his metropolis of Naples, Lord Nelson’s ship became, eventually, his Majesty’s seat of government, whence the royal mandates were issued. On the 6th of January, 1799, an order was given out by the King, dated from the Vanguard, that all Frenchmen of whatever description should leave the island of Sicily; and that an English transport of 600 tons would be ready, on the next day, to receive the French emigrants. On the 7th of January, Captain Troubridge, who had arrived on the 5th, sailed with the Culloden, Theseus, Bull Dog and some victuallers, to Syracuse, to collect the bombs that were destined to attack the French ships in the harbour of Alexandria, and on the 9th he passed through the Faro of Messina, and soon afterwards Captain Louis in the Minotaur was detached to protect Leghorn.

In addition to the late orders which Lord Nelson had issued to the Marquis de Niza, respecting the preservation of his Sicilian Majesty’s fleet, previous to setting sail from Naples; his Lordship in writing to the Portuguese Commander, January 3, 1799, said, ‘ I cannot but rejoice that you have not burnt the Neapolitan ships of war; for until the arrival or near approach of the French, it was the particular desire of their Sicilian Majesties they should not be destroyed, and for wise reasons. If you leave Naples, I rest assured you will give strict directions that my orders to your Lordship are obeyed.’

Nothing could be more clear and honourable than the conduct which both his Sicilian Majesty and Lord Nelson pursued on this trying emergency. The Neapolitan fleet, on the Marquis de Niza’s being obliged to leave the bay of Naples, was afterwards intrusted, with a repetition of Lord Nelson’s orders by the Marquis, to the care of the Portuguese

¹ Orders had been received at Brest, so far back as October 15, 1798, for six line of battle ships to be immediately completed for Toulon; but only four had been named for that service, the *Jean Jacques*, *Jemappe*, and *Zelee*, of 74 guns, and the *Formidable* of 80.

Commodore, Donald Campbell, who afterwards felt himself compelled, in consequence of the indecision and suspicious conduct of the Neapolitan General Pignatelli, to destroy their ships. On first hearing of this, Lord Nelson immediately sent the following letter to the Marquis, who was then at Palermo, dated Jan. 11, 1799. ‘ My dear Lord: Reports are at Court, that although the French were not at Naples, nor near being so, (for whilst an army was covering Naples, the enemy could not be considered as near taking it), Commodore Campbell has burnt all the Neapolitan ships of war. Now, as this conduct is in positive disobedience of my orders to your Lordship, I have to request that you will inform me, whether your Lordship has given any orders to Commodore Campbell in contradiction to mine? I only beg that I may not see the Commodore until this very serious matter is explained to my satisfaction.’ The Marquis replied on the same day to his Lordship, and cleared himself from all suspicion, by sending a copy of the orders that had been left. On the subsequent arrival of Commodore Campbell at Palermo, he addressed the following exculpation of his conduct to the Admiral, dated on board the *Alphonso*, Jan. 13, 1799. ‘ I flatter myself that your Lordship, on perusing my enclosed correspondence with General Pignatelli, and the detail with which I now accompany it, will admit, That circumstances did exist which justified me in thinking it was necessary to destroy the Neapolitan ships, nor hazard their falling into the hands of the enemy. In my correspondence, your Lordship may observe the very suspicious part which he acted; and those suspicions were much confirmed, on finding the General had been addressed by a tumultuous assemblage of the people, to mount the guns on the Mole against the ships . . . Circumstanced, my Lord, as the city of Naples was with the near approach of the enemy, I saw no other alternative than to destroy the ships and come away agreeable to my orders.’

Commodore Campbell's enclosed Correspondence with the General, entered at considerable length on this subject, and removed much of the blame from himself, to the disgraceful indecision of Pignatelli. Traitors strangely nestled amongst the higher ranks of the Neapolitans: the mob, as Lord Nelson observed in one of his letters, were certainly loyal, the nobility to a man were Jacobins. Campbell, throughout, strenuously preserved the loyalty and energy of a Briton, as will appear from the following extracts: In his third letter to Pignatelli, dated January 4, 1799, he had said, ‘ I take the liberty to propose that you will arm, with the greatest haste, 10 or 12,000 patriots, who according to my information have voluntarily offered themselves to defend their Country. That number, joined to General Mack's army, would form a force sufficient to destroy the enemy. I wish it were in my power to land any of our people, to act with the corps I propose to you to raise; but as our men are employed on other objects in the service of H. S. M. I can make you no other offer than to assure your Excellency, that I will with the most lively desire accompany the volunteers to Capua, if you approve of it . . . I hope

you will answer me quickly and definitively. Half measures in this critical conjuncture will not serve us. The fate of Naples depends upon Capua; therefore if you do not take definitive measures, I must.'—In his fourth letter, written the next day, Campbell had added, 'I am obliged to contemplate, in a very unfavourable point of view, the resistance that may be expected from the troops in Capua without immediately applying the enthusiasm of the people, which your Excellency confesses does exist, to that point of defence; but instead of that, I see that the civic corps your Excellency speaks of, are solely directed to the internal defence and the establishment of civil order in the City. In the present critical and dangerous position of affairs, the only remedy, is to fall upon the enemy with the greatest number of people that can be collected together; and instead of abating the zeal of the common people by the authority of the civic corps, to unite them and march against the French: who hourly gain strength not only from their daily reinforcements, but also, which is of more consequence, from the considerable number of their partizans whom, by means of their well known and accustomed intrigues, they employ to their purpose not only in the army, but also in Naples. It is consistent with my knowledge, that a French proclamation has been circulated in Naples, to mollify the public mind in favour of a Republic; amongst many other conditions which they propose, they offer the Neapolitan officers of the Army, and Navy, a continuation of the same rank and emoluments which they actually enjoy from the King of Naples; and to those who distinguish themselves by their activity in establishing a republic, a step of preferment. Your Excellency, in your letter of the 3d instant, informed me of your project of treating with the enemy for an Armistice. In my answer I proposed to your Excellency a doubt, whether the French, in the terms of such an armistice, might not insist on withdrawing the Neapolitan ships from under my charge; to which your Excellency makes me no reply . . . I am sorry you think it necessary to offer the Portuguese seamen a reward, either to serve the King of Naples, or to distress the enemy; let me assure you that it is not for interest, but for the honour of their Nation that they serve.'

Without dwelling too long on a Correspondence so honourable to the memory of Campbell, he on January 7, 1799, had informed General Pignatelli; That the boats from the shore had proceeded to pillage his Sicilian Majesty's ships in the roads, and had even gone the length of firing on some of the Portuguese boats sent with orders to keep them at a distance, as the Commodore had wished by such lenient measures to avoid any dispute, or to interrupt the tranquillity of the city; but finding that their insolence on that day became intolerable, 'I ordered,' added he, 'one of their boats with six men who were in the act of robbing, immediately to be burnt as an example to the rest . . . I must tell your Excellency that I think it extremely extraordinary, there can exist the smallest uneasiness in the mind of any person well affected to his Sovereign, on seeing warlike

stores sent to this Squadron: I shall be obliged to consider the refusal of those stores, as a failure of the cooperation which ought to subsist between us.'—Commodore Campbell closed this correspondence with Pignatelli, on the 8th of January, in the following words: 'I have repeatedly informed your Excellency, that operations at sea will not admit of delay. Your not answering at a competent time the question in my two last letters, whether Naples is actually in danger, either from the approach of the enemy, or from the discontents of the people? I have got under weigh, which is all I have now to say to your Excellency.'

On the 14th of January, 1799, Sir John Acton sent the following information to Lord Nelson, respecting this Vicar General and Vice Regent. 'We are at this moment surprised with a strange report about a most infamous Armistice,' which Pignatelli has dared to subscribe himself, contrary to the orders specified in his instructions; wherein the kingdom was to be defended to the last stone in Calabria. A council is to be held to night and to morrow on this extraordinary conduct.'

*The King of the Two Sicilies to his Vicar General Prince Pignatelli, dated Palermo,
January 15, 1799.*

'At the time when from the urgency of circumstances and the good dispositions manifested by the people, to which in your former letters you have done justice, I expected a general rising in defence of the Capital of my Kingdom, I received yours of the 12th instant, which informs me of the disgraceful Treaty that has been concluded, in consequence of the most absurd instructions given by you to persons directed to negotiate with the enemy: by which I see the greatest part of my realm, though unconquered, given up with a view of sparing the capital; when it is obvious that these concessions must lead to the irretrievable loss of my whole kingdom. I have been more surprised that you have acted in this unwarrantable manner, as you had no powers from me for such negotiations. The instructions I left with you were of a tendency very different. In concluding such a Treaty you may either have forgotten you have a Master, or have remembered it only for the purpose of imposing on him the most scandalous and disgraceful terms. You may suppose how much I am incensed, at finding the trust I had given you betrayed in such a manner, and how indignant I feel against your unworthy advisers. F. R.'

Lord Nelson, in sending his Commander in Chief an account of the whole proceeding, January 16, added, 'I have offered to go myself to the bay of Naples, but both the King and Queen have so seriously pressed me not to move, that I cannot do it: they have fears, and have confidence in me for their safety. January 19. Things are going from bad to worse. I have before me the poor Queen's letter, of this morning, to our dear Lady Hamilton,

Signed in the French camp before Capua, January 10th, by Championet; and the Prince de Miliano and the Duke de Genoa, the Plenipotentiaries of Prince Pignatelli, Viceroy of the kingdom of Naples.

whom to see is to admire, but, to know, are to be added honour and respect; her head and heart surpass her beauty, which cannot be equalled by any thing I have seen. I know it is her wish to write to you, and she will if it be possible.—Mack^m has disappeared. The few remaining cowardly troops are disarmed. *Jan. 25, 1799, in continuation.* We have had nothing direct from Naples since the 19th; on that day Prince Moliterni, who had been chosen General by the people for his loyalty to the King, but who forgot himself at the moment of his exaltation; had been deposed, according to report, and a butcher elevated to the dignity: but this system cannot go on, a government which only exists by the caprice of a mob cannot last. Naples must be revolutionised, unless the Emperor acts with vigour and speed. *February 1st.* Vanguard and Minerve are gone off Malta to see if they can be useful to Ball. Bellerophon, wanting a little putting in order, has my flag on board until Vanguard returns. Reports say the mob at Naples are in arms, and go from house to house demanding money to keep the French out. This conduct must end in the destruction of the Monarchy. A Parliament is called here, the Queen has her doubts about their temper; and I have promised, under my hand, not to leave her unless by her desire.’

The French, having thus previously corrupted and poisoned the good sense of the higher ranks in Naples, entered that city on the 23d of January, 1799, when much resistance was made by the mob. This undisciplined multitude, consisting chiefly of loyal Lazzeroni, amounted to 50,000 men, and displayed considerable resolution, even when the French army and its artillery had obtained possession of the principal streets. Concealed treachery, however, rendered every exertion of patriotism ineffectual; and the subjugation of the Neapolitans was, for a time, completed by the abject mummary and daring blasphemy of the wretched ministers of their religion: a day being actually appointed for a solemn *Te Deum*, when every one was invited to *return thanks to the Most High for the glorious entry of the French troops*. On the 27th, General Championet publicly announced that the Neapolitan Monarchy was destroyed, and a republic established in its stead, styled the Parthenopean; in which Dominico Cerillo, late physician to the King, and Flavio Pirelli, formerly president of the royal chamber, took their allotted parts. The Prince of Moliterni, who was appointed commander in chief, had addressed the loyal Lazzeroni, and had begged that they would shoot him if he ever betrayed their confidence; yet was this at the very time, when he was intriguing with the French to give up the castles on their approach to Naples: He afterwards accompanied the French General to the same Lazzeroni, and desired, as their

^m He had taken refuge, as is asserted, in the French camp. Lord Nelson had been at this time informed, that there was no doubt of General Mack's being then in private conference with some persons high in the secrets at Vienna, to counteract the projects of the King of Naples; and that the Cabinet at Vienna had still resolved to act upon the same ruinous principles.

ⁿ From the Nelson papers.

King had abandoned and robbed them, that they would now thank the Great Nation for giving them liberty, and liberating them from slavery.—The Princes della Torrella and Rocca Romana, whose property was very great, also accepted of commissions in the national guard.

Whilst such was the deplorable state of the kingdom of Naples, and the alarming situation of its Royal Family, whose hopes and comforts equally rested upon Lord Nelson and the force he commanded; the Dutchy of Tuscany, and the cruel insults to which the King of Sardinia was exposed, demanded also a very large share of his Lordship's judgment and decision. Throughout the whole of the subsequent proceedings, his Excellency the Hon. W. Wyndham displayed an energy and impartiality, which all the artifice of French intrigue could not affect; and the cooperation of Captain Louis, stationed off the port of Leghorn, was at all times worthy of his professional character. Towards the end of January, 1799, the arrival of a very rich English convoy had been daily expected. On the 23d, Mr. Wyndham had presented a note on the subject to the Grand Duke; and after a meeting of the principal merchants on the 28th, it had been decided, that the convoy on its arrival should not enter the port of Leghorn, but should be placed under the protection of Captain Louis in the roads, until further means could be devised for its security. The threats of Salicetti and other Jacobins, the deceitful conduct of the enemy's Generals, and the near neighbourhood of the French army, kept Tuscany at that time in a very precarious state; and as Mr. Wyndham added in his official note, 'There was reason to believe, that if the French had not yet attacked the government, it was only to wait the arrival of this rich convoy, in order to ensure its capture.'

During these proceedings, the King of Sardinia and his family, justly apprehensive of the treachery of French friendship, had arrived at Florence, and were lodged in one of the Grand Duke's palaces, about a mile without the city. His Majesty intended to seek an asylum in Sardinia: feeling that an over peaceable disposition on the part of the Emperor, or a sudden declaration of war, might either of them prove his ruin; and that, when the French chose to pronounce it, thirty-six hours would at any time be sufficient to accomplish his destruction. His Majesty afterwards embarked on board a Danish frigate that had arrived at Leghorn, whose Captain had offered to convey him safely to Cagliari; and which was preferred on account of the neutrality of Denmark. Mr. Wyndham, in his letters from Florence, informed Lord Nelson of various circumstances that had preceded and attended this transaction. 'Feb. 6, 1799. The King of Sardinia is very grateful to your Lordship for leaving a force off Leghorn. I feel most sincerely your attention in sending Captain Louis, whose conduct gives great satisfaction to this Court, and who in every respect is a proper person for the service; uniting cool judgment and address with every other quality necessary for a military character, and concurring with me candidly for the public service. That

horrid monster Salicetti, member of the council of five hundred, is here on a mission from the Directory; he declares openly that Tuscany will be revolutionised in Lent. Manfredini three days since called upon Salicetti, who was unwell; Salicetti took him by the hand, and in the presence of about twelve persons of all ranks, said, *Quoique Manfredini soit aupres d'un Prince, il est cependant un des meilleurs amis que nous ayons.* It is reported that the King of Prussia has told the Directory that he will not suffer their treatment of the King of Sardinia, whom they must replace on his throne. His Majesty is still here and suffers much from convulsions, occasioned by the hard usage and violent treatment he is obliged to put up with from the French commissary who attends him, and others, who are appointed to thwart his wishes and contradict him on frivolous and vexatious pretexts. When the King three days since talked of going on his journey to Leghorn, the French commissary Chiboux said to him, *Vous ne partirez point, ce n'est pas a vous a commander, c'est a vous a recevoir nos ordres.* I am sorry to say his Majesty is not better treated by Venturi, a jacobin nobleman. Salicetti is the avowed enemy of Italy, a disciple of Robespierre, and unites the two characters of a native of Corsica and a member of the five hundred. I have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter from the Count Mocenigo, the Emperor of Russia's Minister to this Court. He tells me, that the Emperor sends 60,000 troops to Italy: those which march by land are already arrived at Saltzburgh.

' Feb. 16, 1799. His Sardinian Majesty' proposes sailing to morrow, or next day at latest from Leghorn, if the wind permits. His Majesty's cruel situation could not fail to call forth the feelings of any man, who possesses loyalty and honour. I therefore proposed and concerted with a person in H. M. confidence, to secure the Royal Family of Sardinia from any future insults on their passage by sea; and the same person was accordingly employed by me, to arrange with Captain Louis a mode of escorting the King and his suite to Cagliari; in such a manner that the French commissary should not know an English vessel was engaged to attend on the voyage. We had some idea of an intent of the French to intercept H. M. on the passage by their privateers; and the noted Franceschi, chief of the French and Corsican privateers in these seas, had been peculiarly active of late in arming and equipping a number of vessels best suited for resistance, apparently in concert with the French commissary and consul. The total impossibility of knowing how events might turn out after the King's landing in Sardinia, has induced H. M. to negotiate with me for the security of his person, and the protection of the only state which now remains to him. I cannot sufficiently commend Captain Louis for his generous zeal and kind concurrence in this affair. It may strike your Lordship, as it does me, that Sardinia, though at present in a depressed state and incapable of rendering us any assistance, may at some period,

^a The King was not able to get under sail until Feb. 23; when he was protected by the *Terpsichore*, Capt. Gage.

^o These ideas of Mr. Wyndham were afterwards adopted and acted upon by Lord Nelson.

and perhaps not far distant, be a source of great comfort and a post of importance for the military operations of the British fleet in these seas.'—On the 3d of March, 1799, the King of Sardinia being arrived off that island, published a Protest against the conduct of the French, dated from Cagliari roads; in which he declared, 'Upon the faith and word of a King, that he not only had never infringed, even in the slightest degree, the Treaties that had been made with the French republic; but on the contrary had observed them with such scrupulous exactness, and with such demonstrations of amity and condescension, as far exceeded the obligations he had contracted.'

On the arrival of the expected convoy at Leghorn, March 14th, under the care of the *Bellerophon*, the government of Tuscany became greatly agitated and alarmed. Upwards of 1000 French had arrived at Pistia, and the same number were to follow; another body of horse and foot, with artillery, had marched from Bologna to Florence, and two French frigates were cruising off Genoa in order to cooperate in an attack on Leghorn. The whole of the French army under Gauthier amounted to upwards of 6000 men. Mr. Wyndham immediately left Florence, and wrote to Lord Nelson, March 16, begging to be informed, Whether amidst the variety of calls for support, any prospect of assistance could be promised to the Grand Duke and the British merchants? In the mean time Captain Darby had been directed by his Excellency, at the urgent request of the English factory, to proceed with the merchant ships to Sicily, leaving only a few that were laden with perishable commodities. The Grand Duke firmly resolved to abide his fate; but had requested that an English man of war might remain at Leghorn to save him and the Royal Family, should the French resolve to send off H. R. H. by sea. 'My duty,' added Mr. Wyndham, March 22, 'is to remain at my station, as long as the Grand Duke is here, and you may be sure I shall not swerve from the post of honour. It is impossible to know the intentions of the French, we can only guess at them by measuring the utmost degree of villainy and barbarity. General Scherer has sent a message from Milan avowing his instructions to take possession of Leghorn, as the French have intelligence that the Russians mean to make a landing there; and desiring the Grand Duke to send either Corsini, or Manfredini to him to negotiate. Corsini would not go, but Manfredini went.'—A short time after this, March 25, Leghorn was occupied by General Miollis, and Florence possessed by General Scherer.

The Naval War on the coast of Egypt, and the ineffectual cooperation of the Turks, claimed also the attention of Lord Nelson. Captain Troubridge, whilst at Syracuse, in writing to him, Jan. 23, said, 'Ten French vagabonds, who belonged to a bombard, came here yesterday from Agosta, with one hundred and forty of their countrymen from Alexandria. Whilst in quarantine, like true Frenchmen, they insulted the inhabitants; and they in return massacred the whole except ten, who escaped here. I think the people seem inclined to despatch these the same way: I tell them, it is the only cure for a Frenchman. I took

two, and threatened to return them, which produced the following information: 'That Buonaparte is reduced to 15,000 men, and is totally surrounded by the Turks. These Frenchmen described the latter as being like the hair of their heads, always growing. Upwards of 1000 of the French soldiers are in a state of blindness. The Turks take no prisoners, of course they must soon annihilate them. The plague also was beginning to shew itself. —I have not heard from the Neapolitan ships at Messina since I wrote; but I really think if they have treasure on board, the people are likely to take them to Naples.'

Captain Hood had also on the 26th of January sent an account of his proceedings to the Admiral: On the 28th of November, 1798, the Turkish gun boats and the other vessels of that nation, had received Captain Hood's permission to sail for Rhodes, or any of the adjacent ports, with particular instructions to be in a proper state for immediate service. 'There was no alternative,' added Captain Hood, 'about their going away, as they became in want of every thing; and it was so far fortunate, as the weather we have since experienced has been severe. Captain Foote has lately captured a merchant boat with tobacco, and about seventy shells for thirteen inch mortars, in Bequieres bay; the Swiftsure has mortars of that size taken from Nelson's island. The enemy were sending the shells from Alexandria to the Nile, for some other part of Egypt; several others of the same kind have also attempted to pass, thinking our boats could not move at so late a period in the winter. Captains Hallowell and Foote who have been recently stationed there, have exerted themselves with their usual alertness. We have been hard run for provisions; but I shall avoid going down the Mediterranean as long as possible, as I foresee the fall of Acre, and probably a greater part of Syria the moment we quit this station.'

During the ensuing month of March, 1799, Buonaparte, in writing to Ghezzar Pasha at Acre, said, 'In a few days I shall march against Acre; but why should I go to deprive an old man, with whom I am not acquainted, of the few remaining years of his life? What are a few miles more of territory, in comparison of those which I have already conquered? And, as God grants me victory, I will, like him, be clement and merciful not only towards the people, but towards the great. You have no solid reason for being my enemy,' &c. &c. The aged Ghezzar's verbal reply was short: *You may march against Acre when you please. I shall be prepared for you; and will bury myself in the ruins of the place, rather than let it fall into your hands.*

Another object on which the anxious mind of Lord Nelson was continually intent throughout the whole of the year 1799, was the reduction of the island of Malta, by the vigilance of his distinguished associate Captain Ball. 'My chagrin and disappointment,' wrote that officer, January 29, 'at not getting into la Valette are not to be described. It occasioned me a slight fever, of which I am now recovered. I shall hope soon to find out the traitor in the Russian party; nine tenths of the people wish to be under the English

government. The Russians have never sent any ships here; and I am certain the Maltese would not listen to any nation, while they have a prospect of being protected by the English. The Maltese chiefs have raised 600 men on whom they may depend; whenever they make an attack, they are to be supported by 4000 men, who stimulated by example may act with vigour: they seem ashamed of their former conduct. The Chiefs express themselves much hurt at the treachery of Guillaume Lorenzi, the head of the late plot. Your Lordship will hear from many quarters of the strong attachment which the Maltese evince for the English, whom they esteem from principle. I can answer that Malta would pay fourfold the expence of maintaining it, by becoming a great depôt for the British manufactures, which may be sent from thence to Tripoli, Tunis, Sicily, and the coast to the eastward. The Maltese export a great deal of cotton to Spain. Malta would also be a great check to the Barbary states, who will now stand more in dread of us, and at the same time feel the benefit of our trade; and should even Sicily turn against us, we could get our supplies of corn elsewhere, and be such a check upon them as would be of the most essential service to the cause of his Sicilian Majesty. *March 31.* Commodore Campbell has behaved, whilst under my command, in a manner that does him great credit, and I have very great satisfaction in speaking of his officer like conduct upon all occasions. I had also real pleasure in having it in my power to do justice to Captain Nisbet's conduct and judgment when at Girgenti. I am very glad your Lordship has awakened the Bashaw of Tripoli to a sense of his danger, should he allow the army of Buonaparte to march into his dominions that they may pass to Europe. The world is not sufficiently acquainted with your Lordship's masterly stroke of policy, in landing all the French seamen and prisoners at Alexandria. I hope they will never be permitted to return to Europe until a general peace takes place.'

Lord Nelson to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, dated Palermo, Feb. 2, 1799.

'Sir: I was yesterday honoured with your Royal Highness's kind letter; and it was with real sorrow that I saw, for one moment, you had been displeased with me. But, like yourself, it passed away, and your friendship, on which I have and always shall pride myself, remains for one who is attached to your R. H. inferior to none in this world. Indeed, Horatio Nelson is the same, as your goodness has ever known him to be, attached, affectionate and unchangeable. With one hand to a wounded head, and, I may now add, with my heart full; and the business of fifteen sail of the line, besides my near connection with the shore. I have sent Troubridge and some bombs to Egypt, to endeavour to do that which could have been done, if I had possessed the means, in forty-eight hours after the action. It is now doubtful; but my gallant friend will do what man can do. I beg your Royal Highness to believe that I am ever your attached Nelson.'

On the 9th of February, 1799, Lord Nelson, when apologising to Captain Locker for having been so long silent, gave him ample proof that their former intimacy was not forgot. 'I well know your own goodness of heart would make all due allowances for my present situation. You, my old friend, after twenty seven years acquaintance, know that nothing can alter my attachment and gratitude to you. I have been your scholar. It was you who taught me to board a Frenchman, by your conduct when in the *Experiment*. It was you who always told me, *Lay a Frenchman close, and you'll beat him*. And my only merit in my profession is being a good pupil. Our friendship* will never end but with our lives.'

The following letters from his Lordship, to Earl St. Vincent, take a retrospective view of the events that had been passing in Italy. 'Feb. 13, *Palermo*. Our news from Calabria is very bad; as most of the towns have planted the tree of liberty, and the madness approaches the coast towards Sicily. In this island are many discontented people, who have shewn themselves in various places in a manner contrary to law, and nearly approaching rebellion. Thus situated, who can say but the chance is, that the Royal Family will be obliged once more to take refuge under the British flag? I have letters from Mr. Wyndham at Florence, who represents the situation of Tuscany as very critical. The French make no scruple of declaring their intention of revolutionising the Grand Duchy. Not content with turning the King of Sardinia out of Piedmont, they intended seizing his person after he left Leghorn by some of their privateers, and carrying him to Corsica; for if they could have prevented it, his Majesty would never have got to Sardinia. Captain Louis had been requested to allow the *Terpsichore* to go, as if by accident, in company with the vessel; for, to such a state of degradation is this Monarch reduced, that he dared not publicly accept of the offered protection of the British flag. His Holiness the Pope is not expected to live. The French ordered him, although living in Tuscany, to quit that country and repair to Sardinia; and when he represented his ill state of health, Salicetti was present when the old man's blisters were taken off, to see he did not sham: however he will soon be at rest from all his cares and troubles. As to myself, I see but gloomy prospects look which way I will. We have accounts that 60,000 Russians are arrived at Salzburg, the German side of the Tyrol; but as the Russians have been *marching* the whole war, so they will I fear arrive too late in Italy. At present I see but little prospect of the fall of Malta; several vessels with provisions are got in. Ball is indefatigable, and has great hopes. In short, my dear Lord, every thing makes me sick, to see things go to the devil and not to have the means of prevention.'—In a letter which he had received about this time from H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, it was justly remarked, 'The sad events that have taken place in Italy, were not indeed such as your glorious action led us to expect. The Emperor suffered the favourable moment to escape, and consequently the King of Sardinia and

Naples have fallen victims to the Directory. It is astonishing that Europe cannot, or will not, see that resistance alone can meet the exigence of the time.'

March 2, in continuation to Earl St. Vincent. 'At Naples there are only as yet 6000 French; but we hear they are forming a new army of 20,000 men, and I dare say they will be made to fight. Into Calabria and the provinces the French have not dared to advance; although the nobles, who have remained at Naples, had written to their vassals to plant the tree of liberty, which has been done and cut down again in many places. A Cardinal is the Vicar General in those provinces; and by preaching and money he has collected a number of people. Still nothing can be said, whether all is lost, or may yet be saved; that must depend on the movements of the Emperor. The lower class in Italy are truly loyal and attached to their Sovereign, but the nobles are infamous. In this island we are in a state of quiet in every sense of the word, both for defence and offence. The English merchant ships, which came up under convoy of the Bellerophon, have made such repeated applications for a convoy to Leghorn, that I have determined to send the Bellerophon with them; and, after waiting a proper time for Mr. Wyndham's opinion, then either to leave the merchant ships, or bring them back again.'

Amongst the Neapolitans who had followed their Sovereign into Sicily, were two subjects of high rank, who will occupy a considerable share of attention in the events that took place on the subversion of the republic of Naples. These were the Cardinal Ruffo, Vicar General of the Neapolitan royalists; and Commodore Francesco Caraccioli, a cadet of one of the most illustrious families in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. This unfortunate nobleman had been regularly brought up to their marine, and been educated in naval tactics, even before the advancement of Sir John Acton to the head of that department at the end of 1778. Caraccioli had afterwards been one of the first pupils in their marine college which Sir John Acton established in 1779; and in that capacity had served amongst the twelve foreign officers, who during the latter part of the American war had been sent as volunteers into the British and French squadrons to obtain experience in their profession. On his return to Naples, this nobleman had gradually risen from the command of a frigate to that of the Neapolitan ships. He was certainly a naval officer of much merit, attached to his Sovereign and his Country. But a law having been published by the Neapolitan republic, by which all persons, who were out of the country, were recalled to Naples under pain of the confiscation of their property; the great estates of Caraccioli induced him in an earnest manner, to request his Sovereign's permission to return thither, which was granted. On taking leave, the King is said to have given him the following memorable and kind admonition: *Beware of intermeddling with French politics. Avoid the snares of republicans. I mean at the moment that I shall recover the kingdom of Naples.'*

* Then an English Naval Officer then at Palermo.

About the same time Cardinal Ruffo, Vicar General of the royalists, who had been mentioned by Lord Nelson, in his letter to Earl St. Vincent, as collecting an army in Calabria, had left Palermo for that purpose. With a character equally questionable both as a subject and a soldier, he followed Pignatelli in all his weak and suspicious conduct, until he perplexed and disgraced the cause he had been sent to support. On leaving Sicily he had landed on the opposite coast with his secretary, a priest named Spasiana, and other attendants, and had immediately joined some Calabrese who were assembled under Reggio Rinaldi. These royalists consisted chiefly of peasantry, and being soon increased by a motley crew of galley slaves, criminals from the different gaols, and Italian banditti, were divided under three chiefs, whose characters would have disgraced any cause. Their troops were however styled the Christian Army, and overcame the detachments that were sent against them.

On the 3d of February, 1799, Captain Hoste had informed Lord Nelson, that the boats of the Mutine, under the protection of her guns, had succeeded in cutting out of the bay of Naples an armed Neapolitan French vessel, newly built, and pierced for 20 guns; but only mounting 10, and four swivels. From Captain Hoste's information, a Neapolitan royalist frigate had been taken possession of by the French, as was H. S. M. ship the Galatca. The republicans had four galleys, six gun boats, and two men of war brigs at Castellamare. The Mutine being in a bad state, Lord Nelson had detached the El Corso brig, Lord W. Stuart, on an especial service to the island of Corfu, and to endeavour to procure troops for the security of Messina, the key of the island of Sicily; without which assistance, as he informed Commodore Duckworth, February 16, he had fears that all would be lost: 'Oh, my dear Sir,' added Nelson, 'one thousand English troops would save Messina. I shall write a line to General Stuart on this subject; although, I fear, he cannot give me men to save this most important island.'—In consequence of his Lordship's energy and direction, an immediate attention was paid by the Sicilian government to the defence of the island. The venerable Count Persichelli, an engineer born in Sicily, was called on to furnish plans which were laid before the King in council. In addition to their militia amounting to 26,000, the King by means of four regiments of foot and one of horse, with some artillery men, endeavoured to collect an additional number of troops. Preparations were also made under the auspices of Lord Nelson, to fit out gun boats, and to mount the batteries with the 65 twenty-four pounders that had lately arrived from Naples. Nine gun boats were to be launched during the month of February, and others early in March at Palermo; and orders were issued to build more, without delay, at Trapani and Messina.—Thus could the spirit of one man rouse the dejected and enervated Sicilians to a proper sense of resistance. And that nothing might be wanting on his part, Nelson nobly offered the King of Sicily, should other resources not arrive, *To defend Messina with the ship's company of an English man of war.* Their Minister, Sir John Acton, did not fail duly to appreciate this

generous conduct of his countryman, and, in replying to the noble Admiral, ^aFebruary 15, 1799, he said, ‘That would be certainly our surest and most efficacious protection. Their Majesties have seen on this occasion, as on every other, your Lordship’s attachment and faithful zeal for their safety; in their present most critical situation they confide in that alone.’—At the beginning of March, the freedom of the city of Palermo, which constituted him an Honorary Grandee of Spain, was presented to the Admiral in a gold box, brought upon a silver salver. He also about the same time received the Emperor of Russia’s picture, magnificently set with diamonds, with a complimentary note which has been already inserted under the preceding year.’

Commodore Duckworth, in answering Lord Nelson’s letter which had requested assistance from General Sir Charles Stuart, informed him, ‘That the General, in consequence of the timely arrival of two regiments, had resolved with his usual energy and promptitude to go himself to Sicily: he arrived at Palermo March 10th. Lord Nelson, in writing on that day to Earl St. Vincent, said, ‘At nine o’clock I was most agreeably surprised with the appearance of General Stuart, who has brought with him 1000 English troops. This conduct of the General most assuredly demands the warmest gratitude from H. S. M. and I have no doubt but Sir Charles will experience it. This goodness reflects on him the highest honour. He has probably, by his quick decision, not only saved this kingdom, but may be the instrument of driving the French out of Naples. It will be an electric shock both to good and bad subjects. Europe may yet be happy, if Austria and Prussia would exert themselves.’—It was the opinion of Sir Charles Stuart before he returned to Mahon, which he did as soon as he had examined the state of Sicily, that if the Neapolitans had no trust in the management of the Sicilian affairs, and were excluded from defending the country; if the priests and nobles were watched, and the spirit of the peasantry employed to advantage, Sicily was safe.

On the 24th of February, 1799, the Russian Admiral Fedar Ouchakof informed Lord Nelson, that the fortress of Corfu had surrendered to the combined Russian and Turkish squadrons, in consequence of the most resolute exertions; and that as soon as their ships had received provisions, which were daily expected, they should sail for Brindisi and Otranto; and coming along the coast of Calabria to succour and encourage the inhabitants, should proceed to Messina. The Russian Admiral also subjoined the following liberal testimony to the professional character of the Commander of El Corso brig: ‘I have the honour to recommend to your Excellency Lord W. Stuart, who during the attack and storm, and

^a On the 14th of February, 1799, Lord Nelson was advanced Rear Admiral of the Red. On the 20th of March ensuing, the thanks of the East India Company were voted to him for the Victory of Aboukir, and a valuable acknowledgment of the important benefits which the Company had thus derived, was recommended by the general court to the Directors; which being referred to the Board of Control, terminated in a vote of 10,000*l*.

^c See page 115.

all the military operations against the island of Vido,* was on board my ship. I observed in him an intrepid courage and great zeal for the service. I received assistance from his councils, and I do but justice to this worthy officer, when I praise him and express my acknowledgments.'

On the 5th of March, 1799, Captain Troubridge, pursuant to orders from Lord Nelson, gave up the blockade of Alexandria to Sir Sidney Smith; leaving with him the *Theseus*, *Lion*, and *Torride* gun boat, and he was further instructed on the return of the *Swiftsure* and *Alliance*, Captain Wilmot, from Cyprus, to despatch them to join Lord Nelson. In writing to his Lordship afterwards, Captain Troubridge gave an account of the manner in which he had discovered and taken a person, who had been sent by Buonaparte to mislead the Turks.—'On the 14th of February, 1799, I detained the caravella that had at last been permitted by the French to leave Alexandria; and, having received information from a spy on board her, sent for the captain and shewed him a firman from the Grand Seignior, taking care not to let him read it. I told him it was a Hattesherrif for the head of a Traitor: on this he appeared alarmed, and acknowledged he had a Mons. Beauchamp on board habited like a Turk, and a French pilot. I immediately sent and seized the Ambassador, as they called him, and his Greek servant, and by sharpening an axe and playing him off with the Hattesherrif, I so alarmed the Greek domestic, that he shewed us where they had concealed their instructions from Buonaparte, on board the caravella. It appeared to me that the Grand Seignior would do this fellow more justice than we could; I therefore sent him in the *Swiftsure* to Rhodes, recommending him strongly for decapitation.'—Captain Hallowell afterwards continued this account, in his letter to Lord Nelson on anchoring in Syracuse harbour, March 11, 1799. 'Monsieur Beauchamp, the French consul at Muscat, had been several months in Egypt with Buonaparte. He was charged with various missions from him; and the Turkish Admiral, on board the caravella, had signed an agreement with the General commanding at Alexandria, to land the said consul at Cyprus; where they were to combine their interests, and endeavour to procure the release of all the French prisoners in that island and in Syria, by assuring the Pasha that the Grand Seignior was not at war with the French; supposing this report would be easily credited, when delivered by an officer of such high rank in the Turkish service, and who had just come from a port occupied by the French forces. This was the only method the Admiral had of getting out

* Called by the natives *le Scoglio di Vido*, and by the French *L'Isle de Paix*, situated in the port of Corfu; on which the attack commenced by a Russian 30 gun ship, commanded by an Englishman of the name of Messer, who distinguished himself very much. The island of Corfu was defended by five batteries, and was protected by the guns of the fortress of the town, and by the French ships of war. Upwards of 500 French were on the island, with furnaces for heating shot. The *Leander* which was retaken there, was afterwards restored to Great Britain by the Emperor of Russia. Upwards of 450 pieces of cannon, the greater part of which were brass, were in the several forts.

of their clutches, and he made few scruples in delivering up his friends, the Consul and a French pilot; although he had left his son and ten of his crew as hostages with Buonaparte for the performance of his agreement and the safety of Citizen Beauchamp's person: however he appeared to feel very little for their situation, and spoke of them with great indifference. After quitting Cyprus, the ship was to proceed with the Consul to Constantinople, where they intended to assure the Vizier of the amicable disposition of the French Directory towards the Ottoman Porte; and, as a proof of this assertion, the caravella was to be returned to the Grand Seignior. Mons. Beauchamp was one of the tribe of Scavants; he is gone to Constantinople¹ to take his trial, and as the 'Turks are generally pretty arbitrary in their decisions, I think they will deprive the Republic of any further advantages from his talents . . . I had frequent conversations with Mons. Beauchamp while he was on board the *Swiftsure*: He assured me that the army in general were highly dissatisfied with the Expedition; there was not a man amongst them who did not wish to return to France. They have not had a drop of wine for six months past, nor any official accounts from home during that period. He said the soldiers were sadly discontented and ripe for mutiny; but the fear of falling a prey to the Arabs, would always prevent their breaking out into open rebellion, and keep them obedient to their officers, as they were sensible their own preservation depended on their unanimity. They had embodied about 200 Greeks at Cairo, and taken them into the pay and service of the Republic: Buonaparte had given the command of them to Citizen Barthelemy, a Greek, with the rank of General . . . I believe Sir Sidney intends, if he finds the enemy disposed to meet his plan, to open a Negotiation, and receive them on terms of capitulation, if they should be offered: I was concerned to find these were his sentiments. The army of Buonaparte are entirely destitute of every principle of honour: they have always acted like licentious thieves, and have forfeited all claim to respect from us, by their immediate violation of a solemn engagement made between Captain Troubridge on one side and Captain Barré on the other; by which none of the prisoners, landed by your Lordship, were to serve again until regularly exchanged. But in defiance of this stipulation, these men were obliged to take up arms and were immediately drafted to complete the different regiments at Cairo, and the remainder were formed into

¹ Mr. Willyams notices this circumstance in his interesting *Voyage up the Mediterranean*, pages 164—166.

² Mr. Beauchamp was landed at Rhodes, March 3, 1799, and Captain Hallowell, like a British seaman, disdaining to retaliate on this Frenchman for the late conduct of the Captain and officers of *le Genereux* to Captains Thompson and Berry, humanely made interest with Hassan Bey that his prisoner should be treated with kindness, until he could be sent to Constantinople. Seven hundred pounds, in gold sequins, were found in his girdle, which he declared was his private property: this sum was counted out by Captain Hallowell before the Bey, and he at the same time sent notice of it to Mr. Spencer Smith at Constantinople. It afterwards appeared that this was not the private property of M. Beauchamp, but had been allowed him by Buonaparte, *for the purpose of inducing the Turks to declare against the English*. It is by such noble conduct that the Officers of Great Britain repel the falsehoods and calumnies of the French.

a corps styled the Nautic Legion, and have been constantly employed since that time . . . As the just and humane Buonaparte has in all his proclamations complained loudly of the cruelty of the Beys, in robbing and stripping the poor inhabitants of Egypt of their property, and has assured them that his only motive for visiting their country, was to relieve them from their oppression and punish the English; I have enclosed your Lordship a copy of one of his orders,* as a proof of his affection and lenity to his new friends. I do not think Mourad Bey ever gave so despotic an order in his life.'

On the 20th of March, 1799, the Swiftsure joined the Vanguard in the bay of Palermo, and soon afterwards arrived the Culloden, Zealous, Minotaur, and Seahorse. Lord Nelson immediately proceeded to lay before their Captains the plan he had formed for the blockade of Naples and their taking possession of the islands in that bay. This plan had received the sanction of the King and his Ministers on the 18th, and had been received with much gratitude by them; who could not but contrast the generous solicitude of the English Admiral, with the cold and selfish apprehensions of the Court of Vienna. The King and Queen had, at that time, received both public and private assurance from the Emperor and Empress, that when Ferdinand should think it right to take a decided part, he should be supported. Mack himself had brought the same assurance, which Thugut alone would not openly support. Sir John Acton was therefore directed by the King to request the continuance of Lord Nelson's presence at Palermo; and Sir John also recommended, in the name of their Majesties, that the blockade of Naples should be intrusted to the command and care of the excellent Captain Troubridge, in whom they placed the highest confidence. 'I therefore send you,' added he, 'by their Majesties' orders, an official letter for that officer to take the command of the operations in the bay of Naples, for the recovery of the adjacent islands, according to the manner you mentioned some days ago. I flatter myself it will not be long before that infamous Capital is purged of all the scoundrels and traitors who now dispose of it.'—Accordingly on the 31st of March, the Culloden, Zealous, Minotaur, Swiftsure, St. Sebastian, Seahorse, Perseus, and El Corso, proceeded to execute their Admiral's instructions. On the 2d of April, having received the Governor of Procida on board, they stood into the bay of Naples, and anchored off that island. The tree of liberty was immediately cut down, the French flag was destroyed, and H. S. M. colours were hoisted on Procida, amidst the acclamations of a loyal populace.

'The following correspondence with Earl St. Vincent from March 29th, to the 17th of April, 1799, will give an interesting detail of the occurrences in which Lord Nelson was at that time engaged.—'My dear Lord: Captain Darby arrived here this morning from Leghorn, with all the ships, both British and American, that chose to leave that place. Mr. Wyndham has thought it right to abide by the fate of the Grand Duke, which I am

* In thirteen articles, respecting the establishment of a public registry.

sure must be very unpleasant; for the French long before this time are in complete possession of all Tuscany. How Thugut and Manfredini can endure the misery they have brought on their respective masters, I cannot comprehend, their conduct has been infamous.—*April 12.* On the 7th I had the pleasure of hearing from Captain Troubridge, that he was in complete possession of Procida, Ischia and Capri, the inhabitants of which islands had joyfully hoisted H. S. Majesty's colours, cut down the trees of liberty, and delivered up the municipalities and the detested Jacobins; all of whom are either confined on board the ships, or in the chateau of Ischia. The French in Naples are not more than 2000. The civic guards amount to about 20,000; but as these last will not remain fighting for the French, if there be any risk, I am warranted in saying, that 10,000 troops would place the King again upon his throne in twenty-four hours: therefore we are very anxiously looking out for the promised 9000 Russians coming by way of Zara; 3000 are also destined for Malta, which will fall the moment such a landing is made; for I am satisfied the garrison only wants a good pretence for their surrender. They had been led to believe, that Sicily would soon be revolutionised; but in this I flatter myself they will be mistaken. I hope the Austrians will fight better than they did. A Russian General, Suwarow, is to command in Italy.

'*April 17, 1799.* The Hyæna is arrived from Malta, where she went with copies of Sir C. Whitworth's letters, and of the Treaty between H. S. M. and the Emperor of Russia. The account that the Russians are likely in any way to become masters of Malta has caused the greatest alarm in that island: the distress of these poor people is terrible, and they are rapidly decreasing by an epidemic fever. I have asked this Court to send 10,000*l.* to supply their wants; but I cannot succeed, as General Acton says they have it not to give. The only chance of saving Malta is by my friend Ball, who is adored, and deservedly so by all ranks. My obligations to him are greater than any words of mine can express. From the 15th of October last, he has never been one moment off his station; and this during such a winter as we all know is seldom experienced. This day brought me letters from dear Troubridge. He has been obliged to give all his flour to keep the inhabitants of the islands from starving. I have eternally been pressing for supplies, and have represented, that 100,000*l.* given away just now in provisions might purchase a kingdom. In short, my dear Lord, my desire to serve their S. M. faithfully, as is my duty, has been such that I am almost blind and worn out, and cannot in my present state hold much longer. I would indeed lay down my life for such good and gracious Monarchs; but I am useless, when I am unable to do what God knows my heart is anxious should be performed.'

During the exertions of a detachment from Lord Nelson's squadron, off the coast of Egypt, he had been informed that the Bashaw of Tripoli had entered into a treaty with the French, and had permitted them to purchase provisions in that country; which gave rise to a correspondence between the Admiral and his Highness. On the 26th of March, 1799.

the Vanguard, Captain Hardy, had arrived at Tripoli, and it would be difficult to express the effect which the appearance of so formidable and renowned a ship, and the letter which it brought from Lord Nelson had on the councils of the Bashaw. He solemnly denied the fact of having signed the treaty, declared he was ready to send his contingent of troops against the enemy; and, as an earnest of his sincerity, immediately made slaves of such of the French as were in his power, and confiscated three of their tartans. He then addressed a letter in the exalted style of the east, ‘To Admiral Nelson, Captain Pasha of the King of England.’ In which he expressed an earnest wish to destroy his avowed enemies, the restless French; declared an abhorrence of treachery and perfidy, and concluded by requesting a supply of artillerymen, to instruct his subjects in making a proper defence. His Highness also desired ‘that Lord Nelson would keep a watchful eye over Tripoli, and from time to time send a ship to their assistance.’—The moment the Vanguard sailed, the Bashaw is said to have released the French, and resumed his former conduct. Upon which Lord Nelson, adopting in some measure the expressions and style which his Highness had used, sent him the following letter by Commodore Campbell.—*April 28.* ‘Sir: When I received your Highness’s letter by Captain Hardy of the Vanguard, I was rejoiced to find that you had renounced the Treaty, you had so imprudently entered into with some emissaries of General Buonaparte, that man of blood, that despoiler of the weak, that enemy to all good Mussulmen; for like Satan he only flatters that he may more easily destroy; and it is true that, since the year 1789, all Frenchmen are exactly of the same disposition. I had sent your letter to the Great King my Master. I had done the same to the Grand Seignior; for I never believed that your Highness would say one word that was not most strictly true. A lie is impossible for a true Mussulman to utter, at least I had always believed so: what then must have been my astonishment to have heard from H. B. Majesty’s Consul, Mr. Lucas, that the moment the Vanguard sailed, the French Consul and all the Frenchmen were liberated, and also the French vessels in the port allowed to fit for sea; and one to my knowledge sailed for Malta. Why will your Highness be thus led astray by evil counsellors, who can have no other object in view but your ruin? Your Highness knows, that although a powerful squadron of Portuguese ships has been, since last August, under my command, that by every means in my power they have been prevented from cruising against the ships of your Highness, or approaching your coast.—It is now my duty to speak out, and not to be misunderstood. The same Nelson who has hitherto kept your powerful enemies from destroying you, can, and will let them loose upon you, unless the following terms are in two hours complied with, viz. That the French Consul at Tripoli, Vice Consul, and every Frenchman, are delivered on board her Most Faithful Majesty’s ship Alphonso, to Commodore Campbell, in two hours time from Mr. Lucas’s setting his foot on shore; that hostages are also sent on board, to remain until every Frenchman in the state of Tripoli

shall be sent off, which shall not exceed four days.—N. B. There shall be no reservation or trick about the French Consul, &c. at Tripoli, he shall be on board in two hours after the demand has been made. Every French vessel or vessels, pretended to be taken from the French, shall be destroyed in two hours. These terms complied with, Commodore Campbell will, as he has done upon the passage, refrain from taking your vessels until his arrival at Palermo. If these proper terms are not complied with, I can no longer prevent the ships of her Most Faithful Majesty from acting with vigour against your Highness.

‘Your Highness will without difficulty write me a letter, the substance of which shall be dictated by Mr. Lucas. You will also, as a convincing proof of your detestation of the evil councils which have been given you by Hamet Reis, your Captain of the port, either cause him to be delivered to Commodore Campbell, that I may send him to Constantinople; or dispose of him in such a manner, that he may be for ever incapable of giving your Highness any advice; for his heart is so black, that I am informed he can give you no good counsel. Your Highness will I am confident approve of the open and unreserved manner of this letter; and consider it as a proof of the honest upright intentions of the Great Monarch, whom I have the honour of serving, and that it comes from your Highness’s most attached and faithful Nelson.’

A long and spirited interview took place between Commodore Campbell and the Bashaw; when his Highness ordered the head of a French enissary to be struck off, as he was found to be troublesome, even as a prisoner, amongst his people. Commodore Campbell was still, however, reduced to commence hostilities, upon which every thing was adjusted, and the preliminaries of a peace arranged between Portugal and Tripoli. Lord Nelson had also negociated a peace, or at least a cessation of hostilities during the present war, between the Bey of Tunis and the King of the Two Sicilies, through the medium of Mr. Magra, the British Consul.

Lord Nelson to H. R. H. Admiral the Duke of Clarence, Palermo, April 11, 1799.

‘Sir: Your Royal Highness will, I am sure, from my knowledge of your goodness, make every fair allowance for not receiving those letters from me, which I should have the greatest pleasure in writing, were it possible that I had the power. But besides the business of sixteen sail of the line, I have the constant correspondence of Petersburg, Constantinople, Vienna, Venice, Trieste, Smyrna, Florence, Leghorn, Earl St. Vincent, Minorca, and Lord Spencer: this must plead my excuse. Being now shut out from all the continent of Italy, we know nothing of the movements of the Austrian army: I pray God they may be successful. I have sent a squadron of five sail of the line, &c. into the bay of Naples, and all the islands are in our possession. The inhabitants have delivered up the Jacobins. At Naples all of the lower order are loyal and attached to their Sovereigns, and indeed so they are in the provinces; for this war presents the very extraordinary

circumstance, of the rich taking the road for the destruction of property, and the poor protecting it. I long to hear of the extirpation of the French army in Egypt. I believe Buonaparte is heartily tired of his expedition, and would readily enter into a negociation with the Porte to quit Egypt; for which purpose he made a treaty and sent rich presents to the Bashaw of Tripoli. In this island we are loyal and certainly detest the French. I trust the Monarch of Spain means fair to his brother; but . . . I hope that Providence will long continue its present good Sovereigns in possession of their rights.

In continuation, May 10, 1799. ‘In addition to my want of power to detail events, I am at this moment seriously unwell; and nothing, Sir, but the very peculiar circumstances of the times, with the confidence reposed in me, not only by your Royal Father and my Commander in Chief, but also by their Sicilian Majesties and the whole nation, could induce me to remain. They all know that I have no desire, but approving myself a most faithful servant to my gracious King; therefore there is nothing which I propose, that is not, as far as orders go, implicitly complied with. But the execution is dreadful, and almost makes me mad. However as H. S. M. has now ordered two Generals to be tried for cowardice and treachery, and, if found guilty, that they shall be shot or hanged; should this be effected, I shall have some hopes that I have done good. I ever preach, that rewards and punishments are the foundation of all good government: unfortunately neither the one nor the other have been practised here. The French troops have all left the city of Naples, and are encamped at Caserta sixteen miles distant; preparatory, we think, to their leaving the kingdom. The Jacobins must now shift for themselves, and I hope they will be severely punished in person by their King, as they have already been, in pocket, by their allies. With every sentiment of true attachment, believe me your Royal Highness’s faithful servant, Nelson.’

A very interesting and more detailed retrospect of the proceedings of his Lordship’s squadron in the bay of Naples, than he was able to send to his Royal Highness, occurs in the letters of Captain Troubridge, whence the following extracts have been taken. The French had encamped between Caserta and Capua, leaving a strong force and plenty of provisions in St. Elmo; which may be considered as the citadel of Naples, and was situated so high as to be commanded by no adjacent grounds, except a convent that was beyond point blank shot.—‘*April 3d.* All the Ponza islands have the Neapolitan flag flying. Your Lordship never beheld such loyalty; the people are perfectly mad with joy, and are asking for their beloved Monarch. If the Nobility were men of principle and of respectability, how easy it would be to get the Neapolitan soldiers and militia to declare for their King. I wish we had a few thousand good English troops, I would have the King of Naples on his throne in forty-eight hours. I beg your Lordship will particularly recommend Captain Schankey: he is a fine hardy seaman, a good and loyal subject, desirous of doing every

thing for the welfare of his Country: If the Navy of the King of Naples had been composed of such men, the people would never have revolted. I have a villain, by name Francesco, on board, who commanded the castle at Ischia, formerly a Neapolitan officer and of property in that island. The moment we took possession of the castle, the mob tore this vagabond's coat with the tricoloured cape and cap of liberty button to pieces, and he had then the impudence to put on His Sicilian Majesty's regimentals again; upon which I tore his epaulet off, took his cockade out, and obliged him to throw them overboard: I then honoured him with double irons. The mob entirely destroyed the tree of liberty, and tore the tricoloured flag into ten thousand pieces, so that I have not been able to procure even a small remnant to lay at the King's feet. I however send two pieces of the tree of liberty for his Majesty's fire, with the names of the people who brought the pieces to me painted upon them. *April 4, 1799.* The French troops in Naples amount to about 2000, and are thus distributed: In St. Elmo 300, Castle Uovo 200, Castle Nuovo 1400, Puzzuoli 100, Baia 30. Their actions at Salerno, &c. have been attended with serious losses: not one of their men returned from Salerno, out of 1500, except a few who were wounded. And in Abruzzo, at a place called Andre, it is said that nearly 3000 have been killed. The French and Jacobins have quarrelled, and a great distrust reigns amongst them. It frequently happens in the rounds at night, if, when challenged *Che viva?* they answer *la Repubblica*, they are shot; and the republicans do the same if the answer is *Il Re*, which makes it dangerous to move after dark. The whole of the chief Jacobins are quarrelling about their honesty. I have just received an account that a priest, named Albvena, is preaching up revolt in Ischia; I have sent 60 Swiss and 300 loyal subjects, to hunt him, and shall have him, I expect, dead or alive, to day. I pray your Lordship to send an honest Judge here to try these miscreants on the spot, that some proper examples may be made. *Two P. M.* Pray press the Court to send the Judge by the return of the Perseus, as it will be impossible to go on else; the villains increase so fast on my hands, and the people are calling for justice.* Eight or ten of them must be hung. *April 9th.* Naples is in the devil of a ferment, and General M'Donald is much alarmed, as your Lordship will see by the enclosed order. I have two deserters from their gun and mortar boats; who assure me, that if the French were to force them within gun shot, the crews would rise and murder all the

* Some of the Italians, with the impetuosity of their character, did not wait for the Judge; as appeared from the following extraordinary letter, which was brought off one morning early from the shore to Captain Troubridge, with his usual basket of grapes for breakfast. *Salerno, April 26, 1799.* Sir: As a faithful subject of my King, Ferdinand IV, whom God preserve, I have the glory of presenting to your Excellency the Head of D. Charles Granoxio di Giffoni, who was employed in the administration directed by the infamous Commissary Ferdinand Ruggi. The said Granoxio was killed by me in a place called li Puggi, district of Ponte Cagnaro, as he was running away. I beg your Excellency would accept the said Head, and consider this operation as a proof of my attachment to the Royal Crown. I am with due respect, the faithful subject of the King, J. M. V.

French on board, and bring the boats over to us. The Jacobins begin to talk of peace. The governor of Procida is a truly honest and valuable subject; the King can never do enough for him. People come from all quarters to see his Majesty, and some from Sorrento, having understood he was here. So much loyalty amongst the common people was never seen before. The greatest villains and republicans are the marine and artillery officers. Our numbers on the islands increase fast. The fishermen have been forbidden to pursue their occupation, the only means they had to save themselves from starving: I have therefore given them leave to fish here. The French, in order to man their gun boats and galleys, cajoled the Neapolitan sailors into the arsenal, with a promise that they should receive their pay. When they had got them in the gate was shut, and the whole of them were driven into the gun boats without a carline. I have just heard that Caraccioli has the honour to mount guard as a common soldier, and was yesterday a sentinel at the palace: he had refused to enter their service, but, I believe, they force every one to do duty as militia. Rocca Romana,' they say, is now of no consequence. *April 10th and 15th.* Captain Foote has joined me from Salerno, which is in the hands of the Jacobins; but no French are there. Reports are strong, that the Cardinal's advanced guard is near Naples; but from the distance he was off, when he wrote the stupid letter which I sent your Lordship, I can hardly believe his approach is true. General M'Donald, you will see, has a bad opinion of me: I am sure my character will not, on that account, suffer. I enclose you one of Caraccioli's letters, as head of the republican marine; it was intercepted at Capri. I hope he has been forced into this measure, and should be glad to find him innocent. I have another from Gaeta to Ponza, sent by that route, as he says he could not forward it by the bay of Naples. Caraccioli sent for Salvator Guidice, the head man of the fishermen at St. Lucia, and told him he must procure seamen for the gun boats. Salvator assured him he would not get one to serve: Upon this Caraccioli spoke harshly to him, and the fishermen since have declared, That if they find him to be a Jacobin, though always a favourite and beloved by them, he shall be the first to fall when they begin; for every one has his marked Jacobin to stiletto. The Judge is arranging his papers; to morrow, the 14th, he begins. I have given him good advice; he appears to me to be the poorest creature I ever saw, and to be frightened out of his senses. He declares that seventy families are concerned; and talks of its being necessary to have a bishop to degrade the priests, before he can execute them. I told him to hang them first, and if he did not think that degradation

Lord Nelson afterwards, in writing to Captain Troubridge, during the month of July, thus mentioned this Neapolitan Nobleman: 'There is a person who has been a notorious rebel; but now pretends to serve his King faithfully. If he should attempt to come even into your presence, I earnestly request, that you will never voluntarily admit him to your sight, much less speak to him; for that honour and loyalty which you possess, never ought to be contaminated with infamy and rebellion. His name is said to be *Rocca Romana*.'

This refers to a very rude letter which the French General had sent to Captain Troubridge.

sufficient, to send them afterwards to me. I recommended him to punish the principal Traitors, the moment he had passed sentence. *April 16.* Our situation now becomes more serious than ever. I pledged myself to the people, in consequence of her Majesty's promise, that they should want neither grain nor flour. I know Trabia, and feel much hurt that I am made the tool of his deception. In short, my Lord, these islands must return under the French yoke, as I see the King's Ministers are not to be relied on for supplies. I trust your Lordship will pardon my stating the case so plainly; but I think I should be highly culpable, if from delicacy I were to sacrifice the lives of 50,000 inhabitants. I am assured by all the sailors, that Caraccioli is not a Jacobin, but has been forced to act as he does. They sign his name to printed papers, without his authority; as in my opinion they have the Archbishop's. *April 18.* The Judge made an offer two days since, if I wished it, to pass sentence; but hinted that it would not be regular on some. I declined having any thing to do with it. By his conversation I found his instructions were to go through it in a summary manner, *and under me.* I told him the latter must be a mistake, as they were not British subjects. The Trials are curious; frequently the culprit is not present: however he assures me, he shall soon have done with them all. I doubt it much. The odium I find is intended to be thrown on us. I will out manœuvre him there, and push him hard too.

April 25, 1799. O how I long to have a dash at the Thieves. Your Lordship will see that the Cardinal is quite frightened; he appears to me to be very low and dejected. I have three good field pieces, which I could mount, if they have any field carriages at Palermo. Hood is mounting some howitzers, which we got from the French, on cart wheels. A person, just from Naples, tells me the Jacobins are pressing hard the French to remain: they begin to shake in their shoes. Those of the lower order now speak freely. The rascally nobles, tired of standing as common sentinels and going the rounds, say, If they had known as much as they do now, they would have acted differently. *April 27.* I have had a long talk with the Judge about the villainous priests. I am completely stupid. I have been all day since four o'clock this morning examining vagabonds of different descriptions; and as no one ever gives a direct answer, and not being possessed of much patience, I am quite fagged out. The horrid treatment of the French has made all classes mad. The work we have to do is nothing; but the villainy we must combat is great indeed, and wears us all out. I shall weather all yet, I trust. I have just flogged a rascal for loading his bread with sand; the loaf hung round his neck all the time, and when he was taken on shore, afterwards, to be shewn to the people. The Governor of Procida is the most diligent active man I ever met with in this country; and, what will surprise you, is an honest man, and deserving of his Majesty's favour. He studie his Sovereign's interest in every thing, without the little dirty policy of making money himself. *May 1.* Caraccioli,

I am now satisfied, is a Jacobin. I enclose you one of his letters. He came in the gun boats to Castellamare himself, and spirited up the Jacobins.'

Lord Nelson on the 30th of April, 1799, continued, from Palermo, a narrative of these proceedings to Earl St. Vincent. 'On the continent of Italy my friends' are doing wonders. Hood has taken Salerno, twenty-eight miles from Naples. This has caused the country to rise from Sorrento to Castellamare. These events so near the Capital, together with the success of the Austrian army both on the Rhine and in Italy, have induced the French to call in all their outposts; and, leaving 500 men in the castle of St. Elmo, to retire from Naples to Capua, taking with them all their sick and plunder; when assembled, there will be about 5000 men. I believe nothing can prevent the people of Naples from rising and attempting the castle of St. Elmo, where the Jacobins have retired, and 'Caraccioli amongst them. I am getting ready the Haerlem to carry over 800 troops. Three hundred cavalry are also preparing with provisions and other necessaries. This Court being very poor and no revenue, makes things slower than they would otherwise be; but we do the best with the slender means we have.' I own myself much fitter to be the actor, than the counsellor of proper measures to be pursued, in this very critical situation of public affairs; but, at least, their Sicilian Majesties are satisfied that my poor opinion is an honest one. I can assure you whenever your name is mentioned, their expressions are the handsomest that tongue can utter. The only way in which you can be represented, if truth be spoken, is as the very ablest Sea Officer His Britannic Majesty has in his service.

'May 3, 1799. You must forgive, my dear Lord, my short sketches of what is going on; for neither my head nor hand is equal to any thing more. We learn from Lieutenant Parkinson, who joined the squadron off Malta in the Emma tender, on her way from Egypt to Palermo, that Sir Sidney Smith has given up the blockade of Alexandria and proceeded off St. Jean d'Acre, where are Buonaparte's head quarters. I am far from well, and the good news of the success of the Austrian arms in Italy does not even cheer me. I enclose a detailed account of their Campaign,' extracted from the letters of a Mr. Walter Burn to me, who is now at Genoa. May 9th. The French in retiring from Naples to Caserta and Capua, have robbed all the shops as they passed along; which conduct looks like leaving the kingdom: the Neapolitan Republicans, notwithstanding, are organising their

* Amongst those officers who thus particularly distinguished themselves, was Captain W. Darley of the *Marines*; who was afterwards created a Knight of the order of St. Ferdinand, and received a pension for his services from his own Sovereign. In writing from La Polla, May 9th, to Captain S. Hood, Captain Darley said, 'We are busy securing the pass of Campestrina, the only one, I understand, into Calabria; and I think if McDonald trusts himself this way, he will lose his labour.'

† In a letter written at this time to Earl Spencer, Lord Nelson again mentioned this unfortunate Neapolitan Nobleman: 'Caraccioli has resigned his situation as head of the *Marine*. This man was fool enough to quit his Master, when he thought his case desperate; yet, in his heart, I believe he is no Jacobin.'

* This valuable Document is unavoidably reserved, with many others which may possibly hereafter appear.

troops, and as yet do not seem inclined to give way. The Royalists, probably, wait until the French are out of the kingdom before they begin. The conduct of the King's officer sent to Orbitello and Longone has been so infamous, that Troubridge is almost mad, and I am in a fever. The following is an extract from his letter. 'I am in such a rage at the cowardly and treacherous conduct of the General who was sent to Longone and Orbitello, that I am really unable to tell the story, and therefore send Captain Oswald to relate all. Orbitello is sold, and I fear Longone will be the same. I desired the General and all his cowardly gang to get out of a British man of war. We want people to fight, he does not come under that description. I told him plainly that his King would never do well, until he hanged half his officers. I hope the King will order this General to give an account of himself, and not leave him here as a nuisance. The French are going off fast, robbing and plundering every person and shop as they go. Sarrento, Castellamare, &c. &c. have all been plundered. I hear that Caraccioli saved the two former from being burnt. Pray, my dear Lord, hear Oswald, and urge the King to make an example of this General. I am really very ill. I must go to bed. 'This treachery fairly does me up.'

Lord Nelson was soon afterwards informed by Sir John Acton, that the conduct of this General Yauk, or Jauk, should be inquired into and punished, if that officer were found as guilty as he appeared to be. 'Orders,' added Sir John, 'are now preparing for a court martial. The King begs and hopes that Captain Troubridge will desire some of his Officers to attend it, with the Sicilian Officers, and direct accordingly what shall be thought right at the conclusion. Captain Troubridge is with reason in agitation and bad humour.'—'The following are some further extracts from Troubridge's correspondence with his Admiral.

'May 7, 1799. My Lord: I have just had a long conversation with the Judge. He tells me he shall finish his business next week; and that the custom with his profession is to return home the moment they have condemned. He says, he must be embarked immediately, and ~~be~~ *be* *a man of war*. I found also from his conversation, that the priests must be sent to Palermo to be disgraced by the King's order, and then to be returned for execution to this place. *An English man of war to perform all this*: at the same time making application to me for a hangman, which I positively refused. If none could be found here, I desired he would send for one from Palermo. I see their drift; they want to make us the principals, and to throw all the odium upon us. I cannot form the least idea of their law process as carried on against the prisoners; for the culprits are seldom present while the trial is proceeding. By the Judge's account he is making a rapid progress: some of the villages are very rich. I am fairly worn out with fretting for the breach of my word given to the *misfortuné*, in consequence of her Majesty's promise to me. The distress for *the* *poor* is great, that it would move even a Frenchman to pity. Cannot a subscription be opened? I beg to get *me* down for twenty ducats; I cannot afford more,

or I would give it. I feed all I can from a large private stock I had, but that will not last long. No fault shall attach to us. Palermo is full of grain, as is the neighbourhood: the French, I fear, have more interest there than the King. I have put the palace in this island into a good state of defence, and got six guns up, with plenty of grape and cannister. If the enemy attempt it, we shall certainly break some of their shins. To strengthen the whole I have landed fifty marines and twelve gunners, dug a ditch on the road to the gate, and levelled all the ground about, and broke part of the steps, and fixed a ladder to be drawn up at sun set. I hope your Lordship, when you come this road, will approve of our Engineering. The expence is nothing worth mentioning. Hood is at Salerno. The Enemy have ordered 100 gun boats to be built to drive us away; before they are finished, I hope we shall be in Naples. The examples of villains and cowards which the Archduke has made, has driven away my melancholy fever: I send the General from Longone and Orbitello, for the King of Naples to follow such an example. He has desired to speak to me, but I declined having any thing to do with him, until he clears up his dastardly conduct to his King. When the Court Martial is ordered, which by General Acton's letter we may expect immediately, much matter will come out to prove he would not land. As he is in the service of another Sovereign, I submit to your Lordship, if we had not better leave them to themselves. If this Colonel, who at present commands here, is president, the General will be shot: should that be his sentence, shall I confirm it? My hand would not shake at signing my name. Captain Darley, of the marines, is sent to keep up a correspondence between the Cardinal and us.

May 11, 1799. It is with deep concern I inform your Lordship, that a spirit of Sedition has begun to shew itself amongst the Swiss. I have great reason to think it arose from the price of meat being much higher here than at Palermo, and the King's not allowing more pay a day . . . Your Lordship will see by the Sentence of Death which was passed, that we do not mean to suffer the smallest relaxation of Discipline; but, in consequence of their good conduct before, and nothing more than murmurs being ~~prayed~~, I took upon myself to remit the Sentence of Death, and send them to Palermo as subjects for the galleys. The men were all drawn up in a square formed by the troops and marines, with their eyes bound, and all the ceremony was gone through, except firing; when I directed the pardon to be read: One of them was almost gone before it was finished. I trust it will have a good effect. I have communicated your Lordship's handsome compliment to the Captains of the squadron, which they most sensibly feel; and are only sorry that the nature of the service, they are employed on, will not admit of their distinguishing themselves more particularly. For my own part, I feel so much indebted to your Lordship for your constant attention to me, that I am satisfied I can never do enough: I wish my powers, or ability, would permit my acting more vigorously against the horrid, plundering and treacherous

enemy. His Majesty will, I hope, the moment he regains Naples, make some great examples of his villainous Nobles. Pignatelli has loaded my man with irons, for carrying the letter sent by her Majesty for him, through Lady Hamilton: I trust, before long, I shall have a pull at his nose for it. I have two or three to settle with, if we get in. I hope the King will not employ Micheroux: he will only disgrace any corps he may be intrusted with. I am glad that his Majesty has promoted the Swiss Lieutenant, who was wounded, poor fellow, at the head of his men.—*May 12.* Cockburne has just joined, and brings such famous news that I am half mad with joy. The Scoundrels will and must be annihilated.—*May 14.* You will see, my Lord, by the enclosed translation of Prince Trabia's letter, that his Majesty has ordered a Court Martial to try Marshal Yauch; but as there are only four Officers here of the rank qualified to sit, according to the Neapolitan laws, I think he cannot legally be tried, until his Majesty sends over three more Officers. I should have been happy to have sat on it, and to have directed some of our Captains to have accompanied me; but as we are not in his Sicilian Majesty's service, it would have caused some noise at home, and certainly would not have been legal: I submit to your Lordship's better judgment. Officers can be sent here in a few days. In the mean time I have directed the General to be put under arrest, and the depositions to be taken, that the trial may be short when it begins: this mode is perfectly regular in their service. All that is to be done, when a witness is called after this, is to ask, whether the written paper read be his evidence? and a few other questions that may arise. I trust your Lordship will explain to his Majesty, that we have every inclination to comply with his orders: In this instance I think it impossible.'

During these arduous Operations of the Squadron under Captain Troubridge, H. B. M. sloop l'Espoir had arrived on the 12th of May, 1799, at Palermo, with the important information, that the French fleet had been seen off Oporto. The same night l'Espoir had sailed to Procida, with orders for Captain Troubridge's squadron, except one ship of the line and the frigates, to come off Palermo; it being Lord Nelson's intentions to detach them for the safety of Minorca. Orders had been also sent to Captain Ball, and to the Russian Admiral. On the 13th of the same month, at nine o'clock in the evening, the lieutenant of the Peterell had also arrived at Palermo, by land, the sloop not having been able to get up; with the additional intelligence which had been received from Captain Styles, that thirty-five sail of the enemy had passed the Straits during the evening of the 5th, and had gone up the Mediterranean. Captain Peard had also fallen in with them, and had counted more than thirty sail, nineteen of which appeared to be of the line. Lord Nelson,

* Lord Bridport's letter to Earl St. Vincent, estimated them at nineteen sail of the line, two of them three-deckers, consisting in all of twenty-four or twenty-five ships of war. They had sailed from Brest April 26,

on hearing this, immediately sent another letter to Captain Troubridge, desiring him to join with all the ships of the line under his command, and, if possible, with a frigate.

The objects of the Enemy, who had thus escaped the vigilance of Lord Bridport owing to a strong gale and a thick fog, were to unite with the whole Spanish naval force; to proceed to Toulon in order to embark troops there; and, with them, to act successively upon Minorca, Naples, and Sicily. They had also hopes of falling in with our detached squadrons in the Mediterranean, and overpowering them in detail; and, by the distance which they kept from the coast of Portugal, they had expected to prevent any intelligence of their approach being conveyed to our Commanders. Lord Keith had been kept from seeing them, as they passed his station off Cadiz, by the haziness of the weather; and had not one of their luggers shewn her colours and fired into the *Camelion*, Captain Styles would certainly have been taken. A strong westerly wind, which prevailed at that time, did not allow of any communication between the squadron under Lord Keith and Lord St. Vincent.—The affairs of the French Republic, in Italy, were at that time in a hopeless and desperate state; and as Sir Morton Eden had informed Lord Nelson, from Vienna, on the 8th of May the French government had sent orders to Buonaparte in Egypt, as well by the way of Naples as through the channel of the Spanish Consul at Tunis, immediately to return to Europe with Berthier, and resume the command of the army of Italy. This intelligence had been transmitted by the Hon. T. Grenville from Berlin, where the Abbé Sieyès was stationed to beguile and prepare the ruin of that Sovereign. The account which Lord Nelson had received from Carthagená was, that the French fleet which had entered the Mediterranean consisted of twenty-four sail of the line, six frigates, and three sloops: when off Carthagená they had sent in one of their sloops, in order that the Spanish ships might make sail and join. Their answer was, ‘They had not men to man their ships.’ The French replied, ‘We have men enough on board for that purpose.’ The Spaniards, however, would not come out.

The anxious situation of Lord Nelson, on first hearing of the sailing of this powerful force from Brest, is described by himself in writing to Earl St. Vincent, May 13, 1799. ‘What a state, my dear Lord, am I in. If I go, I risk and more than risk Sicily, and what is now safe on the continent; for we know, from experience, that more depends on *opinion* than on acts themselves. As I stay, my heart is breaking, and to mend the matter I am seriously unwell.’—The spirit, however, of this great Warrior always rose in proportion to the approach of the danger which he had to contend with. On hearing, afterwards, that the French fleet had actually entered the Mediterranean, he at first prepared with the *Vanguard*, the only ship then lying in the bay of Palermo, to give them a warm reception and to defend his post to the last. When he had at length collected some of his ships, he was detained by a gale of wind; which continued blowing from the E. S. E. until the 20th.

On the 19th he had sent the following letter, from Palermo, to Captain E. J. Foote of the Seahorse, in the bay of Naples. ‘My dear Sir: As the command of the ships in the Bay of Naples will devolve on you, I need not pretend to point out what your local situation enables you so much better to judge of than myself. You will address your letters to me. Sir William Hamilton will open them, and do every thing which he can to meliorate the condition of the poor Islanders; for I know that your letters must be of complaint . . . I hope to get ten sail of the line together, and shall keep off Maretimo, either to receive reinforcements, if the French are bound upwards, or to fly to Minorca, if that is their destination. I wish very much to have you with me, but that is impossible at present.’—On the next day, May 20th, Lord Nelson left Palermo, and sailed with the Vanguard, Culloden, Zealous, Minotaur, Haerlem, St. Sebastian, and a Portuguese corvette, the Swallow. ‘I have only,’ wrote he to Earl St. Vincent, May 23, ‘to remain on the northern side of Maretimo to keep covering Palermo, which shall be defended to the last. Your Lordship may depend that the squadron under my command shall never fall into the hands of the enemy; and before we are destroyed, I have little doubt but they will have their wings so completely clipped, that they may be easily overtaken. If this event had not happened, we should have been in Naples.’—Earl St. Vincent had, previous to this, directed Lord Keith to detach Rear Admiral Duckworth to join this squadron off Maretimo, with the Leviathan, Centaur, Bellerophon and Powerful; with a promise to Lord Nelson of a further supply, when Admiral Whitshed should arrive from England with the expected reinforcement of the Queen Charlotte, Triumph, Defiance, Bellona, Repulse, Phoenix and Ethalion.

Sir W. Hamilton wrote to Lord Nelson on the 21st of May, 1799: ‘I see that Caraccioli has profited directly of the absence of your line of battle ships, and attacked your smaller ones at Procida.’—An account of this proceeding, May 17, had been also conveyed to Lord Nelson by the Zealous, transmitted from Captain James Oswald who commanded the Perseus bomb vessel. ‘My Lord: I beg leave to acquaint you, that at four A. M. this morning, the gun and mortar boats of the enemy made an attempt on the ships at anchor off Procida, consisting of H. S. M. frigate la Minerva, H. B. M. bomb vessel Perseus, and five gun boats, with two mortar vessels. The enemy’s force in all consisted of twenty-three, of which four were tartans, each mounting two heavy guns, and two were mortar vessels; the remaining seventeen were gun boats, and large launches with each a gun mounted. Having continued the attack for two hours, they retreated to Baia; where they were joined by five more large tartans, and still remain at anchor there ready to take advantage of another calm. As the gun boats directed most of their fire at la Minerva, she was the only sufferer from the engagement, having received a shot through the main mast, and another wounding the mizen mast; her loss is, I believe, two killed and four badly wounded. The Sicilian gun boats under Captain D. Andrea acquitted themselves with much credit; and the spirited

example set by Captain Schaukey, who volunteered to lead them into action, was the principal cause of the speedy retreat of those belonging to the enemy. His Majesty's ship Bull Dog being becalmed about a mile off, prevented her getting up time enough to share in the action.' *In continuation, May 21, 1799.* 'As the weather is now quite settled and little wind, I expect the enemy will make an attack to night. I find they acknowledge twelve to have been killed, and as many wounded. The Seahorse not having yet been able to get up from Salerno, our force only consists of the Neapolitan frigate la Minerva and the Perseus; but I hourly expect to see the Seahorse heave in sight. Our force being so small, we ought, in my opinion, to meet them under sail, and not wait their attack at anchor. But such an universal panic has seized the whole of the inhabitants of Procida and Ischia, that was even the Perseus to get under weigh, the inhabitants would take to their boats and leave the islands. The day after the Zealous sailed, a gale of wind drove me out of sight of Procida for a day; and I found, on my return, the Governor, Judge, &c. had every thing ready to get off as fast as they could had we not hove in sight, as an opinion was gone abroad that the English had deserted them, a report which the Jacobins made the most of. Yesterday Caraccioli harangued the sailors, and promised to give them up Procida and Ischia to military plunder, as soon as they should get possession of them. Since our line of battle ships left the Bay, he has been using every exertion to fit out the frigate and corvette, and we have intelligence that they will be ready to morrow night. The San Leon is this moment arrived with a prize tartan, which she cut out from under a battery at Cape Circelli.' --On the 28th of May, Captain Foote in writing to Lord Nelson from off Procida, added, 'Caraccioli threatens a second attack with a considerable addition of force. I have put two of the Seahorse's thirty-two pound carronades into the bombard brought off from Castellamare, and we are in every respect prepared to receive the enemy. That your Lordship may know I have done my utmost to recover the brave marines of the Zealous, I enclose the letters which I wrote to the French commanding Officer about them, and copies of his answers; and I have resolved, in consequence of his breach of faith and infamous expressions, neither to send nor receive a flag of truce from the French.'

Whilst Lord Nelson and the Officers of his squadron were anxiously awaiting the uncertain result of a contest with an enemy so greatly superior, resolving with their illustrious Chief that the glory of their perilous night at Aboukir, should not be sullied off Maretimo; Captain Hallowell had sent a present to Lord Nelson of a Coffin, every part of which had been actually made of the wood and iron from a piece of the main mast of l'Orient, that had been taken up by the Swiftsure before she left her station off Alexandria. The Coffin was accompanied with the following note: '*Swiftsure, May 23.* My Lord: Herewith I send you a Coffin made of part of l'Orient's main mast; that when you are tired of this life you may be buried in one of your own trophies; but may that period be far distant, is the sincere

wish of your obedient and much obliged servant, *Ben. Hallowell*.—The astonishment that prevailed amongst the ship's company, when they were actually convinced it was a Coffin which had been thus conveyed on board, will be long remembered by their Officers: *We shall have hot work of it indeed*, said one of the old Agamemnons, *you see the Admiral intends to fight till he is killed, and there he is to be buried*. Lord Nelson afterwards placed it upright with the lid on against the after division, or bulkhead of his cabin, behind his chair where he sat at dinner, and viewed it with the undaunted mind of a great warrior.—There had been, however, an extraordinary gloom and depression of mind for some time visible in his Lordship, which too much corresponded with the present he had received. Notwithstanding all his honours and all his glory, Nelson was becoming dissatisfied with himself, and the irritability and misery which this gradually occasioned, will appear in many of his subsequent letters. In one, that had been written during February to an intimate friend, is the following passage: ‘Thank you most heartily, my dear Davison, for your letter. Believe me, my only wish is to sink with honour into the grave, and when that shall please God, I shall meet death with a smile. Not that I am insensible to the Honours and Riches my King and Country have heaped upon me, so much more than any Officer could deserve; yet am I ready to quit this world of trouble, and envy none but those of the estate six feet by two.’

In writing May 28, 1799, when off Trapano, to Earl St. Vincent, he said, ‘Pray God send you success against the Dons; for I hope the French are got into Toulon, and are not near enough to prevent your conquest. Our English ships shall be ready for you in forty eight hours, the Portuguese may be a little longer. Niza is as good a young man as ever lived. I began properly with him and we are like brothers. What I did respecting his Orders, &c. was done in Council with the Queen and Lady Hamilton, and they are not bad Counsellors. Your Lordship is acquainted with my intention of raising the blockade of Malta, and of uniting my whole force off Maretimo. I have not yet heard from Captain Ball, what he has done in consequence; therefore we are completely on our guard. On your leaving me to act as I thought best, from the situation of affairs, I have determined to carry my squadron back to Palermo to complete their provisions to six months, and be in momentary readiness to proceed as you may order; leaving in the bay of Naples, Seahorse, Perseus, Bull Dog, Mutine, and San Leon to protect the islands, which would fall the moment our ships were withdrawn. My reason for remaining in Sicily is to cover the blockade of Naples, with the certainty of preserving Sicily in case of an attack. If we were to withdraw our

* On Lord Nelson's leaving the Vanguard, the Coffin was carried with him into the Foudroyant, where it remained for many days on the gratings of the quarter deck. Whilst his Officers were one day looking at this extraordinary present, his Lordship came out of the cabin: *You may look at it, Gentlemen*, said he, *as long as you please; but depend on it none of you shall have it*.

ships, it would throw such a damp upon the people, that I am sure there would be no resistance; and I am convinced, from the favourable aspect of affairs in Italy, there will be no attack made here, whilst the French know we have such a force to appear against them.'—On the 8th of May, the King of Sardinia in returning his thanks to Lord Nelson for the satisfactory letter which that Admiral had lately addressed to his Majesty, referred him to the Chevalier Balbe, principal equerry to the King, who had orders to call at Palermo on his intended tour to Germany and Russia. 'I trust, my dear Admiral,' added the King, 'that, from every thing we can judge of at present, a gracious Providence will at length bring this brigandage to an end, and that the good cause will prove victorious. Such is the prayer which we offer up incessantly to Heaven. You may place implicit confidence in whatever the Chevalier Balbe says on my part: he is a gentleman, whose talents and services, both public and private, have acquired a right to my confidence and will therefore, I hope, obtain yours. I have charged him to assure you, how very grateful I feel for all your attention, and how entirely I rely on a person so honourable and so irreproachable as yourself. May God ever keep you, my dear Admiral, under his gracious and holy protection. Your Friend, CHARLES EMMANUEL.'—His Majesty at that time entertained great apprehensions from the French troops in Corsica; and a part of the Chevalier's instructions were to request Lord Nelson, if possible, to detach a ship or two to the Sardinian coast, and to allow some of the English troops to garrison that part of the Island which was nearest to Corsica.

On returning for a short time to Palermo, Lord Nelson wrote again to Earl St. Vincent. 'May 30, 1799. The Vanguard anchored here yesterday; but it has been so calm, that, except the Emerald, none have yet got in. After two days I hope they will all be as ready for service as our means allow of. I have our dear Troubridge for my assistant, in every thing we are brothers. Hood and Hallowell are as active and good as ever: not that I mean to say any are otherwise; but you know these are men of resources. Hardy was bred in the old school, and, I can assure you, that I never have been better satisfied with the real good discipline of a ship than the Vanguard's.—I hope from my heart that you will meet the Dons alone: If the two fleets join, I am ready and with some of my ships in as high order as ever went to sea. The Russian ships are blocking up Ancona; but again the Genereux has escaped them. As to politics they are my abomination: The Ministers of Kings and Princes are as great scoundrels as ever lived: The brother of the Emperor is just going to marry the Great Something of Russia; and it is more than expected that a kingdom is to be found for him in Italy, and that the King of Naples will be sacrificed. June 5. We are so much on the tip-toe of expectation, that I feel almost unable to detail my operations. You will hear of all my history with Tripoli. I am put on my guard by your just description. We are better friends with the Bashaw than ever.

I selected Commodore Campbell for the service; in the first instance, because he was fit for the business, and secondly to mark, that although I could censure when wrong, yet that I bore no resentment for the past, having done on that occasion what I thought right. The Commodore has on this service conducted himself with proper spirit and judgment, and by it has made a very advantageous peace for Portugal. As the Marquis de Niza is going to send the Commodore's Captain to Lisbon, with an account of this peace, I beg leave to say, that Don J. Marco d'Almado has on several occasions conducted himself with spirit, and always with much zeal for the service in which we are jointly engaged. The Bey of Tunis has stopped some vessels with my passports, and pretends to justify it, that were carrying provision for men fighting in the same cause with himself: I hope to bring the gentleman to reason. My time has been so much occupied, that I have not been able to pay that attention to the Barbary States I could have wished; but I know those folks must be talked to with honesty and firmness. *June 6.* It is not yet decided, but it is probable, that in forty-eight hours we may sail for the bay of Naples, in order to replace H. S. Majesty on the throne. God send us good luck, and may he bless us! May every success attend you, may health and long life be granted you, and may you ever be the Friend of your affectionate Nelson.'

Earl St. Vincent on the 22d of May, 1799, had sent the following intelligence to Lord Nelson from Port Mahon.—'The Spanish fleet, consisting of from seventeen to twenty sail of the line, passed the Gut into the Straits on the morning of the 15th; there can be no doubt of their coming this way. I therefore cannot justify the diminution of my force, so inadequate to the numerous points I have to defend, nor can I give your Lordship any specific instructions how to act; being in total ignorance of the real state of the security of Sicily, further than depends upon the two British regiments in the citadel of Messina.'—This Spanish fleet, commanded by Don G. Mazarredo, had sustained very considerable damages off the coast of Oran on the 16th and 17th of May. Two of their line of battle ships were totally dismasted, others had lost their main and mizen masts, and many their topmasts; which effectually crippled their force, and disappointed the projects of the French Republic.

The health of Earl St. Vincent continuing in a very dangerous state, rendered his return indispensable. He remained, however, in consequence of the circumstances that had taken place in the Mediterranean, until the apprehensions which had arisen from the appearance of the Enemy's squadrons had in some measure subsided. Lord Nelson, at his heart, sincerely respected this Commander in Chief; and on hearing of his intentions, thus expressed the powerful feelings of a grateful and affectionate mind.—'*Palermo, June 10.* We have reports, my Lord, that you are thinking of going home; this distresses us most exceedingly, and myself in particular: so much so, that I have more than serious thoughts of

returning, if that event should take place. But for the sake of our Country, do not quit at this serious moment. I wish not to detract from the merit of whoever may be your successor; but it must take a length of time, which I hope the war will not give, to be in any manner a St. Vincent. We look up to you, as we have always found you, as to our father, under whose fostering care we have been led to Fame. If, my dear Lord, I have any weight in your friendship, let me entreat you to rouse the sleeping Lion; give not up a particle of your authority to any one, be again our St. Vincent, and we shall be happy.'

On the 31st of May, 1799, in consequence of the damages which the Spanish fleet had sustained, Earl St. Vincent had been enabled to detach Admiral Duckworth to Lord Nelson, with the *Leviathan*, *Northumberland*, *Foudroyant*, and *Majestic*. On the arrival of this reinforcement his Lordship quitted the *Vanguard*, and shifted his flag on board the *Foudroyant*. On the 7th of June he was advanced Rear Admiral of the Red.

Admiral Lord Nelson to Captain E. J. Foote,¹ dated off Maretimo, June 18.

'Dear Sir: I am very much obliged to you for all your interesting letters; and should the Cardinal, or Russians, be in possession of Naples, and it be subdued for its lawful Sovereign, and you think that the Neapolitan ships with the *San Leon* are sufficient to guard the Islands and the Bay of Naples: you will join me without loss of time off Maretimo, with the ship you command, the *Perseus* bomb and Mutine brig, as I have not a frigate with me; but, if you think otherwise, I must leave it entirely to your own judgment to act for the good of his Majesty's service.'—In his other letters his Lordship had said, 'The Governor of Ischia, General Acton tells me, shall be superseded, his conduct is infamous. I have scolded about the provisions, and I hope you will have plenty in future. The French fleet were seen in the gulph of Lyons steering for Toulon, the Spanish fleet off Cape de Gatte, Lord St. Vincent off Barcelona.'

On the 21st of June, two days before Earl St. Vincent sailed from Mahon for England in the *Argo*, he took this farewell of Nelson. 'A thousand thanks, my dear Lord, for a number of kind letters, that of the 6th instant startles me; being very apprehensive the Court of Sicily is deceived as to the disposition of the Neapolitans, who have proved themselves unworthy of trust and confidence; and the island of Sicily will be exposed to great hazard by your removal. I am so completely done up, as to be fit for nothing but solitude; and I shall proceed in a day or two to Gibraltar, on my way to England. I can give you no positive instructions in the present uncertainty, touching the operations of the French: therefore the next best thing is to leave you to your own excellent judgment. God bless you, my dear Lord, and send us peace, that we may meet again before I depart this world; in which, I trust, there is great store of happiness for Lady Nelson and yourself. That every blessing may be long continued to you, is the devout wish of your Lordship.'

¹ This letter was not received by Captain Foote until six o'clock on the morning of the 24th of June.

truly affectionate, St. Vincent.'—His Lordship had previously, on the 16th of June, given up the command to Lord Keith.

Anno
Ætat. 41.

The Transactions in the Bay of Naples during the summer of 1799, have been much discussed both at home and abroad; and, owing to the perversion of facts, not generally with that candour, or even accuracy, which the very peculiar difficulty of the service appears to have demanded. The leading actor in these extraordinary Transactions, and the cause of the principal odium that ensued, was Cardinal F. Ruffo, his Sicilian Majesty's Vicar General. To him, therefore, our attention must be in the first place directed; and that at the time when, after landing in Calabria as has been already related, he was advancing with his army consisting of a motley tribe of Calabrese royalists, galley slaves, and criminals from the gaols and banditti from the south to the north of the kingdom. Notwithstanding the Cause he had espoused, and the general loyalty of the lower classes of the people, Ruffo was never at any time seen in the front of his troops. Naturally a coward, he acted with all the selfishness and indecision of such a character. Although the orders he had received from his Royal Master peremptorily commanded him not to treat with Rebels, and more especially with Traitors of high rank whose ingratitude demanded exemplary punishment,* the Cardinal gradually became inclined, like Pignatelli, to modify and alter his instructions. This particularly appeared in a letter dated April 29, 1799, which he sent from his then head quarters at Policoro to the Governor of Procida.—‘I could not,’ said his Excellency, ‘advance on the side of Salerno, because the capture of Brindisi, and, I might also say, the loss of the provinces of Lecce, Bari, and Matera, obliged me to march towards the Adriatic, with a view of restoring those provinces to our Sovereign. Moreover, as the intended landing of the Russians and Turks must take place on the shores of the Adriatic, I mean to settle a free communication with them, and to form the whole plan of my future operations with their Generals. Previous to my advancing towards Naples, it will, I think, be requisite for me to reconquer in great measure every part of the kingdom; which would necessarily deprive all those of their resources and provisions, who may continue in rebellion: I do not, however,’ added the Cardinal, ‘intend to make great exertions in the Upper Provinces on the side of Rome, *As, according to my ideas, we must not drive the principal Jacobins at Naples to despair, but must rather leave them the means of escape.* The anarchy, after all, is not so great as some people may imagine; and this cannot be overcome, until his Majesty recovers his authority; by which means the disaffected would abandon all hope of seeing the accomplishment of their dream of liberty.’

The conclusion of the Cardinal's letter completely illustrates the spirit and cause of his

* A private letter from the King to Cardinal Ruffo found amongst the Nelson papers, amply supports this assertion, which might have been expressed in stronger terms.

operations when he reached Naples. It is obvious, that with an idea of recovering that Metropolis without much personal risk, or indeed odium from the Republicans of high rank and connexions, he had determined to act towards them with what Captain Troubridge denominated, the true Neapolitan Shuffle: a conduct highly disgraceful to his sacred character, and involving the professional integrity of those English Naval Officers who had the misfortune to be associated with him. With these ideas in his mind, Ruffo continued to advance with his army towards Naples. Having, with the assistance of the English ships, taken possession of Caprea and Castellamare, he approached the metropolis, and took the forts on the side by Mount Vesuvius, of which Ponte de Maddelena was the most considerable. He then endeavoured to get possession of the Castles Uovo and Nuovo, which command the anchorage in the bay of Naples, where all the principal Traitors in the whole kingdom of the Two Sicilies had retired for shelter.

The Cardinal, in all these proceedings, had been very powerfully supported by the detached Squadron which Lord Nelson had sent into the bay of Naples: At first under the command of Captain Troubridge, and afterwards of Captain Hood; and, when both those officers had left the station to reinforce their Admiral against the French fleet, the command had devolved, with a very inferior force, on Captain Edward James Foote of the *Seahorse*, whose professional character had been long established for ability and integrity. From the Memoir^b which that Officer afterwards drew up of his subsequent conduct, for the information of Lord Nelson, and the various letters he has since been obliged to publish in consequence of a shameful attack on his professional conduct in the bay of Naples, considerable light has been thrown on this subject.

‘I shall not,’ says Captain Foote, ‘notice the various letters I received from the Cardinal: they will prove, if investigated, how very little he knew about the force that was under my orders, or what was possible to be done by a few small ships of war; and that he kept advancing without any fixed plan or project, trusting entirely to the chapter of accidents. On the 9th of June, 1799, I received a letter from the Cardinal, in which he mentioned, that on the 13th, or 14th, he should be at the Torre del Greco; and he gave me some signals, by which I was to know when the Royal Army reached that place: accordingly, on the 13th, I stood into the bay, but saw no signals. Innumerable requests were made to me for assistance, but no one could tell me, for certain, where the Cardinal was As I have since learned, instead of being at his rendezvous at the appointed time, he was at Nola; but as to any direct information I had none, not receiving any letter from him between the 9th and 17th of that month.

‘On the evening of June 13th, the Cardinal, or rather the Russians, took the fort of

^b See a pamphlet, since become scarce, published by Captain Foote in 1807, entitled, *A Vindication of his Conduct in the bay of Naples, in the summer of 1799.*

Villema and the bridge of Madalena. Caraccioli's gun boats annoyed them a good deal, the weather prevented my approaching sufficiently close with the frigates; but if the galleys (with Count Thurn) had been with me, I should certainly have taken some of the gun boats, or caused them to retreat. On the 14th the weather was bad, and it was not until the 15th, the day the galleys joined me, that I could venture so deep into the Bay as the Castles of Revigliano and Castellamare, which capitulated . . . On the 17th I informed the Cardinal, that I should immediately join the gun boats and mortar boats at the Piedi Grotta, with those given up at Castellamare, with a view of attacking Castle Uovo. On the night of the same day, June 17, I sent an Officer to the Cardinal; when he informed me, that the rebels and the French, particularly the latter, had refused to capitulate to an Ecclesiastic; that his means were scarcely sufficient to reduce determined and obstinate people, and that he wished me to try what I could do, by offering to hearken to the terms they might have to propose. On the 18th I sent Captain Oswald of the *Perseus* with a letter to the Commandant of Castle Uovo, in the hope of its opening the way to a negotiation. The very insolent verbal answer which I received was, *Nous voulons la République une et indivisible, nous mourons pour elle: Voilà notre réponse, éloignez vous Citoyen, vite! vite!*—I made the Cardinal acquainted with this, and that it was my intention to attack the Castle by every means in my power; to which his Excellency replied, 'That it was no longer time to hearken to Capitulations, and that it became necessary to think seriously of attacking Fort St. Elmo.

'The next day, June 19th, to my great surprise, I received a letter from the Cardinal requesting me to cease hostilities, and not to recommence them whilst the flag of truce was flying, as a Negotiation had taken place. The same night I sent an Officer to the Cardinal with the following letter.*—I consider it my duty to inform your Eminency, that so long an Armistice may prove very prejudicial to the interest of his Sicilian Majesty. The only way to reduce these Rebels is to fatigue them with our energy; and by constantly attacking them not to allow them time to breathe: for while we remain inactive, they form their mischievous schemes, and we have but too good reason to expect every thing from their treachery, which may shew itself when we least expect it. As my Sovereign is a principal Ally of the King of the Two Sicilies, I claim a right to be made acquainted with the subject of the present Treaty; as I am extremely anxious to learn, before night, how I am to conduct myself: since, if the Rebels are not treating for a Capitulation, I see no reason why the firing on them should not recommence at sun-set. I must also inform your Eminency, ~~that~~ after the answer I received yesterday morning, I shall not treat with those gentlemen until they beg of me to do so.'—The Cardinal sent word back . . . 'Your Excel-

* With the Seahorse, *Perseus*, Captain Oswald; Neapolitan frigate *Sirena*, Don Diego Naselli; the galleys *Felico*, *Altiya*, *Alerta*; and two gun boats.

* Vindication, page 148.

lency seems to think that the delay may be dangerous: I rather believe that in the present situation of affairs it cannot be otherwise than favourable to us. Ever since this morning, from the moment they began to treat about a Capitulation, a great many began to desert from the two Castles, and amongst them forty Frenchmen at least, besides a great many Italians; and the number of the fugitives will increase more and more under favour of the night. We have placed some Officers round the Castle Nuovo to receive these voluntary prisoners, and to assure them they shall be forgiven, and this seems to succeed very well. And should those, who have not yet fled, find the same safe reception and asylum on the water, I do believe that the French, in case of their being disposed to recommence hostilities, would find the two Castles empty. We are rather afraid, that the Treaty may be interrupted by the Castle being stormed by the people, as the Castle is all open, and the Calabrese have already penetrated it. It does not appear to me, therefore, that they can entertain any reasonable hopes of rendering our position less favourable by delay. As, however, the Treaty is principally carried on in the name of the Russians, I send your letter to Micheroux, that he may reply, as he thinks proper, to your Excellency.—Not receiving a line from the Chevalier de Micheroux, I informed the Cardinal that I thought nothing could be more prejudicial to the interest of his Sicilian Majesty, than the having such a multiplicity of Chiefs; and that I knew of no other than his Eminency, who was specially charged with the interests of the King of Naples, and that I could act with no other person. The Cardinal told the Officer whom I sent, that he knew nothing of what was going on; that he stood in great need of the aid of the Russians, that he would not give them the least ground for complaint, and that it was the Russians who conducted the Treaty. On the 19th I received a project of a Capitulation *already signed* by the Cardinal and the Chief of the Russians, with a request that I would put my name to it. In answer I informed the Cardinal, that I had done so, because *I considered him as the confidential agent of his Sicilian Majesty*; and that some advantage would result from the Capitulation, otherwise he would not have signed it: but I could not say *I approved of such a manner of treating, and that I could not be answerable for its consequences*. I also made some observations relative to St. Elmo's capitulating. At length on the 22d I received a letter from the Chevalier de Micheroux, with the capitulation in form, already signed by the Cardinal and the Chief of the Russians. I replied to the Chevalier de Micheroux, that I had signed where he pointed out; but that I protested against every thing that could be in the least contrary to the honour and rights of my Sovereign, and the British Nation. I signed this Capitulation, lest on a reverse of fortune, or the arrival of the enemy's fleet, it might have been asserted, that my refusal was the cause of such misfortunes as might occur, and *because I considered that the Cardinal was acquainted with the will and intention of his Sovereign; and the Count Thurn had told me, that the Chevalier de Micheroux was authorised to act in a diplomatique*

character. I never was consulted by the Cardinal relative to the Capitulation, and I had neither instructions nor any document to assist or guide me.'

The utter perversion of the will of their Sovereign, which the Cardinal and the Neapolitan Officers who acted with him had thus in part accomplished, in order to save some Traitors of rank and fortune in the Castles of Uovo and Nuovo, was rendered still more infamous by their afterwards endeavouring to involve the character of Captain Foote, and eventually that of Lord Nelson and his Country, in all the odium that had resulted from these intrigues of the Cardinal. When he least expected it, to the confusion of himself, and of his adherents, who had thus hoped to secure the accomplishment of their fraudulent intentions, Lord Nelson on the 24th of June, 1799, with seventeen sail of the line, with the Prince Royal on board the Foudroyant, and with 1700 troops in the squadron, entered the bay of Naples, about thirty-six hours after Captain Foote had acceded to the Capitulation. Previous to his leaving Palermo, his Lordship had sent the following note to Admiral Duckworth, dated June 21.—'On the return of our squadron, which the Jacobins gave out was for fear of the French fleet, all is undone again although they had *in some measure agreed to terms*; therefore his Majesty has requested my immediate presence in the bay of Naples, which I shall execute this afternoon.'—On his Lordship's arrival a flag of truce was flying on the Castles of Uovo and Nuovo, and on board the Seahorse, Captain Foote, as there had not been sufficient time to execute the conditions of the Capitulation. His Lordship feeling that Captain Foote had, by the treacherous misrepresentations of the Cardinal, been led to sign a Treaty of Capitulation which militated against the intentions of the King of Naples, immediately threw out the annulling signal, and, acting under the authority of the King, declared the Treaty to be invalid. *The Rebels' then surrendered, to use his own words, to the mercy of their Sovereign, without any capitulation, and marched out as prisoners*; and the Castles were taken possession of, fourteen days before the King's arrival. In writing afterwards to Lord Spencer, he mentioned nearly the same circumstances, and declared that the Treaty had been made with the rebels in direct disobedience of his Sicilian Majesty's orders, who had entirely approved of his Lordship's conduct.

There is a curious fact preserved in one of Sir John Acton's letters to Sir W. Hamilton, which illustrates Lord Nelson's note to Admiral Duckworth, and would seem to prove, that both the Neapolitans, and the French, had been themselves guilty of the very fault which they were so anxious to fix on Lord Nelson. This letter is dated Palermo, June 20. 'My dear Sir: I went to the King this afternoon, in order to present you with his Majesty's answer to Lord Nelson's letter: I am therefore authorised to tell you, that from the Cardinal's letter of the 17th, which arrived to day, and those from Procida of the 18th, we find, *That on the news being spread amongst the Republicans, of the French fleet being at sea, they*

broke the Truce granted at their desire for a Capitulation of the two Castles Uovo and Nuovo, and of St. Elmo by the French. These last, however, seem willing still to hear of terms; but the Republicans are making continual sorties from their Castles, and St. Martino. The Cardinal seems in a disagreeable position.'—Sir William Hamilton enclosing the above letter on the same day to Lord Nelson, who was then on the point of sailing from Palermo, said, 'By the latest accounts from Naples, the Royalists and Jacobins are fighting it out. From what I see, without Captain Foote, the Cardinal would have done little . . . Your Lordship observes, that what we suspected of the Cardinal has proved true; and I dare say, when the Capitulation of Naples comes to this Court, *their Sicilian Majesties' Dignity will be mortified.*'

Captain Foote, in his Vindication,^m adds, 'On the evening of the 24th of June, I did myself the honour to wait on Lord Nelson, when his Lordship was pleased to say, that he was aware I had been placed in an arduous and unpleasant situation; that he gave me all possible credit for zeal, assiduity, and good intentions; but that I had been imposed on by that worthless fellow, Cardinal Ruffo, who was endeavouring to form a party hostile to the interests of his Sovereign. I respectfully observed, that I had indeed been placed in a most anxious situation; having had more reason, amongst many disagreeable and trying circumstances, to expect the enemy's fleet, rather than that under his Lordship's command, in Naples Bay: That I could not be supposed to know, or even imagine that the Cardinal was acting contrary to his Sovereign's interest, when I saw himⁿ retained in his very high and confidential situation; and my instructions directed me to cooperate to the utmost of my power with the Royalists, at whose head Cardinal Ruffo was known to be placed even before the squadron under Captain Troubridge had sailed from Palermo.'

Lord Nelson to Admiral Duckworth, dated June 25, 1799.

'My dear Admiral: As you will believe, the Cardinal and myself have begun our career by a complete difference of opinion. He will send the rebels to Toulon. I say they shall not go. He thinks one house in Naples more to be prized, than his Sovereign's honour. Troubridge and Ball are gone to the Cardinal for him to read my Declaration to the French and Rebels, whom he persists in calling Patriots: what a prostitution of the word. I shall send Foote to get the gun boats from Procida. I wish the fleet not to be more than two thirds of a cable from each other. I shall send you a sketch of the anchorage in forty fathom water. The Foudroyant to be the van ship. If the French fleet should favour us with a visit, I can easily take my station in the centre.'

Lord Nelson, it appears, could not in his own opinion have acted otherwise than he

^m Page 21.

ⁿ Sir John Acton afterwards, in a letter, mentioned the political necessity which had compelled the King of Naples to continue the Cardinal in his situation.

did, without compromising the Honour of that Sovereign whose authority and orders his Lordship had received such implicit directions, from his government, to consider as a principal object during his services in the Mediterranean. Every thing, however, that the disappointed spirit of republicanism and French sophistry could invent, was sedulously employed to throw the whole odium of what had passed on the British Admiral; and, by a strange perversion of Patriotism, Helen Maria Williams voluntarily came forward to give these sentiments an English dress. From this ingenious writer, the Neapolitan Traitors received the following apostrophe: ‘Honoured shades! illustrious martyrs of liberty! born to all the distinctions of rank, invested with those privileges which wealth confers on its possessors, endowed with that knowledge which, *in the hands of the wise*, is the most durable foundation of power; ye wished to raise a degraded Nation to the dignity of equal freedom . . . You have made this glorious effort, not for yourselves, but for others. The attempt was sublime, it bore the stamp of Divinity. Ye have perished under the stroke of perfidy and despotism.’—Lord Nelson in a marginal note to this passage^o wrote, ‘Miss Williams has in my opinion completely proved, that the persons she has named deserved death from the Monarchy: They failed, and got hanged for their pains.’—The spirit of Democracy however, which was for a time restrained by the exertions of Lord Nelson and his Officers, too much succeeded in producing that first impression on the public, which it is so difficult, even for truth, afterwards to efface. No less a mind than that of our late Senator, Mr. Fox, was affected by it, as appears from a passage in the eloquent speech which he delivered, during the ensuing year,^p on the Address thanking his Majesty for refusing to negotiate: ‘It is said, that a party of the Republican inhabitants at Naples, took shelter in the fortress of Castello del Uovo. They were besieged by a detachment from the Royal Army, to whom they refused to surrender; but demanded that a British Officer should be brought forward, and to him they capitulated. They made terms with him under the sanction of the British name. It was agreed that their persons and property should be safe, and that they should be conveyed to Toulon. They were accordingly put on board a vessel; but before they sailed, their property was confiscated, numbers of them were taken out, thrown into dungeons, and some of them, I understand, notwithstanding the British guarantee, absolutely executed.’

These observations from so great a Statesman as Mr. Fox, astonished and hurt Lord Nelson; and in the first moments of the irritability which they occasioned, he sent the following letter^a to Mr. Davison. ‘My dear Sir: Mr. Fox having in the House of Commons made an accusation against somebody, for what he calls a breach of a Treaty with Rebels which had been entered into with a British Officer; and having used language unbecoming

^o Vol. I. page 223.

^p Feb. 3, 1800.

^a Malta, May 9, 1801.

either the wisdom of a senator, or the politeness of a gentleman, or an Englishman who ought ever to suppose, that his Majesty's Officers would always act with Honour and Spirit in all their transactions; and as the whole affairs of the kingdom of Naples were, at the time alluded to, absolutely placed in my hands, it is I who am called upon to explain my conduct: I therefore send you my Observations' on the Infamous Armistice entered into by the Cardinal: and on his refusal to send in a joint Declaration to the French and Rebels, I sent in my Note; on which the Rebels came out of the Castles as they ought, and as I hope all those who are false to their King and Country will, *to be hanged or otherwise disposed of, as their Sovereign thought proper.* The terms granted by Captain Foote of the Seahorse at Castellamare, were all strictly complied with; the Rebels having surrendered before my arrival. There has been nothing promised by a British Officer, which his Sicilian Majesty has not complied with, even when in disobedience to his orders to the Cardinal. Shew these papers to Mr. Rose or some others; and, if thought right, you will put them in the public papers.'

Respecting the term *Armistice*, which his Lordship used in this letter, and apparently, from the hurry and agitation in which he wrote, for *Treaty*, it may be observed, that both the copies of it which have been printed by Captain Foote, and by Helen Maria Williams, are entitled, *Projet de Capitulation pour le Fort Neuf et le Fort de l'Ouef.* Lord Nelson has written on that in H. M. Williams' letters, *Never executed, and therefore no Capitulation:* by which he probably meant, never executed as a Treaty; since before the *Projet* had been entirely acted upon, he had interposed his authority for reasons already mentioned; and having sent in other terms to the prisoners, they had of their own accord, on those terms, surrendered without any conditions whatever.

Whatever difference of opinion may remain in the minds of many persons respecting this decisive measure, it is certain that the Admiral himself was entirely satisfied with the necessity and justice of his conduct.—It is assuredly a subject of great delicacy and difficulty. It may, however, be observed, that Nelson possessed some old fashioned ideas, which it would be well for society if they more generally prevailed. He had an utter horror for Republicans, and more particularly for those whom the hotbed of French Corruption had raised. He considered Rebellion against the lawful Sovereign of any Country, with the sacred Legislator, 'as the Sin of Witchcraft.' The person of Majesty, whatever defects or infirmities it might individually possess, was always by him regarded as sacred. The principle on which he invariably acted, throughout the subsequent punishment of these Traitors, both during his continuance at Naples, and on his return to Palermo, was a determination not to interfere with the regular established course of the Neapolitan laws;

' This invaluable Document was immediately carried by Mr. Davison to one of the Cabinet Ministers. Every search has been made for it, but hitherto without success.

and this principle of conduct was certainly worthy of Lord Nelson's public character as a British Admiral, purposely sent to support the government and laws of the Kingdom of Naples, which a variety of causes had disorganised.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that many of our own Officers in the Mediterranean, considered the Admiral's conduct as too decided, and even impolitic. Amongst whom was Lord Keith, who had succeeded Earl St. Vincent in the Mediterranean. 'I am extremely sorry,' said his Lordship, in writing from off Corsica, June 29th, 1799, 'that you should suspect the Cardinal, and I hope it will all turn out right; but for God's sake do not let those *good* people carry their heads too high. They will find it more easy to improve the Government when in it, than to get into it. Therefore let them return on any terms that are tolerable: and even did it depend on the King, and he were to grant solid privileges to his people, it certainly would be better to govern free men than slaves. But his Majesty ought to keep this in mind, that if a reverse of fortune, in favour of France, takes place in Piedmont, he may lose the golden opportunity. I can see the French troops by thousands marching along the Riviera de Genoa, and would certainly hamper them if I could stay on it. The provisions and stores are all carried by water.'—Nor should the decided opinion of Captain Foote, as already given to the public, be omitted in this place: 'Lord Nelson says, *He found a Treaty entered into with the Rebels, which he is of opinion ought not to be carried into execution.* It was, however, Capitulations actually signed in the name of His Sicilian Majesty, and his Allies, by those Officers who were undoubtedly authorised to enter into and sign such Treaties; and which, once signed, must be executed, or an evident breach of faith incurred on the part of that nation, whose power broke a solemn engagement made by themselves, in which the lives and property of men were concerned; and who might have chosen to sacrifice their existence, rather than have yielded at discretion to those from whom little mercy was to be expected.'—To such persons as still retain sentiments similar to these great Officers, it may be observed, That if Lord Nelson, according to their ideas, in this instance acted at variance with his long established character for humanity and his great professional reputation, it certainly did not arise from any dishonourable principle, or want of feeling: and was an error, even if admitted as such, not of professional integrity, but of political judgment: In which, as well as in various other instances of his life, he resembled the renowned Blake; of whom Dr. Johnson in consequence said, 'We must then admit amidst our eulogies and applauses, that the great, the wise, and the valiant Blake was once betrayed to an inconsiderate and desperate enterprise, by the resistless ardour of his own spirit.'

Amidst the Neapolitan Rebels who had been compelled to take shelter in these Castles of Uovo and Nuovo which command the anchorage in the Bay of Naples, the deluded

Caraccioli had for a time remained. His subsequent fate should be a memorable lesson to men, who in times of anarchy and treachery from interested motives, endeavour to serve two masters. Previous to Lord Nelson's arrival in the Bay, Caraccioli, as appears by a letter which he addressed to the Duke of Calvirrano at Portici, had fled from these Castles to Calvirrano, whence he had implored the countenance of the Duke and his application to Cardinal Ruffo for protection: this letter was dated June 23d. Caraccioli also expressed in it his apprehensions, under the unfortunate circumstances of his situation, that violence might be committed on his life by the Brigands. He confessed, that he was bound to account for his actions to those who should be legally authorised by his Sicilian Majesty, and he trusted that the few days during which he had been forced to obey the French Republic, would not obliterate forty years of most faithful service;" but that it would be duly weighed and valued in the scale of justice.—This letter clearly proves, that in the *Projet* of a Capitulation which the Cardinal had so fraudulently attempted to ratify, Caraccioli could not possibly be included. He afterwards escaped to the mountains, an action which by no means displayed the confidence of an honest mind. A price was immediately set upon his head; and on the 29th of June, 1799, before the arrival of the King from Palermo, this Nobleman was brought in the disguise of a peasant, about nine o'clock in the morning, alongside of Lord Nelson's flag ship, the *Foudroyant*. Captain Hardy, who was on deck at the time, had his attention suddenly attracted to a clamour that prevailed, and it was some time before he could gain information from the Italians who were on board, *that the Traitor Caraccioli was taken*. It was with the utmost difficulty that this humane Officer could restrain the insults and violence of the Neapolitan Royalists towards this unhappy victim of French perfidy; who, with his hands bound behind him and wretchedly attired, displayed a painful instance of the uncertainty of all worldly grandeur." When last on board, this Prince had been received with all the respect and deference that were then due to his rank and character. Captain Hardy immediately ordered his noble prisoner to be unbound, and to be treated with every attention that was in his power. Some refreshment was immediately offered, which he declined, and he was then given in charge as a prisoner to the first Lieutenant, Mr. W. S. Parkinson,* and shewn into his cabin. Two additional sentinels were then placed at the outside of the wardroom.

The Admiral had now a most painful and severe duty to perform. Every one who had known Caraccioli had regarded him; but justice was to have its course, and the only man who could secure it, had been and was the affectionate friend of the unhappy prisoner. Lord Nelson, who was much agitated, felt it all most keenly; but he also knew that he

" One of the Caraccioli Family, when Viceroy in Sicily, had, by his intercession and remonstrance with the King, abolished the Inquisition in that Island, March 27, 1782: probably the same Nobleman who came to England, as the Neapolitan Minister, and was much respected for his abilities.

* Since advanced to Post Rank.

must perform his duty not only to his own Sovereign, but to that Monarch whose cause Caraccioli had neglected, and who looked alone to a British Admiral for that redress which the treacherous Neapolitan had shewn no disposition to secure. Sir W. and Lady Hamilton were both on board; but Lord Nelson, during the whole of Caraccioli's confinement, would see no one except his own Officers. The step which he immediately took was certainly a bold and unprecedented one: As it would have been extremely dangerous to have ordered a Court Martial to assemble on board a Neapolitan ship, from the love which the Sicilian seamen bore to Caraccioli, and as the *Foudroyant* was considered as the seat of Government of the King of Naples, his Lordship issued the following order to Commodore Count Thurn, Commander of H. S. M. frigate *la Minerva*, to assemble a Court Martial of Neapolitan Officers on board his Britannic Majesty's ship: "Whereas Francisco Caraccioli, a Commodore in the service of his Sicilian Majesty, has been taken, and stands accused of rebellion against his lawful Sovereign, and for firing at his colours hoisted on board his frigate *la Minerva*, under your command: you are, therefore, hereby required and directed to assemble five of the senior Officers under your command, yourself presiding, and proceed to inquire whether the crime with which the said Francisco Caraccioli stands charged, can be proved against him; and if the charge is proved, you are to report to me what punishment he ought to suffer. Given on board the *Foudroyant*, Naples Bay, June 29, 1799. NELSON."

During the Trial, which commenced the same morning, and lasted from ten o'clock to twelve, the Wardroom of the *Foudroyant* was open, as is customary, to every one who chose to enter. Some account of what passed has therefore been preserved. Every thing appeared to be fairly and honourably conducted, to such of the English Officers as understood Italian. Caraccioli was repeatedly asked questions best calculated to enable him to clear those aspersions that had been attached to his character; and these he answered by endeavouring to prove, that he had been forced into the Republican service, had been compelled to perform the duty of a common soldier for a considerable time, when he was offered the command of the Republican Neapolitan Navy, which necessity alone had at length compelled him to accept. This necessity the prisoner repeatedly attempted to substantiate; but it certainly was not proved to the satisfaction of the Court, nor of our own Officers who were present. On the contrary, it clearly was demonstrated that the prisoner had enjoyed opportunities of escaping; and on being frequently asked, why he had not embraced those opportunities? no satisfactory reply was made. Caraccioli, nevertheless, answered firmly and collectedly, and the manner in which he conducted himself gained the commiseration of the British Officers who were present. He appeared to be about seventy, of a commanding figure, and with a dark expressive countenance. The Court afterwards particularly directed its attention to the two following points. First, the pri-

soner's having been actively present on board the Republican vessel that had attacked H. S. M. frigate la Minerva, the gun boats, and the English ships on that service, in which some of his Britannic Majesty's subjects had been killed, and others wounded. Secondly, his not endeavouring to escape previous to that attack, when it evidently appeared he had possessed opportunities to do so. Caraccioli in vain attempted to prove his innocence; his answers were vague and supported by no evidence whatever, the last efforts of a man striving to save his life. The Court was then cleared, and sentence of death passed on the prisoner. On its being transmitted by the President to Lord Nelson, his Lordship immediately issued the following Order for its being carried into execution on the same evening.

To Commodore Count Thurn, Commander of H. S. M. Frigate la Minerva.

‘Whereas a Board of Naval Officers of His Sicilian Majesty has been assembled, to try Francisco Caraccioli for rebellion against his lawful Sovereign, and for firing at his Sicilian Majesty's frigate la Minerva; and whereas the said Board of Naval Officers have found the charge of rebellion fully proved against him, and have sentenced the said Francisco Caraccioli to suffer death; you are hereby required and directed, to cause the said sentence of death to be carried into execution upon the said Francisco Caraccioli accordingly, by hanging him at the fore yard arm of H. S. M. frigate la Minerva under your command, at five o'clock this evening; and to cause him to hang there until sunset, when you will have his body cut down and thrown into the sea. Given on board the Foudroyant, Naples Bay, June 29, 1799. NELSON.’

During the awful interval that ensued from the close of his Trial to the execution of his sentence, Caraccioli twice requested Lieutenant Parkinson to go and intercede with Lord Nelson; at first for a second Trial, and afterwards that he might be shot: *I am an old man, Sir,* said Caraccioli, *I leave no family to lament my death, I therefore cannot be supposed to be very anxious about prolonging my life; but the disgrace of being hanged is dreadful to me.* Lord Nelson replied, ‘Caraccioli has been fairly tried by the Officers of his own country: I cannot interfere.’ On being urged the second time by Lieutenant Parkinson, he exclaimed with much agitation, ‘Go, Sir, and attend to your duty.’ Caraccioli then, as a last hope, asked Lieutenant Parkinson, whether he thought an application to Lady Hamilton would prove beneficial? Upon which that Officer went to the quarter deck; but not being able to meet with her, he returned. At five o'clock Caraccioli was removed from the Foudroyant and hanged at the fore yard arm of the Neapolitan frigate la Minerva. His body was afterwards carried out to a considerable distance and sunk in the bay of Naples.

It has been objected to the fairness of the whole proceedings against Caraccioli, and to the justice of Lord Nelson in sanctioning their execution, that Count Thurn, who

presided at the Trial, was an inveterate enemy of the Sicilian Commodore; and was not generally considered as possessing sufficient magnanimity to cause his private feelings to give way to his public duty. But if it could even be made appear that Lord Nelson was aware of the private and secret politics of the Sicilian Navy, they who urge this objection should recollect, that he who was incapable of possessing the feelings imputed to Count Thurn, would be the last man to suspect another, particularly a loyal officer, of dishonourable conduct in the discharge of public duty; and that he had sent Caraccioli to the only competent Tribunal to which he could be committed, to whose authority the Commodore had felt amenable, as appears from his letter on the 23d of June to the Duke of Calvirrano.

On the 28th of June, 1799, the day previous to this trial and execution of Caraccioli, Captain Foote had sailed in the Seahorse, by Lord Nelson's order, for the purpose of conveying the King and his family to Naples. On his arrival* in the bay of Palermo, he informed the Prime Minister, Sir John Acton, that the Seahorse was ready to receive the Royal Family, or to execute their commands. Sir John Acton then informed Captain Foote, of the intention of their Sicilian Majesties to proceed to Naples in their own frigate, the Sirena, lest they might hurt the feelings of their naval officers, who had remained faithful; but that their Majesties wished him to convoy them and the transports with troops on board, and also to embark their treasure and staff in the Seahorse. This Minister also assured Captain Foote, that both the King and Queen were very sensible of the service he had rendered them in the bay of Naples. Upon which Captain Foote availed himself, of what appeared a favourable opportunity to perform his promise to the republican garrisons of Revigliano and Castellamare; and, at the Minister's request, explained to him the terms of the Capitulation which had been granted; frequently observing, that the reliance which those garrisons had placed in Captain Foote's intercession, had principally induced them to submit without the effusion of blood; which Sir John Acton, who well knew the immense strength of Castellamare, must be aware would have been very great if they had made a determined resistance. On that Minister's appearing exasperated at the black ingratitude of some of the Officers to their King, who had composed the garrison of Castellamare, Captain Foote begged, as a personal favour, since their Sicilian Majesties were pleased to think he had rendered them some service, that the Capitulation which he had made with those garrisons might be regarded as sacred. This honourable conduct of Captain Foote, after the insults and duplicity he had experienced, was also supported by Lord Nelson. As no Neapolitan intrigues had been employed to deceive his Officers in forming their capitulation, he, with Captain Foote, considered the honour of the English Nation as being implicated in its perfect observance. In consequence of which, the Articles were strictly

executed and considered as inviolable by the King of Naples. On the 3d of July, 1799, their Sicilian Majesties embarked on board the *Sirena*, and sailing for the bay of Naples, under the protection of Captain Foote, arrived again in their capital on the 8th of the same month.

As the Castles of Uovo and Nuovo had surrendered to Lord Nelson fourteen days before the return of the King, it had been found difficult, in the critical situation of Naples, to provide for the security of those Traitors, who had been thus taken in their own net; and, in consequence, many of them were exposed to great privations and hardships, the whole odium of which was most industriously cast on Lord Nelson. The King on his arrival, publicly disavowed any authority having been delegated to Ruffo to treat with subjects in rebellion. The trials of these traitors then commenced according to the Neapolitan laws, and were conducted with as much regularity, as could well be expected, before one of their Judges and chiefly in the presence of the Cardinal. Lord Nelson, throughout, determined in no respect whatever to interfere with the course of the Neapolitan law, in which opinion, as already has appeared, he was supported by Captain Troubridge. They both were well aware, that it was the determination of the traitors and disaffected to implicate the English, if possible, in the odium of every thing that ensued on the King's arrival. His Lordship was therefore compelled to reply to the numerous petitions that were presented to him from these unfortunate persons, *I have shewn your paper to your gracious King, who must be the best and only judge of the merits and demerits of his subjects.*^{*} The number of traitors who in consequence suffered at different times, after being regularly tried and condemned by the laws of their country, amounted to about seventy persons: of these, Lord Nelson, in one of his private notes declared, that 'Elconora Fonseca had been a great rebel; and that Dominico Cirillo, who had been the King's physician, might have been saved, but that he chose to play the fool and lie; denying that he had ever made any speeches against the government, and that he only took care of the poor in the hospitals.' The Queen of Naples on her knees begged of his Majesty the life of Cirillo, but in vain.

It was the opinion of Helen Maria Williams,[†] and certainly of many other persons, that in these Transactions Lady Hamilton took an active part. Of her being present at the execution of Caraccioli, there cannot be the least doubt; but it is to be hoped, for the honour of her sex and of her Country, that she never directly or indirectly encouraged that vindictive spirit, which too much pervaded the Council of the King and the administration of the Neapolitan State Junta, after his Majesty had returned to Palermo. Emma Lady Hamilton, one of the most extraordinary women of the age; amidst all her faults, was more noted for her general attention and hospitality, than for any deliberate

^{*} Helen Maria Williams's Letters, Vol. I. page 189, and Vol. II. page 328.

[†] Vol. I. pages 182. 184. and 198.

acts of cruelty towards the Neapolitans, by whom she was in general adored. In the voluptuous Court of the Sicilian Monarch her fascinating person commanded a very powerful influence; but in a situation of so much delicacy and danger, she never forgot the Character that was expected from the wife of an English Ambassador, nor was deficient in any of those courtesies and friendly attentions which mark a liberal and humane disposition. From the arrival of the British squadron at Naples, she had exerted herself to support that good cause for which Admiral Nelson had been detached; and having in this respect rendered some service, the natural vanity of her mind led her to imagine, and to endeavour to make the noble Admiral and others believe, that from her alone proceeded the means of performing those great events which threw such a splendour on the favourite object of her idolatry. Her leading passion was the love of Celebrity; and it was this passion, added to the above delusion, which gradually brought on that fatal and highly wrought attachment which she formed for the Hero of Aboukir; for it was the Hero and not the Individual which had captivated her glowing imagination. Its ardour, as it increased, overpowered the natural kindness of her disposition, and eventually involved her in an endless succession of private altercation and public disappointment.

On his return to Naples, July 8, 1799, his Sicilian Majesty again held his Court and resided on board Lord Nelson's ship, under the secure protection of the British flag; where he enjoyed the constant loyalty, more particularly of the lower classes, of his subjects, and renewed that courtesy and condescension to all ranks which had retained so powerful an ascendancy over the artifices and calumnies of the French. About a week afterwards, a Neapolitan who had been fishing in the Bay came one morning to the *Foudroyant*, and assured the Officers that Caraccioli had been seen, who had risen from the bottom of the sea and was coming as fast as he could to Naples, swimming half out of the water. The story of the Neapolitan was slightly mentioned to his Majesty. The day being favourable, Lord Nelson, as usual, indulged the King by standing out to sea: the *Foudroyant*, however, had not advanced far, before the officers of the watch beheld a body upright in the water, whose course was directed towards them. Captain Hardy soon discovered that it was actually the body of Caraccioli, notwithstanding the great weight which had been attached to it; and it became extremely difficult to decide in what manner the extraordinary circumstance should be communicated to the King. This was performed with much address by Sir W. Hamilton; and with his Majesty's permission the body was taken on shore by a Neapolitan boat and consigned to christian burial. The coxswain of the boat brought back the double headed Neapolitan shot, with a portion of the skin still adhering to the rope by which they had been fixed. They were weighed by Captain Hardy, who ascertained that the body had risen and floated with the immense weight of 150 lbs. attached to it.

During these great and leading events in the life of Nelson, the Defence of Acre had been conducted with that skill which reflected so much credit on the various persons who were concerned. * Ghezzar Pasha was enabled to oppose an effectual resistance to Buonaparte by the active cooperation of Sir Sidney Smith, and the talents of his eminent associate Phellipeaux, a most skilful French engineer. Colonel Phellipeaux had studied at the Military College with Buonaparte; in all their public examinations had invariably borne off the palm, and been acknowledged his superior. At Acre their respective talents were again tried, and the same superiority displayed by this distinguished royalist; who having entirely baffled the force of Buonaparte, and arrested his career, died soon afterwards of a decline, from the fatigue he had experienced. Sir Sidney Smith had also to lament the death of another officer of well known and tried abilities, Captain R. W. Miller of the *Theseus*, who had been appointed to serve under Sir Sidney at his particular request. During the Siege he received the following account of Captain Miller's death from the first Lieutenant Mr. England. ' *Off Mount Carmel, May 15, 1799.* Sir: It is with extreme concern I have to acquaint you, that yesterday morning at half past nine o'clock, 20 thirty-six pound shells, and 50 eighteen pound shells, had been got up and prepared ready for service, by Captain Miller's order, the ship then close off Cæsarea; when in an instant, owing to some accident which we have not been able to discover, the whole of them were on fire, and a most dreadful explosion took place. The ship was immediately in flames, in the main rigging and mizen top, in the cockpit, in the tiers, in several places about the main deck, and in various other parts. The danger was very imminent, and it required an uncommon exertion from every one to get under the collected body of fire which made its appearance. I have the happiness to add, that our exertions were crowned with success, the fire subdued, and the ship most miraculously preserved. And I here feel myself called upon to declare, how much obliged I am to all the officers and ship's company, but more particularly to Lieutenant Summers, Mr. Atkinson, master, and the officers and men specified in the enclosed list; * whose assistance on this occasion was truly great, and enabled us all to get the better of so decided a calamity. Captain Miller, I am sorry to add, is of the number killed, which amounts to 26; drowned 9, and 45 wounded. The whole of the poop and after part of the quarter deck are entirely blown to pieces, and all the booms destroyed. Eight of the main deck beams also broke, which fell down and jammed the tiller. All the ward room bulk heads and windows were entirely blown to pieces, and the ship was left a perfect wreck. In short, a greater scene of horror and devastation could not be produced, and we are all truly grateful to God Almighty for his most signal preservation in saving us from a danger so very great and alarming.

* In which appear the names of Mr. *John Pike*, master's mate, *Henry Wyatt*, boatswain, *William Allen*, gunner, Messrs. *R. Hall*, *Savage*, and *John Smith*, midshipmen, *James Miles*, boatswain's mate, and *John Walters*, quarter master, who had been wounded at Caife; *James Hogg*, quarter master, and *George Lewson*, captain of the fore-castle, &c.

Whilst we were employed in clearing the wreck, five strange vessels came in sight, which we soon discovered were three large frigates and two brigs under a press of sail, standing towards us. I thought it most prudent, from our then distressed state, to tack and lay our head from them, until the ship could be put in a state for action. I soon observed them to be enemies, by their firing three shot at one of our gun boats that had been ordered to cruise off Jaffa; and which I had the good fortune to prevent being taken. The same exertions being now used to prepare the ship for action, as there had been in extinguishing the fire, I was soon enabled to tack again and to stand towards them; a Turkish man of war of 22 guns and a corvette being in company, which offered their assistance. This the Enemy no sooner observed, than they instantly stood to the westward, under all the canvas they could spread. I continued the pursuit until after dark, and not finding that we gained on them, added to the disabled state of the *Theseus*, I determined to leave off chace, and endeavour to join you without loss of time.—Sir Sidney, when enclosing this letter to Earl St. Vincent, added, ‘It is with inexpressible grief that I have to inform your Lordship of a most melancholy accident by which Captain Miller lost his life. The service suffers from the loss, at this conjuncture, in the proportion by which it gained advantage from his gallant example, his indefatigable zeal, and consummate skill in conducting the operations for the defence of the north side of the town, committed to his management. He had long been in the practice of collecting such of the enemy’s shells as fell in the town without bursting, and of sending them back to the enemy better prepared, and with evident effect. He had a deposit on board the *Theseus* ready for service, and more were getting ready, when by an accident for which nobody can account, the whole took fire, and exploded at intervals.’—Thus fell one of the ablest and best Officers in his Majesty’s service, one who had long fought by the side of Nelson, and for whom his Lordship as well as every other officer in his squadron, felt the most poignant regret.

Towards the close of this year 1799, Lord Nelson sent Sir Sidney Smith the following official commendation of his conduct. ‘My dear Sir: The Lords of the Admiralty have directed me in their letter, October 22, to signify to you, and to the Officers and men under your command, the very high sense they entertain of your very meritorious services in the several important occasions to which your letters relate, as also of the several officers and men whose conduct you have particularly mentioned. And their Lordships also inform me, that a commission is preparing for promoting Lieutenant Canes to the rank of Commander. It gives me real pleasure to communicate these orders of the Board; and nothing shall be wanting on my part to reward the merits of those who distinguish themselves.’—In a previous letter his Lordship had said, ‘The immense fatigue you have had in defending Acre against such a chosen army of French Villains, headed by that Arch-Villain Buonaparte, has never been exceeded.’—And in writing to Mr. Spencer Smith,

Lord Nelson added, 'No one rejoices more than myself at the rewards your brother is receiving for his indefatigable labours; and no one has done more ample justice to his merits.'

The enemy's ships which had thus made their appearance, were Perée's division of frigates that had escaped from Alexandria, and had made a sweep along the coast of Syria as high north as Mount Carmel. In the course of this cruise they had intercepted several Turkish transports bound to Yoppa for the army, which they plundered, and took out such prisoners as were deemed of consequence. This division of frigates was afterwards captured by a detachment from Lord Keith's fleet off Toulon, June 19, 1799, and the Turkish captives were sent to Mr. Smith at Constantinople by Lord Nelson. Their report of the kind usage and courtesy they had experienced from his Lordship, reached the Sultan's ears,* who sent to consult with Mr. Smith respecting a grateful remuneration to the noble English Admiral. It was on this occasion that Mr. Smith respectfully represented the propriety of ordering a brilliant Star to be made for the new Order of the Crescent, that had been recently established, instead of the usual Turkish presents; in the centre of which Star the Ottoman Naval Standard should be introduced. This idea was graciously received by the Sultan, and left to the English Minister to execute. After some difficulty Mr. Smith found a skilful workman who executed the following device: A red field charged with a Crescent and a Star, with rays; to be worn by a ribband of the same colour as the flag. The present was particularly grateful to Lord Nelson; who, on returning his thanks to the Grand Vizier, said, 'I have placed it on my coat on my left side, over my heart. I cannot say, however flattering this mark of favour is to me, that I will, in any manner, serve the Sublime Porte more than I have done; for it has ever been with all my soul; but this mark of favour shews in the strongest light, that the smallest services are watched, and most magnificently rewarded by his Imperial Majesty.'

Lord Nelson to Lady Nelson, dated Naples, July 14, 1799.

'My dear Fanny: I have to thank you sincerely for your letters. I rejoice that you gave Mr. Bolton the money, and I wish it made up 500*l*. I never regarded money, nor wanted it for my own use; therefore, as the East India Company have made me so magnificent a present, I beg that 2000*l*. of it may be disposed of in the following manner. Five hundred pounds to my Father. Five hundred to be made up to Mr. Bolton, and let it be a *God send* without any restriction. Five hundred to Maurice, and five hundred to William. And if you think my sister Matcham would be gratified by it, do the same for her. If I were rich I would do more; but it will very soon be known how poor I am,

* See in Appendix, N° 6, a translation of the letter from the Grand Vizier to Lord Nelson, with the Star of the Order of the Crescent, signed by Bekir Pasha, Caimakam at Constantinople of the Supreme Vizier, who was absent with the army.

except my yearly income. I am not surprised at my Brother's death: three are now dead younger than myself, having grown to man's age. My situation here is not to be described; but suffice it to say, I am endeavouring to work for good. To my Father say every thing which is kind: I love, honour and respect him as a Father and as a man, and as the very best man I ever saw. May God Almighty bless you, my dear Father and all my Brothers and Sisters, is the fervent prayer of your affectionate Nelson.'

On the arrival of the Russians in Italy, he received the following official account of the military operations which had taken place, from Lord William Bentinck, who had been sent on a special mission to the combined Army under the command of Field Marshal Suworow.—'Alessandria, June 29, 1799. My Lord: Field Marshal Suworow desired I would carry him my letter to your Lordship, to which he has added, what I can assure you are the real feelings of his heart.

*Sir John Nelson, Baron du Nil, Taché de souvenir Duc de La Rivière Levante Ponente
à Gènes au Malte. Je vous embrasse tendrement Excellence, Grand Nelson!
votre ami, Frère, & admirateur
Général Alexandre Suworow-Rymanski*

'On the 15th,' continues Lord Bentinck, 'I found the army under F. M. Suworow at Alessandria, on its march to oppose General Macdonald; who having advanced with 30,000 men from the southern part of Italy as far as Parma and Placenza, had attacked the corps of General Ott at Parma, and of Hohenzollern at Modena; and had obliged the latter to recross the Po, and the former to fall back upon St. Giovanni. On the 17th, after a most severe march, F. M. Suworow's Army arrived at St. Giovanni, where he found the corps of General Ott actually engaged with the French. That General, being reinforced, obliged the enemy to retire across the Sidone river. On the 18th and 19th the two armies were engaged on the banks of the Trebbia. The French fought with the greatest obstinacy; but they were not able to maintain their position against the valour of the Russian and Austrian troops. Early in the morning of the 20th of June, the French army retreated towards Parma. The Allies pursued, and obliged the whole of the rear guard of

* This Brother was the Rev. Suckling Nelson, in whose behalf the Admiral had written to the Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, October 12, 1797, requesting his Lordship to allow the Rev. Edmund Nelson to resign his living of Burnham, with its appendages, to this his youngest son. This request was most graciously acceded to, with an offer from the Chancellor of rendering any further services to the Nelson Family. In consequence of which, Sir Horatio had asked for a Stall in the Cathedral of Norwich, for his brother William. On the death of the Rev. Suckling Nelson, to the honour of Lord Loughborough, he allowed the living of Burnham again to revert to the Rev. Edmund Nelson; as appears by a letter from him to Mr. Halket, Secretary to the Chancellor, dated April 25, 1799.

the enemy to lay down their arms. Four French Generals, eight Colonels, 502 Officers, 11,766 non-commissioned officers and privates, seven pieces of cannon and six colours have been taken. The loss of the Allies amounted to about 5000 killed and wounded. On the 26th of June, F. M. Suworow returned to this place, and the siege of the citadel will immediately begin. The citadel of Turin surrendered on the 21st. General Moreau commands the remains of the northern Army, and is near Genoa; he has not 20,000 men with him. It is the Marshal's intention, when the Citadel of Alessandria is taken and the reinforcements arrive, which events are expected to take place in the course of three weeks at latest, to move forward with his whole Army upon the Genoese coast. Mantua is besieged.

Some further account of these Military Operations in Italy against the common enemy of mankind, had been transmitted to Lord Nelson by the Hon. Mr. Wyndham.—‘*Arezzo, June 30, 1799.* Throughout about 130 miles of Tuscany, through which I have passed to this city, I have found the people loyal, courageous and determined to expel the French from the country, and reestablish their lawful Sovereign on the throne. The Emperor has formed and acknowledged a regular provisional government at Arezzo, who preside in the name of the Grand Duke. It has the title of Supreme Deputation, is obeyed as the Sovereign himself, and is composed of persons of the most respectable class; persons beloved by the people, esteemed by the Sovereign, and most heartily attached to the Grand Duke. This government has raised an army of upwards of 30,000 men, and could raise in mass upwards of 150,000 at two days notice. General Kray has given them an Austrian Officer to command and direct them. This army has taken Orvieto and Citta di Castello, in the name of the Emperor, and now besiege Perugia, which will be theirs in a few days. I hope and trust your Lordship will oblige me by writing a letter of the most encouraging sort to the Supreme Deputation, and that you will give them what assistance you can. The French dread the Aretin army more than the Austrians, and constantly fly from them. About fifteen days since, 4000 Polish cavalry came from the Roman State to attack Arezzo. The Aretines let them advance, and then fell on them and slew upwards of 400, put the rest to flight, and took many prisoners, horses, &c. The Aretin army is encamped within eight miles of Florence, with their head quarters at l’Inscisa, and the advanced posts at S. Donato: this part of the Army is commanded by my friend Captain Mari, who has beaten the French in two or three trifling engagements. Your Lordship will excuse me if I write confused, as I am opening without delay every means of communication from all quarters. I work from morning until night, and yet that does not do. *Florence, July 13.* I entered this city with the Aretin army six days since. The day following the vanguard of the Austrians, consisting of 200 hussars, entered Florence, and about 100 entered Pistoia by the way of Modena. In every battle the French have been beaten.

Mantua is capitulating. At Leghorn they are preparing to go away. The whole of the Maremma is cleared. The Aretin army has done wonders; the Tuscans have behaved with a courage and good sense beyond belief.'

The attention of Lord Nelson during the month of July, 1799, was principally directed, together with the reestablishment of the royal authority in Naples, to the siege of St. Elmo, the subduing of Capua and Gaeta, and to guard against those constant apprehensions which were entertained for the safety of the valuable island of Minorca. On the 9th of July, the Spanish fleet consisting of nineteen sail of the line, four frigates, two brigs, and a cutter, had passed through the Straits very early; and were followed, in the evening, by the French fleet, consisting of twenty-three sail of the line, nine frigates, two brigs, two cutters, two luggers, and one schooner; in all sixty-five sail. Lord Keith immediately sent the following instructions, *July 9*, to Lord Nelson, and then sailed from Mahon in pursuit of the enemy. 'Dear Nelson: I came in here yesterday to get some water, and had not anchored an hour, when I heard the Combined Fleets had left Carthagena, and had steered to the westward. I am now unmooring. If this Island is left without ships it must fall. The Spaniards will send their armament, with two ships of the line, frigates and gun boats, a great many of which are at the different ports opposite, to convoy and protect the landing. You must therefore either come on, or send Duckworth to govern himself as circumstances offer, until I can determine to a certainty the intentions of the enemy.'—When off Palma, *July 14*, Lord Keith added, in writing to Sir James St. Clair Erskine at Minorca, 'I have neither seen nor heard of any thing, and must go on even to Channel, if the enemy's Fleet are gone that way. I send you a copy of my order to Lord Nelson. Should the French and Spanish Fleets pass Cadiz, I do not believe they can have in Britain twenty ships of the line at this moment fit for sea.'—In a letter to the Admiral on the same day, he finished by saying, 'I trust the defence of Minorca to your Lordship, and repeat my directions, that the ships be sent for its protection.'

Lord Nelson had, on the contrary, determined not to leave the Bay of Naples exposed, and at first appears to have been extremely irritated and vexed: In acknowledging the receipt of Lord Keith's orders, *July 13*, he said, 'As soon as the safety of his Sicilian Majesty's kingdoms is secured, I shall not lose one moment in making the detachment you are pleased to order. At present, under God's Providence, the defence of his Sicilian Majesty and his speedy restoration to his Kingdom, depend on this fleet. The confidence inspired even by the appearance of our ships before the city, is beyond all belief; and I have no scruple in declaring my opinion, that should any event draw us from this kingdom, if the French remain in any part of it, disturbances will again arise.'—The day after the date of this letter, Lord Keith issued a fresh Order to the following purport, addressed to the Admiral: 'Your Lordship is hereby required and directed to repair to

Minorca, with the whole or the greatest part of the force under your Lordship's command, for the protection of that Island, as I shall in all probability have left the Mediterranean before your Lordship will receive this. *Given on board the Queen Charlotte, off Formenterra, July 14.* Lord Keith added, in his own hand, 'The French fleet are off Cape Tres Forcas, the wind is east.'—This order was not altogether adapted to abate the increased agitation of Nelson's mind. He still persisted in remaining on his station; but on the 22d of July, detached Admiral Duckworth to Minorca, with the Powerful, Majestic, Vanguard, and Swallow Corvette, directing him, at his arrival, to take such of his Majesty's ships under his command as he might find at Port Mahon: 'Leaving it entirely,' added his Lordship, 'to your well known abilities and judgment to act with them, in the best manner, for the protection of that Island, and the good of his Majesty's service.' The following letters to Earl St. Vincent, dated Foudroyant at sea, June 16, describe the Admiral's private feelings on this trying occasion: 'I send your Lordship a copy of my letter to Lord Keith, and I have only to add my regret that his Lordship could not have sent me a proper force to face the enemy: but, as we are, I shall not get out of their way; although, *as I am*, I cannot think myself justified in exposing the World, I may almost say, to be plundered by those miscreants. I trust your Lordship will not think me wrong in the painful determination I conceived myself forced to make; for agonised indeed was the mind of your faithful and affectionate servant, Nelson.'

Lord Nelson to Admiral Lord Keith, dated Foudroyant at Sea, June 16, 1799.

'My Lord: I was honoured with your letters of June 6th, by the Bellerophon and Powerful on the 13th: being then on my way to Naples with troops, &c. in order to finish all matters in that kingdom, and to again place his Majesty on his throne. But comparing the force of the French fleet on the coast of Italy, twenty-two sail of the line, four of which are first rates, and that probably the ships left at Toulon would have joined them by the time I was reading the letters, (the force with me being only sixteen sail of the line, not one of which was of three decks, three being Portuguese, and one of the English a sixty-four very short of men,) I had no choice left, but to return to Palermo and land the troops, ammunition, &c. Which having done, I am now at sea proceeding off Maretimo, where I hope to be joined by the Alexander and Goliath. I have ten days since ordered their Captains to raise the blockade of Malta, and come to me. My force will then be eighteen sail of the line, with the notations as before mentioned. I shall wait off Maretimo, anxiously expecting such a reinforcement as may enable me to go in search of the enemy's Fleet; when not one moment shall be lost in bringing them to battle. For I consider the best defence for his Sicilian Majesty's dominions, is to place myself along side the French. That I may be very soon enabled to have that honour, is the fervent prayer of your Lordship's most obedient servant, Nelson.'

In writing to H. R. Highness the Duke of Clarence, whose idea of obedience to the orders of a superior Officer Nelson was well acquainted with, he thus expressed his reasons for acting as he had done. ‘ You will have heard, Sir, and conversation will naturally arise upon it, that I have disobeyed Lord Keith’s orders in not sending or going down with the squadron under my command; but, by not doing it, I have been, with God’s blessing, the principal means of placing a good man and faithful Ally of your Royal Father on his throne, and securing peace to these two kingdoms. I am well aware of the consequences of disobeying my Orders; but, as I have often before risked my life for the good cause, so I with cheerfulness did my commission: for although a military tribunal may think me criminal, the world will approve of my conduct. I regard not my own safety, when the honour of my gracious King is at stake. The Almighty has in this war blessed my endeavours beyond my most sanguine expectations, and never more than in the entire expulsion of the French thieves from the kingdom of Naples.’

The conduct of Captain Troubridge during the ensuing month of July, 1799, throughout the Sieges of St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaieta, afforded continued examples of the vigilance, enterprise, and inexhaustible resources of that great Officer. He had landed, agreeably to Lord Nelson’s orders, with the English and Portuguese marines of the fleet on the 27th of June; and after embarking the garrisons of the castles of Uovo and Nuovo, composed of French and rebels, had left a garrison in each under Captain Hood; and on the 29th of the same month, had taken post against Fort St. Elmo, which he summoned to surrender. This fort, garrisoned with 300 troops, was commanded by a French Republican, Mejan, the Commandant of the French Neapolitan army, whose rude manners and insolent behaviour were peculiarly obnoxious to the King. *Je m’amuse, Monsieur, said this Republican in a letter which he had sent to Captain Foote, de l’existence politique que vous voulez bien donner au fantôme de Monarque, que vous appelez Majesté Sicilienne. Il ne tardera pas lui-meme à subir le traitement dû à un monstre, qui n’a existé que pour le malheur du genre-humain, tout comme le sont les tyrants de son espèce. Du reste nous sommes persuadés que les gouvernements de Londres, ou de Palerme si vous le voulez, ne se compromettent pas jusqu’à maltraiter le Cit. Ribaud, Consul de France à Messine. Il suffit qu’il soit revêtu du caractère de Citoyen Français, pour que tous les Tyrans Insulaires le respectent.* Captain Troubridge having resorted to Antigniano, near St. Elmo, in eight days brought this proud Republican to his senses, and to a consciousness of his inferiority: notwithstanding bad powder and damp cartridges, Captain Troubridge opened a battery on him of three thirty-six pounders and four mortars on the 3d of July, within seven hundred yards of Fort St. Elmo. About twelve Jacobins were in the castle with their Chief, named Mattera; and in the adjacent convent of Martini were eight Italian Republicans. ‘ It is difficult,’ wrote

‘ Vindication, page 129.

Captain Troubridge to Lord Nelson, 'to make approaches, the castle stands in so commanding a situation. Your Lordship may rely on every exertion being made. Several of the shells fell well, and I hope broke some of their shins. *July 3.* The Commandant of St. Elmo is desirous of sending an Officer with an open letter to Capua, to know if they can give him succours; if not, he shall be obliged to capitulate. He was told, if your Lordship grants his request, that an English Officer who spoke both Italian and French must accompany him; this he has agreed to. We are preparing fascines, &c. for a battery not more than two hundred yards from the wall; but every necessary article is so difficult to get, that our progress is not so quick as I could wish. The mortar beds are quite old, and a variety of causes have stopped us this morning: by the time your answer comes we shall begin. I shall observe strictly what your Lordship hints, and will knock up Micheroux altogether. Ball was instructed this morning, if they offered terms, to say, they must be prisoners of war. Micheroux has been a cipher with us, and cannot have the smallest influence; we have suspected him, as Ball will inform you. I think he is off. When all is over, I shall have a settling with these youths. I had, prior to your Lordship's letter, sent eighty picked men, with two of the best Captains and Lieutenants I could select, to restore order in Naples. In short, my Lord, the Cardinal's Secretary is making a fortune by giving protections to Jacobins, and the greatest discontent prevails at the conduct of the villanous lawyers who are trying the culprits at the granary; they all escape: the lawyers are bribed. Every article which your Lordship mentions, when we come to treat, shall be strictly attended to. *July 4th.* You must not fret at our not getting on so fast as you expect. The musquetry last night frightened away the whole of our workmen, even those who were out of the direction of the fire, and they were not to be found until late this morning. Our next battery will be so very close, that we are obliged to make regular approaches. I am really making the best I can out of the degenerated race I have to deal with; the whole means of guns, ammunition, pioneers, &c. with all materials, rest with them. With fair promises from them to the men, and threats of instant death if I find any one erring, a little spur has been given. Four of our mortars are nearly done up, their touch-hole is as big as half a crown. I expect Darley⁴ in two hours from Capua.'

On the 5th of July, Captain Troubridge opened another battery of two thirty-six pounders, as he had intended, two hundred yards from St. Elmo. The Russians under Captain Baillie also opened a battery of four thirty-six pounders and four mortars against the opposite angle, in order to assist in storming it in different places, as soon as two

⁴ This Marine Officer had served since April in the command of part of the army of H. S. Majesty. On the first of August ensuing, he received an appointment of Colonel from the King, in a letter from Sir John Acton, to command the Queen's regiment, which had been formed under 'Captain Darley's direction.'


practicable breaches were made. Captain Troubridge, at the same time, was making every preparation for opening a fourth battery, and afterwards a fifth within one hundred and eighty yards of the wall of the garrison. When writing to Lord Nelson, 'I am really sorry,' said he, 'to see your Lordship so low spirited, all will go well; but the devilish Fort is so high and commanding, that our batteries are obliged to be mountains. When we get their works beat off, I hope we shall soon be able to mine the fort. I am a strong advocate, if we can accomplish that, to send them, hostages and all, to old Nick, and surprise him with a group of Nobility and Republicans.'—The insolence of Mejan gradually abated in proportion as this resolute enemy approached; and in making a request to him respecting the sick and wounded Frenchmen, the Commandant, instead of speaking of Insular Tyrants and Royal Monsters, as had been his custom, prefaced his request in the following humble manner: *Je sais, Monsieur, qu'au milieu des qualités que vous distinguent, la Bienfaisance et l'Humanité n'occupent pas la plus petite place . . . Cette Réputation qui vous honore ne me laisse aucun doute, &c. &c.*—Troubridge suspecting treachery, declined interfering and continued his approaches. In writing to Lord Nelson, he said, 'I have intercepted a letter from Micheroux, wherein he tells his brother, *Too many Cooks spoil the broth*: I think he wanted the rich part and for us to eat the soup meagre. He has been some time carrying on this farce. Since finishing my letter, the Governor has, through Micheroux, sent an offer to surrender for 150,000 ducats. I treated the offer as it deserved. Be assured, my Lord, we are getting on. I constantly hold out rewards and promotion for those who behave well and exert themselves, and a halter for traitors. Our new work is going on fast. I have a good redoubt in the middle of the work, and a famous trench. *July 7.* I am going to order, that all persons living near our outposts must remove. We are so surrounded with villains that it becomes necessary. I have had a Frenchman taken up at Naples, who says Micheroux gave him permission to be at large in that city; he was in one of the castles, either Uovo or Nuovo. Great discontents prevail amongst the people that punishment is not inflicted on the Jacobins by the Cardinal. He takes all the villains into his employ. A Jacobin was ordered to be released the other day, and the person he sent to liberate him let two others escape. If his Majesty does not come soon and establish a government, I fear the city will not long continue tranquil.

'*July 9, 1799.* Your Lordship will see I have made Mr. Mejan write like a gentleman. I sent word by his officer, who went to Capua, to say, 'That none of his letters with the insolent printed words at the top, *Liberté, Egalité, Guerre aux Tyrans, &c.* would be received. If he wrote to me like a Soldier and a Gentleman, I would answer him in the same style; the others would have no answer whatever. I was yesterday busily employed sifting to the bottom a diabolical good understanding with our Neapolitan officers stationed at the advanced posts and the Enemy. I enclose your Lordship the Deposition of the

two men, who were employed to carry it on. The General told me the Council of State would condemn them directly, I therefore sent them to the Cardinal last night; he declined having any thing to do with it. Such damned Cowards and Villains I never saw, your Lordship must therefore endeavour to fret as little as possible; we shall succeed. His Majesty's arrival will relieve your Lordship; and if he punishes the guilty, the people will be happy. *July 12.* The new battery brought the Vagabonds to their senses, after much trouble and palaver. I send your Lordship the Capitulation regularly signed; and the moment I have got the fort arranged, I shall pay you my respects and bring the colours and keys.'—In closing his public letter, the next day, Captain Troubridge mentioned the service he had received from Captain Ball, during the first seven days, after which he had been detached by the Admiral's orders; he also pointed out the exertions of Captain Hallowell, Lieutenant Colonel Strickland, Major Creswell, and declared that all the Officers of Marines and men merited every praise that could be bestowed. The readiness of Antonio Saldinea de Gama and the Portuguese Officers and men who were under him, had on all occasions done them great honour; as did also the services of Colonel Tschudy, and the assistance that had been received from the Duc di Salandra. Captain Troubridge concluded this letter with saying, 'Mr. Monfrere, a French gentleman, of whom your Lordship has frequently heard Captain Foote speak in high terms, volunteered his services, and by his activity and abilities as an engineer, rendered me the most essential service.'—Thus did the French garrison of St. Elmo surrender themselves prisoners of war to his Neapolitan Majesty and his Allies, and marched out of the fort with their arms and with drums beating. Lord Nelson's official letter to Lord Keith, from which the following is an extract, is dated Foudroyant, Naples bay, July 13, 1799. 'The very great strength of St. Elmo and its formidable position, will mark with what fortitude, perseverance, and ability, the combined forces must have acted . . . I have now to state to your Lordship, that although the ability and resources of my brave Friend Troubridge are well known to all the world, yet he had difficulties to struggle with in every way, which the state of the Capital will easily bring to your idea, that have raised his Character even higher than it was before; and it is my earnest request, that your Lordship will mention him, in that way, to the Board of Admiralty, that his Majesty may be graciously pleased to bestow some mark of Royal Favour on Captain Troubridge.'—In a letter on the same day respecting this officer, to Earl Spencer, the Admiral added, 'It would be supposing you, my dear Lord, were ignorant of his merits, were I to say more than that he is a First Rate General.'—Lord Nelson at the same time recommended the bearer of his despatches, Lieutenant Parkinson, as an officer of great merit.

* The Treaty of St. Elmo, as Lord Nelson observed in a private note, was religiously carried into effect.

† For a return of the killed and wounded, and of the ammunition found in St. Elmo, see Appendix, No 7.

In a letter that was afterwards sent to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, he again mentioned these services of Captain Troubridge: 'I find, Sir, that General Koehler does not approve of such irregular proceedings as Naval Officers attacking and defending Fortifications. We have but one idea, to get close alongside. None but a Sailor would have placed a battery only 180 yards from the castle of St. Elmo. A Soldier must have gone according to Art, and the  way. My brave Troubridge went straight, for we had no time to spare. Your Royal Highness will not believe that I mean to lessen the conduct of the Army, I have the highest respect for them all; but General Koehler should not have written such a paragraph in his letter, it conveyed a jealousy which I dare say is not in his disposition.'

The Sieges of Capua and Gaeta next ensued, and were crowned with equal success. The Swiss troops on this service were under Colonel Tschudy, the cavalry left Naples under General Acton, and the different corps of infantry under General Bouchard and Colonel Gams. On the 19th of July, 1799, this whole force with the British and Portuguese began their march, and were followed by the Russians. During the night and the next day, all the troops arrived at Caserta, and were employed in reconnoitring the ground and erecting batteries; their head quarters were at St. Angelo. The Enemy's force, under General Girardon, consisted of about 1200 French infantry and 49 cavalry; 600 Cisalpines, and about 200 Jacobins; but, of these, arms had been only allowed to 50, whom they looked upon as real Republicans. On the 22d Captain Troubridge wrote to Lord Nelson,—'I hope to acquire a little patience; but the Neapolitan Government is so deranged that it is impossible for things to go on as we could wish. Of a bad bargain we must make the best. The poor devils of workmen have had no provisions to day; I offered my own cash, but I could not procure bread: so we must stand fast to night. The damned Cardinal writes a flaming letter, saying 40,000 ducats a week have been ordered, when the whole are calling for payment; and on being told it only exists on paper, are quite disheartened. I lent an officer to day sixty ducats, which I could not afford to give him, to buy him a dinner. Several deserters came in to day; they all agree that the Enemy have not the smallest intelligence of us. I hope to astonish their weak minds to morrow morning. *Eight P. M.* The Etat Major with all its forms ruins us, and instead of having the batteries ready to play on the Enemy, we have not a single thing or workman arrived. At St. Elmo I had the vagabonds within hail. I do not mean this as a complaint; as I have hopes that workmen, &c. &c. will arrive to begin at dawn of day. Your Lordship must make a little allowance for the people and Staff, the latter you know have too much method for us. However we shall do.'—On the 25th the trenches were opened, with one battery within 500 yards of the glacis. In a letter from the camp at St. Angelo, to Lord Nelson, Troubridge said: 'Our Battery was finished by four o'clock yesterday afternoon, but I did not think it advisable

to open until this morning, at half past three o'clock. After three rounds from the guns and mortars, I sent Hallowell to propose the Terms your Lordship directed. They answered they could not surrender, and hardly believed that St. Elmo was taken: nothing but the sight of Mejan's signature could make them believe it. Our batteries are again opening; but the powder is so bad that the shells hardly breach; many fall short though not above 300 toises, I really suspect some treachery. If your Lordship could spare us forty casks of our powder, it would be very useful for the mortars. If you comply, it will be necessary that some person belonging to us should accompany it, or they will steal one half and change the other. I have moved the Camps, to enable us to erect two more batteries in a very commanding situation, within 200 yards of the works. *July 26, 1799, eight A. M.* As there is no dependence to be placed on the metal of the Neapolitan mortars, I submit to your Lordship if we had not better get our ten inch sea mortars fitted in land beds, Bunce my carpenter would soon do it. Pray lend us all the spades and iron shovels from the ships, the tools these country people have, work too slow for us. *Nine P. M.* We gain ground daily. If we can complete the trench to night for two batteries of four guns each, I think, with the mortars, to bring the governor to his senses. The difficulty is to get the workmen to stand a little fire. *July 27, two P. M.* The French sent out this morning, in their usual way, demanding protection for the *Patriots*; I answered inadmissible, and offered the terms of St. Elmo, and to include Gaïeta in the capitulation. They desire until to morrow morning, to hold a council. They offered Gaïeta, if I would omit the *Patriots* and promise that they should not be molested, and their property be secured; which I positively refused.—*July 28.* I have the honour to enclose your Lordship a copy of the Capitulation, signed by all but the Turk; I shall get his signature to another in the course of the day. I had gone too far before your letter reached me, at midnight, to insist on Gaïeta. The Governor offers, if his Majesty will let that garrison take their arms, he will give orders for its immediate evacuation. *July 29.* I have sent in the greater part of the Marines belonging to the ships gone to Mahon, as well as to those which are to follow. The French General, when he found that we gave in for the arms, refused to issue any order until you permitted the garrison of Gaïeta to go without being prisoners. As I was not authorised to do that, I told him he was not a man of honour, and I should leave them and him to their fate. Gaïeta may be reduced by the Russians and the King's troops without our assistance. I shall remain here to day to stop all the villainies going on. Their baggage is enormous; some Antiques may be in it; I pray that may be a business of Count Thurn, if found necessary. Every man you see, gentle and simple, are such notorious villains, that it is misery to be with them. I am endeavouring to get a return of provisions, powder, guns, &c; but as it is the interest of the thieves here to prevent it, they are trying to do it, and I am trying against them: His Majesty shall have as good an account

as I can get.' There are immense quantities of powder and fine ordnance.² Colonel Gams has just sent me word, that he is obliged to form a hundred stratagems to get clear of the Calabrese; these vagabonds have killed sixteen of their officers within this month. I feel most sensibly your Lordship's approbation.'

Captain Troubridge in his official letter from the Culloden, of the same date, added, 'I feel much indebted to Captains Hallowell and Oswald, to whose abilities and exertions I attribute the reduction of the place in so short a time, as they staid night and day in the field to forward the erecting of the batteries.'—He also liberally conferred high praise on Colonel Strickland and Major Creswell, and the other Officers of the Marine corps," as well as on the men for their constant and unremitted attention. The Portuguese and Russian Officers and men were mentioned with great commendation, the latter of whom were under Captain Baillie; together with Count di Lucci, Generals Acton and Bouchard, Colonels Gams and Tschudy. Of Mr. Monfrere, already noticed so honourably at St. Elmo, who volunteered from the Seahorse, Captain Troubridge observed, 'I feel indebted to him for his great ability and assistance as an engineer, which forwarded our operations much.' Lieutenants Lowcay and Davis, who served as aid de camps to Captain Troubridge, and Mr. Greig, a Russian Officer serving in the Culloden as a volunteer, were also honourably thanked, and he moreover requested that the latter might be recommended, through Lord Nelson, to the Court of Petersburg as a promising Officer.

On the return of Captain Troubridge to Naples, Captain Louis of the Minotaur had informed the Commandant of Gaïeta, Berger, that his Sicilian Majesty would allow the French in that fortress, as they had not been regularly besieged, though they had endured a long blockade, to march out with military honours; and his Majesty also promised, through Captain Louis, that the garrison should be sent to France without being considered as prisoners of war. This conduct of the King appears, from Captain Louis's letters, to have been worthy of its Commandant; who had felt indignant at the manner in which Girardon, on the surrender of Capua, had drawn up articles for the capitulation of Gaïeta, and signed them without the knowledge of Berger or his Officers. On the morning of the 2d of August, 1799, Captain Louis waited on him by appointment, when articles for the surrender of Gaïeta were signed. 'I can assure your Lordship,' added Captain Louis, August 4, 'that the Frenchman I have been dealing with, has acted more unlike one than any I ever met. I have taken care of all the Colours that could be found; there

² The Ordnance and Ordnance Stores amounted to 118 pieces of cannon, 12,000 muskets, 414,000 musket cartridges filled, and 67,848 lbs. of powder.

³ See in Appendix, N° 8, a list of the Marine Force landed from the British squadron, for the siege of Capua, as given in by Lieutenant Colonel Strickland.

were none hoisted when I arrived on the 1st instant, nor did they hoist any afterwards. Captain Troubridge will have informed your Lordship, that the French troops were all embarked last night. I think they will find some trouble to keep good order here, until the Great Devil's party¹ are more softened and less inclined to depredations. They very much wished to push in for plunder, and would have done so had not a sharp look out been kept.—In Gaeta were taken 58 battering brass guns, 26 of which were twenty-four pounders, 12 battering iron guns, two field brass guns four pounders, four twelve inch brass mortars, 14 nine inch and one six inch mortar for ramparts.

On the first of August, 1799, the Admiral sent an official notice to Lord Keith, of the complete success which had been thus uniformly obtained against the French troops in the kingdom of Naples; and accompanied it with commendation of the Officers who had so much distinguished themselves. Captain Oswald being sent to England with a copy of this despatch, Lord Nelson particularly recommended to the notice of the Commander in Chief Lieutenant H. Compton, who had succeeded to the temporary command of the *Perseus*, and had served as a lieutenant with him from January, 1796. In writing on the same day to Admiral Duckworth, his Lordship said, ‘ You will rejoice with me on the entire liberation of this kingdom from French robbers. The *Bellerophon* and *Zealous* sail to morrow to join you, with all your Marines. The garrison of Capua being 2,817 regular troops, will mark the propriety of my keeping the Marines of the ships detached. Since I wrote thus far, I have received a letter from Suworow, July 22; the Citadel of Alessandria was then capitulating, and he intended marching direct to Genoa. He wishes to get the King of Sardinia to Turin. I therefore send the lugger with a letter for the King, to say, that I will detach a ship of the line to carry him to Piedmont, whenever his Majesty fixes the time.’

On the same day with the date of the letter, which was the first anniversary of the Battle of the Nile, the Royal Family of the Two Sicilies had transmitted a most elegant Address *A Lord Nelson, Défenseur des Deux Siciles*, with their signatures attached, amongst which that of the young Prince Leopoldo was not omitted. The whole was embellished and surrounded by a Civic Crown. ‘ Receive,’ said the Royal Writers, ‘ most gallant and deserving Admiral, on this for ever memorable day when by your glorious Battle you saved Italy, the sincerest thanks of a grateful Family attached to you beyond all expression. We shall enjoy this immortal day in the midst of our family, and shall offer up Vows for your Prosperity and Happiness. Remember us to your brave Officers, who by following your example have contributed to your fame; and remain assured, that all the infinite obligations we are under towards you in the course of the present year, will never be erased from our remembrance.’

¹ One of the Chiefs of the Calabrese.

From the beginning of the Summer of 1799, to his return to England in the ensuing year, Lord Nelson kept up an extensive Correspondence with some of the principal inhabitants in the Two Sicilies, and with many public characters in the Italian States. His Sicilian Correspondence, besides the letters which he received from the Royal Family, chiefly related to those events that had taken place and to the great exertions of the noble Admiral in support of their King, forming a valuable record of such historical facts as attended the first Neapolitan revolution. This Correspondence may be arranged under four heads. That portion of it which undoubtedly appears to merit the first attention, includes the numberless Petitions from individuals in the Neapolitan Army, Navy, and Municipal Guard, who had been involved by Cardinal Ruffo's fraudulent Project at Uovo and Nuovo. Some of these Petitions bear no signature; but in general terms describe the misery of their situation. Others are signed only by some person of eminence, as is that from the celebrated physician Cirillo; whilst many have a number of names affixed. Under the second head may be placed all those Complaints which were sent to Lord Nelson by such subjects of his Sicilian Majesty, as either from the ungovernable violence of the mob, or from a want of firmness in the reinstated authorities, had been oppressed and persecuted; and these documents are very important. They display some instances of enormity, which it would indeed be honourable for human nature to throw into oblivion; but which History, for the sake of truth, must hereafter record. Under the third head may be classed the most numerous, consisting of congratulatory Addresses, and of solicitations for Preferment and employment by all those persons, who had either taken an active part in the counter revolution, or had suffered by it in their persons or fortunes. Many interesting Anecdotes occur amongst these papers; but they are too much of a local nature to be worthy of notice either in this work, or perhaps even in the general history of the period. Under the fourth head, may be found the Denunciations that had been presented to him, either respecting concealed Jacobins in the kingdom of Naples and their forfeited estates, or in regard to the military force of the French still remaining in the adjacent Country.

The Italian Correspondence with persons who resided at a distance from Naples, discloses facts which, although not immediately connected with the biography of Lord Nelson, might by other writers be considered as so many sources of information towards the eventful history of the times. There are, however, two circumstances so curious and interesting, as to deserve notice in this place. The first is a letter from the Count Chilembert, his Sardinian Majesty's Prime Minister, dated Cagliari, Aug. 6, 1799. From this it appears, that as soon as the Piedmontese dominions had been reconquered by the Combined Austrian and Russian Armies, his Sardinian Majesty had resolved to send a number of eminent persons belonging to his Court from that Island to his continental dominions, who would be commissioned to restore the former order of things, and to reorganise the royal govern-

ment of his illustrious house; and for this purpose his Majesty had requested Lord Nelson to detach two frigates to the road of Cagliari, for the safe conveyance of the Commissioners who had been appointed. A short time after the date of this letter, the King wrote to the British Admiral, dated Cagliari, Aug. 11.—‘ Dear Admiral Nelson: I have felt great pleasure from your letter of the first of this month, and I acknowledge myself much obliged to you, for your polite attention in offering me a sufficient number of ships for the conveyance of the Royal Family to my continental dominions. I shall send one of my Ministers to concert with you, and I shall be ready to embark as soon as the ships arrive. My brother, the Duke of Agosta, has been obliged to hasten from this Island, owing to the loss of Prince Charles, his only son; which has overwhelmed us and the whole kingdom with sorrow. You also, my dear Admiral, will sympathise with me on this unfortunate event. With an assurance of my esteem and gratitude, I am your true friend, CHARLES EMMANUEL.’

There is also another interesting particular in the Italian Correspondence with Lord Nelson, which marked the high estimation in which his character was held even by the Church of Rome.^k This is contained in a letter that was addressed to his Lordship from Venice, August 20, 1799, by the Cardinal Albani, Dean of the Sacred College and a near relation to the Emperor of Austria, a few days previous to the death of the unfortunate Pope Pius VI. The noble Admiral was invited by the Cardinal to grant his powerful assistance to the Church of Rome for the recovery of her States: “You must not,” added the venerable Prelate, “be surprised that I solicit your favour, though I have not the honour of being known to you. You cannot know every body; but every body is in duty bound to know you. As the gallant Admiral of a most powerful Monarch, you have broken the chains of Italy; and like Augustus, who with the sole battle of Actium established the Roman empire, you by the battle of Aboukir have restored many Sovereigns to their Thrones, and have delivered Europe from the dangers of a most dreadful Tyranny. To you, therefore, must all those apply, who have a desire to enjoy any part in this signal benefit, and the Pope and the Church of Rome are of the number . . . In that dreadful and inhuman slavery under which he groans, the Pontiff stands in need of your Sovereign’s protection. By this he hopes to recover the States which have been wrested from him by the violence and fraud of his enemies. He is at present a mere administrator, and his long and painful life would have a too distressing end, were he to leave this world without seeing the restoration of those Territories, which, together with the papal dignity, had been intrusted to him by the Church.’

^k The attention of Lord Nelson to some of the Cardinals and persecuted members of the Church of Rome at the close of the year 1798, was mentioned with lively gratitude by the Archevêque di Nisibi, the Pope’s Nuncio, to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales; during his Excellency’s short continuance in England in 1808, when waiting for a ship to convey him to the Portuguese Court at the Brazils.

Thus did Lord Nelson from all quarters receive the grateful acknowledgment of his superior talents, and that *Praise which is worth ambition*. In a letter which arrived about the same time from Sir Edward Newenham, it was justly remarked, ‘To you, my Lord, and to your brave Companions, all the rapid successes of our now spirited Allies must be attributed. You were the primary cause of rousing some crowned heads from a lethargy, nearly fatal to them. You brought forth the hardy and generous soldiers of the north, you invited a Suworow, a Kray, a Klenau, into Italy; you blasted Tippoo Sultan’s plans, you paralysed the hopes of the English, Scotch, and Irish Rebels, you stopped the career of the then great and powerful nation, and proved to the panic struck surrounding kingdoms, that their invaders were not invulnerable. You brought the Standard of Mahomet to support the Religion of our blessed Saviour, and afforded a remarkable event for the history of the present æra, by Mussulmen joining Protestants to recover the Virgin’s house at Loretto. You rescued Mahomet’s holy place, Mecca, from the plunder of Infidels; and, in one word, as Talleyrand and his coadjutors observed on the 22d of July, All their recent misfortunes have been owing to the Battle of Aboukir.’—There are also some passages in another letter that had been sent to his Lordship from Commissioner Inglefield, which mark the good sense and caution of a friend who had experienced severe trials, and surmounted them with firmness: ‘I need not say how happy your friends are, and indeed every man living at this critical period may consider you as his best Friend, that after having risked your life so often and so heroically in the cause of your King and Country, you are still alive. You are now as near the pinnacle of the Temple of Fame as any mortal ever reached. When commanding in a subordinate capacity, your judicious and gallant conduct decided the fate of a Battle; and at Aboukir by your determined resolution to conquer, you inspired your whole Squadron with an energetic Valour that made it irresistible. There is nothing like it upon record; no such example, no such proof of putting the Valour of two Nations to a fair issue. God give you health to enjoy the admiration and gratitude of your Country, and strength of mind to bear the adoration you will receive; for it is almost too much for the mind of a mortal to support. In this sentiment, my dear Lord, I am your very sincere friend.’

Lord Nelson’s glory had now, indeed, attained that giddy height which required the exercise of the greatest powers of the human mind. It demanded that conquest of himself, that subjugation of every passion, by which the wiles of flattery and the craftiness of this world can be alone repelled. Yet one step alone was necessary for this great man to take, in order to perform this; but that step was an imperious one—An immediate return to his own Country. His venerable Father in writing some time previous to this, had said, ‘Though your Reputation, my dear good Horatio, stands high, very high, yet we all know that the most beautiful Building may receive an injury by some accidental event, or by a secret enemy,

before it is completely finished. I do most heartily wish your Work had received its final polish from those, in whose hands are solid, golden, and lasting ornaments. Looking forward to our happy interview, I now once more say, Adieu.'—The continual request of the Royal Family not to leave them, and the irresistible force of that attention which was exerted to detain him, rendered his situation particularly painful and dangerous.—‘I observe,’ said the Minister, Sir John Acton, to Lord Nelson after their return to Palermo, ‘your kind regard to their Sicilian Majesties, and your intention not to leave them until they are safe at Naples; this is like you, and certainly nothing can be done for the safety of the Royal Family until then. I learn from your letters what some persons have advanced in regard to this kind assistance. Merit and applause have always raised the insinuations of envy and jealousy.’—The Sicilian Minister reasoned right, but on a wrong foundation: These remonstrances had proceeded not from envy, but from the sincerest friends whom his Lordship possessed. In a fatal hour he neglected these remonstrances, and returned to Palermo.

Previous to leaving Naples, his Lordship had sent the following account to Lady Nelson, August 4, 1799, of the magnificent manner in which the Anniversary of the first of August had been observed by his Sicilian Majesty in the bay of Naples. ‘Thank God, all goes on well in Italy, and the kingdom of Naples is liberated from thieves and murderers. But still it has so overthrown the fabric of a regular Government, that much time and great care is necessary to keep the Country quiet. The first of August was celebrated here with as much respect as our situation would admit. The King dined with me; and, when his Majesty drank my health, a Royal Salute of twenty-one guns was fired from all H. S. M. ships of war, and from all the Castles. In the evening there was a general Illumination. Amongst other representations, a large Vessel was fitted out like a Roman Galley; on its oars were fixed lamps, and in the centre was erected a rostral column with my name. At the stern were elevated two Angels supporting my picture. In short, my dear Fanny, the beauty of the whole is beyond my powers of description. More than 2000 variegated lamps were suspended round the vessel. An Orchestra was fitted up, and filled with the very best musicians and singers. The piece of music was in a great measure to celebrate my praise, describing their previous distress, *but Nelson came, the invincible Nelson, and they were preserved and again made happy.*—This must not make you think me vain; no, far very far from it, I relate it more from gratitude than vanity. I return to Palermo with the King to morrow. May God bless you all. Pray say, what is true, that I really steal time to write this letter and my hand is ready to drop. My dear Father, must forgive my not writing so often as I ought, and so must my Brothers, Sisters, and Friends. But ever believe me your affectionate Nelson.’

On leaving Naples, his Lordship, as being at that time the senior Officer in the Medi-

terranean, had ordered Captain Troubridge to hoist a broad pendant, as Commodore of the British squadron in the bay of Naples and on the coast of Italy, an account of which was transmitted to Lord Keith and Lord Spencer. Whilst on this service, Captain Troubridge was obliged to keep up a constant Correspondence with Cardinal Ruffo, and the Neapolitan Junto of State; and, as will be seen by some extracts from the Commodore's letters to Lord Nelson, he had the utmost difficulty to avoid being implicated by the Cardinal in the trial and execution of the rebels then going on under the especial jurisdiction of the Junto; with which neither Lord Nelson, nor his Officers had the least concern.

The letter sent from the Board of Admiralty, dated August 20, 1799, conveyed its opinion of the late Transactions in which Lord Nelson had been concerned. Their Lordships' approbation was given respecting his having proceeded to the bay of Naples, for the purpose of endeavouring to bring the affairs of his Sicilian Majesty to a happy conclusion, and on his landing a large body of men for the Siege of St. Elmo; but a reprehension was subjoined in regard to his refusal to obey Lord Keith's orders, by not going to the support of Minorea; as also for his landing 1000 of the best men from his squadron, under Captains Troubridge and Hallowell, to serve on shore with the Army at the siege of Capua. Respecting his Lordship's letter to Lord Keith, the Secretary said, 'I have their Lordships' commands to acquaint you, that although the cooperation of a British Naval Force with the Army of H. S. Majesty, might be, and appears to have been necessary; yet, as from the information your Lordship had received from Lord Keith you must have been satisfied that nothing was to be apprehended from the Enemy's fleet, it does not appear to their Lordships to have been necessary, that the whole of the squadron, under your command, should have been kept for such cooperation; but that a part of it would have been sufficient, not only to have inspired that confidence which your Lordship states to have been the result of its appearance, but also to have afforded effectual assistance to H. S. Majesty: And their Lordships do not therefore, from any information now before them, see sufficient reason to justify your having disobeyed the Orders you had received from your Commanding Officer; or your having left Minorea exposed to the risk of being attacked, without having any Naval Force to protect it.' Respecting the landing of the Marines at Capua, the Secretary said, 'That although their Lordships were of opinion, in operations on the Sea Coast, it might frequently be highly expedient to land a part of the seamen of the squadron, to cooperate with and assist the Army; yet their Lordships by no means approved of the seamen being landed to form a part of an army, to be employed in operations at a distance from the coast; where, if they should have the misfortune to be defeated, they might be prevented from returning to the ships: and I have therefore (added Sir Evan Nepean) their Lordships commands to signify their directions to

your Lordship not to employ the seamen in like manner in future.' However unpleasant this might prove to the feelings of Lord Nelson, it shewed that the Discipline of the British Navy was perfect at its fountain head; and that the Board would reprehend, if deemed necessary by Government, one of the first and most popular Admirals in the British service.

The interesting letters of Commadore Troubridge to Lord Nelson, continue an account of the proceedings in the Bay of Naples, and throw light on those events which have already been mentioned. The first is dated Naples, August 8, 1799. 'I had a long conversation with Count Thurn this day, and was much surprised to find that no disposal of the Jacobins' had been settled. He asked me, *where I intended sending them?* I referred him to the Cardinal. He replied, he could get no answer from the Jesuit. The Count then put the question, to know what was to be done if the French refused to receive them? which I am sure they will. I referred him to the Juntó, supposing the King must or ought to have left instructions. I have taken our people out, as I saw no prospect of the Jacobins moving, and *as money was beginning* to come off, and a fever breaking out. If any escape now it is a deed of their own. As they expressed a wish to have the management of shifting them from one polacre to another and to have the whole to themselves, I readily gave all up, and Neapolitan soldiers are put into them instead of ours. I advised that the corvette might see them round Cape Corse, and sent passports for the polacres^m as a hint, that I thought they should be off and that no delay might be laid to our charge. I trust if the Juntó manage well, peace will be kept and the city flourish. *August 10.* The Juntó, I hear, have at last settled the Jacobin's business, and they sail to night. Poor Count Thurn is exerting every nerve, and I believe frets much at the game pursuing here. Knavery and villainy are beginning to rear their head, when I am more master of the subject, your Lordship shall have it. The town is quiet, a few houses robbed of a night, but as thieving is a trifle which all ranks here pursue and practise, it is not reckoned an evil. I will narrowly watch all their motions. The Padone of a Leghorn felucca assures me, the Seahorse got off on the 4th: if she is obliged to come here and heave down, it shall soon be completed; the pontoons would lift her sufficiently with ease to float her. I talked that over with Hallowell whilst he was unmooring, he was with us at Bombay when we lifted the ships to dock them and understands those matters well.'

'*Naples, August 15, 1799.* We have nothing now but fire works and nonsense. To day some Officers applied for a passage to Palermo, to see the procession of St. Rosalio. I recommended them to exercise their troops and not behave like children. What can the King expect from such things? *Augt 18.* After expending as much money in coach hire as the thing comes to, I have at length succeeded in getting the Commissary's account for our

^l Those who were taken at St. Elmo and at Capua.

^m See Vol. I. page 12.

soldiers; but it has so many errors and so much staytape and buckram, that it will take three days to correct it. Do not think I am growing effeminate, it really was and is so hot I cannot walk on shore, and it so happens that the middle and hottest part of the day was the time I was obliged to hunt this youth. They will not do business at day break. *Aug. 19.* I dread, my Lord, all the feasting, &c. at Palermo. I am sure your health will suffer, if so all their Saints will be damned* by all here, I mean the Navy; the King would certainly be better employed *digesting* a good Government. Every thing gives way to their pleasures. *Aug. 20.* To day eleven of the principal Jacobins, Princes, Dukes, Commoners and Ladies were executed. I sincerely hope they will soon finish on a great scale, and then pass an act of oblivion. Death is a trifle to the prisons. In a long conversation I had to day with the Cardinal, I find he has received information that the French are inclined to be off from the Roman State. I therefore mean, if it meet your Lordship's approbation, to send to Civita Vecchia and St. Angelo, in conjunction with the Cardinal, and to offer them nearly the Gaïeta terms; telling them if they refuse, the Russians who are advancing will transport them to Siberia. Should they agree to these terms, I shall direct a search to be made for public Property, Antiques, &c. afloat. *Aug. 26.* All are gone from the Bay, except Louis. The Goliath went to Civita Vecchia with proposals to the French garrison, the same as Gaïeta, on her way to join Martin. *August 28.* The Romans say, 'send a regular force and we will join you; but we will resist a Banditti that would do nothing but murder and plunder us.' So you see, my Lord, they have as high an idea of the Calabrese Virtue as we have. Each polacre, I find, which carried the garrisons of St. Elmo, Capua and Gaïeta to France, paid twenty-nine ducats for quarantine; so much for French treatment of Cartels. *August 29.* The Vagabonds whom the French General is soliciting passports for, are some I stopped until M'Donald had promised he would return Hood's Marines. I had them astern of me for a considerable time, and on receiving your Lordship's orders to join you at Palermo, when the French fleet came up the Mediterranean, I let them go, giving them a passport for Toulon: they have since, though a Cartel, been cruising on the Roman coast—fine subjects for a halter, if we get hold of them. *August 30.* Five of the Jacobins were hung yesterday and 190 sent to Gaïeta, as I believe, to thin the prisons which are now getting very full. *August 31.* I find they have written from Palermo, that I am to leave this place the moment the Turks and Russians arrive. I tell them I am not in the secret. I fear, my Lord, some person about Sir William Hamilton's house sends accounts here; as I have frequently heard things which I knew your Lordship meant to keep secret. I take the liberty of mentioning this, as it may put your Lordship on your guard. I hear that the Junto call for the dismissal of the Cardinal, as a nuisance and one who hinders every thing. The winds are good and favourable, but I see no signs of

* The Commodore alludes to the feast of St. Rosalio.

the arrival of our Allies. I am looking with all my eyes for them, that I may join your Lordship.'

During these proceedings in the Bay of Naples, Lord Nelson had returned to Palermo with the Royal Family and Sir William and Lady Hamilton. One motive for this impolitic conduct in the King, from a private note by his Lordship, appears not to have been any apprehensions for his safety at Naples, but from gratitude to the loyalty of the Sicilians. His Majesty, however, by taking this step, most materially injured the future security of Naples; whose wretched situation, as is evident from various letters of Commodore Troubridge, required an immediate attention. Owing to this absence of the King and his Ministers, nothing was done to reinstate the government with any chance of its being effectual. 'His Majesty's not coming here,' said the Commodore, Sept. 3, 'may become serious; I wish he may not repent it. The money spent at Palermo gives discontent here; 50,000 people are unemployed, trade discouraged, manufactures but few, and those at a stand. The truth is, it is the interest of many here to keep the King away; they constantly send villanous reports to deter him from coming: I know this game has been practised some time. In short, my Lord, they all dread Reform, I mean the people in office; the villanies are so deeply rooted, that if some method is not taken to dig them out, this Government cannot hold together. Out of twenty millions of ducats collected as the revenue, only thirteen millions reach the Treasury, and the King pays five ducats where he should pay one. His Majesty is surrounded by thieves, and none of them have honour or honesty enough to tell him the real and true state of things.'—Strange proceedings were indeed carried on to enrich some of the leading men who remained, and to increase the disaffection of the Neapolitans; and the Lazeroni, from want of that employ which the presence of a Court necessarily gave, became the victims of a new party, which the intrigues of the French Republic began immediately to organise.

The liberality of the King of the Two Sicilies to the English Officers, on his return to Palermo, did honour to the son of Charles the Third. On his first arrival from Naples at the close of the preceding year, his Majesty had been pleased to order a Royal Largess^o to be distributed to the officers and ship's company of the Vanguard, and to the respective crews of the barges who had assisted in securing the safe retreat of the Royal Family. To Captain Hope who had conveyed the King and Prince Royal on board, a diamond ring of great value was presented, and a similar one was given to Lord Nelson's secretary, Mr.

^o One thousand ounces of silver to the officers, seamen, and marines of the Vanguard, which sum was thus divided: The wardroom one hundred ounces; the 27 young gentlemen of the quarter deck and warrant officers, four ounces each; the 579 seamen and marines, one ounce and one third each; 26 boys, half an ounce each; the surplus for general use. One hundred ounces to each of the two barges' crews who brought off the Royal Family from the Palace. One hundred ounces to the Admiral's servants, and the same to the Alcmena's barge's crew.

Tyson. The second day after the King's return, Lady Hamilton, by desire of the Queen of Naples, informed Lord Nelson that it was the King's immediate intention to grant him the Dukedom and valuable feud of Bronte,^p which was officially signified^q to him on the 13th of August; and on the same day his Majesty sent the following letter to him, on presenting the Sword, valued at 4000 guineas, which the King had received from his Father on leaving Naples for Spain.—‘My dear Lord: The expressions that are generally used to denote real gratitude, by no means correspond with or satisfy the exclusive sense which I feel, of how much ought to be and I know is engraven on my mind. ‘The service which you have doubly rendered to me and the Two Sicilies, can never be equalled. In the month of August you were last year their sole preserver, as also, during the present one, by organizing a most judicious defence for those kingdoms, with an active and imposing force; preserving for me and my Family, after so many disasters, the possession of both Countries; your powerful cooperation having rendered the force of my faithful soldiers efficacious, as well as that of my Allies who are united with them. In thus repeating to you those services, of which at this moment I feel so sensible, permit that some lasting marks of my gratitude may be presented to your Lordship in my name, which cannot hurt your elevated and just delicacy; but on that subject I will be silent. When my august Father took leave of me, he gave me with these Kingdoms a Sword, as a symbol to preserve what he had intrusted to me. To you, my Lord, I send it in memory of the obligation I then contracted, and which you have given me an opportunity of fulfilling; since it was you, and your brave followers, who have liberated Naples and its coasts from the Enemy who had gained possession of them, and who have supported my steps by the establishment of quiet and order. To your magnanimous Sovereign, my best Ally, to your generous Nation, I owe an avowal of my immense gratitude; and rest assured, my Lord, that this gratitude will never cease, but with your affectionate FERDINANDO.’—In writing afterwards respecting this to Mr. Davison, his Lordship said, ‘You will observe in a part of the King’s letter, an observation is made, that this present could not hurt my delicate feelings; that is, I might have before received money and jewels; but I rejected them as became me, and never received one farthing for all the expences of the Royal Family on

^p O *Βροντας*, an appellation extremely appropriate to the professional renown of Lord Nelson. BRONTES, or Thunder, was the name of one of the Cyclops (*Æneid* viii. 452). The Cyclops are fabled to have wrought in Sicily the Trident of Neptune, and the Thunderbolts of Jupiter. In that very learned and most interesting work of the late Mr. Bryant, *The Analysis of ancient Mythology*, is a curious Dissertation on the *Cyclopes* or *Cyclopes*, a matitime nation, which, Mr. Bryant is of opinion, came from the same family as the Phenicians. They settled in and near Bronte in Sicily, and were famous for their skill in Navigation and in various branches of Science. See Appendix, N° 9.

^q His Majesty is said to have previously announced his intention of conferring this Dukedom on Lord Nelson, whilst on board his flag ship, and that the Admiral had begged leave to decline so noble a remuneration: Upon which the King replied, *Lord Nelson, do you wish that your name alone should pass with glory to posterity, and that I, Ferdinando Bourbon, should appear ungrateful?*

board the Vanguard and Foudroyant. This I expect from the Board of Admiralty, and that they will order me a suitable sum. It has been Honour and not Money which I have sought, nor sought in vain.'

Nor were the several Captains who had served with so much zeal in Lord Nelson's squadron omitted. In addition to the remuneration which Captain Troubridge afterwards received, his Sicilian Majesty now directed his Miniature, on a box set round with diamonds, to be presented to that meritorious Officer, with a valuable ring. In sending the same kind of box, with the royal cypher in diamonds, to Captain Hood, Lord Nelson informed him it had been expressly mentioned in the official letter, 'that it was presented for services in the Bay of Naples and at Salerno, and for his care of the Castles at Naples.' Similar presents were given to Captains Hallowell, Louis, Foote, &c. That to Captain Hardy had a Miniature of the King, and a double row of diamonds. Presents likewise of inferior value were distributed amongst the other Officers. In the letter which accompanied the diamond box for Captain Foote, the Admiral said, 'I can assure you, my dear Sir, that it affords me infinite pleasure to convey to you this distinguished mark of his Sicilian Majesty's approbation. The despatch expresses, for most important services when left with the command in the Bay of Naples, when Lord Nelson was obliged to order Commodore Troubridge to join him, and for taking Castellamare. I am this day again requested by the King to interest myself with you, and all others who have received on board the Caronades belonging to his little Yacht, which were given to his Majesty by the King our master; and H. S. M. attaches great value to them on that account: I beg you will have the goodness to send them.'

The affectionate attention which Lord Nelson had shewn to the young Prince Leopold, and a present of some trophies to his Royal Highness that had been lately gained, produced a lively effect on his mind. In writing to his Lordship to thank him, his Royal Highness said, 'I have read, my Lord, that the Trophies of Miltiades kept Themistocles awake, surely it was for this reason that you sent me yours. You will not, I hope, be disappointed; I will be your Themistocles. If I follow your example, I shall always be a Conqueror.' Nor did the ardent spirit of the Sicilian Prince, then in his ninth year, remain satisfied by thus expressing his gratitude. He soon afterwards requested permission from his Royal Parents, to give a splendid Fête in honour of the reconquest of Naples and of the newly created Duke of Bronte. Accordingly on the 3d of September, 1799, a splendid entertainment was given in the Royal gardens at Palermo, at which Prince Leopold presided, dressed in the uniform of the navy, for which he was designed. This event took place on the day when, in the preceding year, the first news of Lord Nelson's Victory at Aboukir

* During the ensuing year, Captain Troubridge was created Commander of the Order of St. Ferdinand, with a pension of 500*l.* per annum settled on him. Captain Samuel Hood was also created a Commander of the Order of St. Ferdinand at the same time.

had reached Naples. The entertainment began with a magnificent firework representing the English and French fleets at Aboukir, and concluded with a representation of the blowing up of l'Orient. After which a cantata entitled *la Concordia felice*, the union of Parthenope and Palermo, was performed; which denoted their gratitude to the great Nelson, the British Hero, and concluded with a chorus in praise of the Allies of his Sicilian Majesty. The company was then conducted by the Queen into the richly illuminated gardens, on each side of which a pavilion had been raised, one to the English and Portuguese and the other to the Turks and Russians; over each were the flags of the respective nations in alliance with the Two Sicilies. The moment the company had entered the gardens, a select band of musicians from the opera sung *God save the King*. Opposite to the entrance of these gardens, and in the most conspicuous situation, appeared a Grecian Temple magnificently illuminated. In the vestibule was a Statue of Lord Nelson as large as life, and in the interior an altar, supporting the figure of Glory. Round this temple in large transparent letters appeared *Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the Waves*. Other figures and appropriate devices were also introduced. On arriving at the vestibule, the Royal Family addressing themselves to Lord Nelson and to the different Ambassadors of their respective Allies, were pleased to say, 'How inadequate every thing they could do must appear, as a tribute of gratitude to those who had saved their Kingdoms and their Family; yet as the arrangement of a child, they trusted whatever deficiencies might appear in the spectacle, they would be excused.' The four Princesses then ranged themselves at the foot of the steps that led to the altar, and the young Leopold ascending them, placed a crown of laurel on the statue which represented the British Admiral. The whole band immediately played *Rule Britannia*. It was more than the affectionate heart of the otherwise invincible Nelson could support, and he hastened to salute the Prince, who immediately threw his arms around him. A scene was thus presented that gave the whole a new and interesting character. The Queen afterwards conducted the company round the gardens, and pointed out various inscriptions to record the services of those Naval Officers, who had so nobly fought and triumphed in the cause of Ferdinand. One in particular commemorated the gallantry of Lieutenant Milbank, of the royal artillery, who had been killed during the siege of St. Elmo. Another displayed the services of the Portuguese Admiral, the Marquis de Niza. Others were assigned to record those of Captains Hallowell, Foote, &c. On that which was to mark the persevering labours of Captain Troubridge were the following words, *The intrepid Troubridge, bold in Action, wise and firm in Council*.

On the 16th of August, 1799, Lord Nelson detached the Foudroyant, as he had promised, to Cagliari for the assistance of his Sardinian Majesty, and for the time was obliged to hoist his flag on board the *Samuel* and Jane transport then lying off Palermo. He also directed that the *Mutine* brig should leave Naples on the same service, on which the Portuguese corvette the *Swallow* was likewise employed. In writing on the same day to

the Sardinian Minister, Count Chialambert, his Lordship said, 'I send the Foudroyant, as she is my own flag ship and the first two-decked ship afloat. I would send more ships, but the service of the civilised world requires every exertion; therefore I have not the power to send another ship of war.'—In writing to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, his Lordship added, 'Thus our King, Sir, will have the comfort that his ships afford an asylum and protection to other Monarchs besides the King of Naples; and will have the satisfaction of knowing, that his Sardinian Majesty is likewise returned under the sanction of the British flag.'—On the 16th of August his Lordship wrote to Admiral Duckworth: 'The Russian squadron of three sail of the line arrived yesterday; but having 520 sick to land, they are for the present unfit for service. The united squadrons from Corfu are the Lord knows where; therefore I must desire, if it be practicable, that you send at least one frigate, the Minerve, Captain Cockburn, or if possible one equally good, with a good corvette, to join Captain Martin on the coast of Genoa; for I must have a respectable squadron there to support Field Marshal Suworow. In Naples all is quiet; but the Cardinal appears to be working mischief against the King, and in support of the Nobles. He must sooner or later be removed for his bad conduct.'

Marshal Count Alexander Suworow Rymnikski' to Lord Nelson, dated Aste, Aug. 22, 1799.

'My Lord: I am gratified to learn, by the honour of your letter of the 2d of this month, the zeal with which your Excellency has fulfilled my intentions of insuring a safe passage to his Sardinian Majesty. His voyage having been deferred until the entire expulsion of the enemy from Italy, I hastened, according to the instructions received from my respective Courts, to communicate this intelligence immediately to his Majesty, as also to your Excellency, to our Admiral Ouchakof, and to the Turkish Admiral. Convinced of the lively interest which your Excellency takes in the success of our arms, I am anxious to acquaint you with the victory I have been so fortunate as to obtain over the enemy on the 15th of this month near Novi. On advancing towards that town, they had drawn up their army, consisting of 37,000 men, on the summit of the mountains, having Gavi on their left, and extending their right towards Seravalle. We attacked them at different points and exposed them to a most bloody battle. It has been crowned with the happiest success; but we have purchased it at a price that we sensibly feel: however, it is inconsiderable, when compared with the loss which the French have sustained. The enemy, according to their own

* The Bellerophon,* Captain Darby, arrived in the bay of Cagliari, August 11, as Convoy to the transports sent to receive bullocks from Sardinia for Mahon; and sailed the moment they were ready. Admiral Duckworth also on the 11th of August had detached Captain R. Campbell in the Santa Teresa to the Sardinian port of Toro, for the service of his Sardinian Majesty.

* This veteran General, who had risen from the ranks, and had seen upwards of fifty campaigns, received this additional title from a victory at Rymnik. The Emperor of Russia afterwards added that of Italiskoi. He died broken hearted, owing to the subsequent cruel treatment he experienced from the same Emperor, during the month of May 1801.

report, have lost 20,000 men, amongst whom are four generals; Perignan, general in chief, Grouché and Colli, generals of division, Bartonno, general of brigade; and nearly 5,000 officers and soldiers are made prisoners of war. The number of French killed amounts to more than 6000, amongst whom are General Joubert, their Commander in Chief, and Vatan, general of brigade. Their number missing after the battle amounts to 4000; they carried off 5000 who were wounded. Besides this, the same battle gave us 39 pieces of cannon, and 48 artillery waggons laden with ammunition. Circumstances have obliged me to repair with the greatest part of my troops to Asti, to observe with equal attention the movements of the enemy on that side and to delay my operations on the Riviera of Genoa. I congratulate you, my Lord, on St. Elmo and the reconquest of a Kingdom.'

The great importance of this battle of Novi and the splendid victory which the Allies thus obtained over the French Republicans, render a further account of it necessary. The following letter from Lord William Bentinck to Lord Nelson differs in some respects from the preceding one, and its introduction in this place may be proper to illustrate the concise and modest account which Suworow transmitted.—'Novi, August 17, 1799. On the 14th of August the French army consisting of 38,000 men, under the command of General Joubert, assembled on the heights above Novi which terminate the extensive plain of Piedmont. On the same day, the corps of Generals Kray and Bellegarde, united, marched to Fregarolo. The Field Marshal, with a considerable corps of Russians, was posted at Pozzolo Fomicgaro, and General Melas with the remainder of the army was encamped at Rivalta, for the purpose of covering the siege of Tortona, or of acting as circumstances should require. The Field Marshal resolved to attack the enemy. At five in the morning of the 15th, General Kray began his attack upon the left of the enemy's line. After a very bloody engagement of several hours, he was not able to make any impression, and was obliged to retire: a very gallant attempt was also made by the Russians upon the centre of the enemy's line, but with the same ill success. A second attack was attempted at twelve o'clock upon the left and centre of the French; but after a very desperate conflict it was found impossible to force their strong position. The French were content with defending themselves, and made no attempt to follow up their advantage. Fortunately at this moment, General Melas arrived from the camp at Rivalta with sixteen battalions of Austrian infantry, and fell upon the enemy's right, which he obliged to fall back. Continuing to attack with vigour, he completely succeeded in turning their flank; and taking the enemy both in flank and rear, their whole line retreated in the greatest disorder, and a most decisive victory has been gained. General Joubert was killed early in the action. Moreau succeeded to the command; he had been superseded by Joubert, and was only present as a spectator.

On the 20th of August, Lord Nelson directed Admiral Duckworth, by an order dated

on board the *Samuel* and *Jane* transport at Palermo, to proceed himself, or to detach two ships of the line, of which the *Zealous* was to be one, to assist General O'Hara and the garrison at Gibraltar, by keeping the Barbary ports, and the Straits, open. On being joined by a reinforcement of three ships of the line, with frigates and sloops, Admiral Duckworth was ordered to proceed off Cadiz; and on the same day he received from Lord Nelson the following private letter: 'No one, be assured, estimates your worth both as an Officer and a man more than we of this house; you must consider a line from me as a side of paper from any one else. Lord Keith is gone and all my superior Officers; therefore I must now watch from Cape St. Vincent to Constantinople.' Thank God, our affairs in Italy are in that prosperous state that our ships can be spared: I have in consequence fixed to have five sail of the line to watch Cadiz, with a proportion of frigates and sloops, and to keep open the Straits; and four sail of the line at Minorca with an assortment. Troubridge shall be at one place, you at the other, the choice to rest with yourself; the St. Vincent cutter shall be a runner between us. You or Troubridge will keep an eye on the trade of Lisbon and Oporto; and you are directed to represent at home if you want more small craft, and to say what is true, that if I have not given you enough, it is because I have them not to give: in short, to act in the best manner for his Majesty's service. In giving this command I know to whom I trust, and that it is not necessary to enter into the detail of what is to be done. As to myself, although thirteen sail of the line, frigates, &c. are in Sicily, they inspire no confidence: It is England alone that these Countries look to; and, even favourable as affairs appear, were I to move, although my flag is only in a transport, they would be miserable. I have urged letters to be written to Admiral Ouchakof at Messina, to send a squadron into the Gulf of Genoa, and orders go tomorrow to Martin to bring all the ships on that coast to Mahon. As to Minorca being attacked, whilst we have a naval force in hand, I do not credit such an idea.'—In a subsequent letter his Lordship added, 'I am venturing certainly out of my line of duty, but as the Commander in Chief may not even be on the station, I must do the best which my judgment points out during his temporary absence. If Sir James would have allowed the troops from Lisbon to have proceeded to Malta, I would have forfeited my life if in three days it had not surrendered. I am far from being in good health,* and the infamous politics of the Austrian Minister Thugot, who ought to be hanged if half what is said be true, do not serve to give me comfort.'—In writing to Lady Nelson, August 23, his Lordship mentioned the urgent manner in which his continuance in Sicily had been requested: 'The last letter from the King's Minister here, Sir John Acton, is as follows, 'My formal demand is, however, to beg of your Lordship to protect the Two Sicilies with your name

* Lord Nelson considered himself as holding the situation of Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean, from August 17 to November 30, 1799.

and presence, until at last all Italy is perfectly quiet.' Therefore, whatever my state of health may be, I cannot move. I have written fully to my Father about Bronte, and send you a little history of it; the present was magnificent and worthy of a King.'—In a letter about the same time to Mr. Davison to thank him for his beautiful Medals, which were sent, as his Lordship expressed it, to the Brethren of the Nile, he thus spoke of Bronte: 'The estate is said to be about 3000*l.* a year: I am determined on one thing, that the inhabitants shall be the happiest in all his Sicilian Majesty's dominions. I have to thank you for the interest you have taken in the business of the India House; their present has been magnificent; but, my friend, these Presents, rich as they are, do not elevate me: My Pride is, that at Constantinople, from the Grand Seignior to the lowest Turk, the name of Nelson is familiar in their mouths; and in this Country I am every thing which a grateful Monarch and People can call me. *August 23.* Poor dear Miller is dead, and so will be your friend Nelson; but until death he will wear your Medal that was intended for Miller. I have the full tide of Honour, but little real Comfort; could I have that with a morsel of bread and cheese, it would be all I have to ask of kind Heaven. If the war goes on, I shall be knocked off by a ball, or killed with chagrin. My conduct is measured by the Admiralty by the narrow rule of law, when I think it should have been done by that of common sense. I restored a faithful Ally by breach of Orders, Lord Keith lost a Fleet by Obedience, against his own sense: yet as one is censured, the other must be approved.'

During the short interval that Lord Nelson held this temporary rank of Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean, his letters and orders have an additional interest. In addressing a note from Palermo, Sept. 4, 1799, to the commanding Officer of his Majesty's ships at Gibraltar and off Cadiz, he said, 'I consider the Minerve as such an active ship and most particularly her Captain, that I must desire you will on no account send her off the limits of the Mediterranean station: no one is more equal to watch Cadiz, until an equal force may get there, than Captain Cockburn.'—On the 12th of the same month, he sent the following additional Instructions to Admiral Duckworth. 'My dear Admiral: I approve very much of your first plan of visiting Gibraltar, after looking into Carthage; but I wish you had fixed to send some of the best ships immediately back to Minorca, and as Goliath and Swiftsure go from hence direct to Gibraltar, you will send two ships of the line, and, if they are to be found, some small ships; for at present I know not the names of the frigates left by Lord Keith, nor how they are disposed of. When winter gets a little more advanced, all the present ships off Malta must go down the Mediterranean, and some pass to England; therefore keep no more ships below Minorca than you think the service requires. I had plenty of reasons lately to write to the Admiralty, that if a Naval Force should be wanted for the coast of Italy, England must find it; for the Russian Admiral has told me, his ships cannot keep the sea in the winter; and I see no desire to go to sea in the

summer. The Turks are returned to Constantinople, having had a fray with the Sicilians in which many lives were lost. If I am left in this command even for a few months, I shall send those French frigates which cannot be manned to England, and for that purpose fifty good men shall be left by those ships going home. *Alceste* may serve as a convoy for Leghorn, or to go to Sardinia for provisions; but *Junon* and *Courageux* cannot be made useful, at least I am told so; and to keep them lying at Mahon, appears to me a waste of the public money. My mind is fixed that I will not keep one ship in the Mediterranean which is not fit for *any* service. During the winter, those half fitted drain us of all the stores and render us all useless. You have acted on this principle in sending the *Aurora* and *Dolphin*, and it is my *particular* desire that you continue it; therefore if the *Seahorse* cannot, without robbing us of all our stores, be put in order at Gibraltar or Minorca, she must (and sorry I shall be to part with her) go to England. I am aware of the argument which may be used against my plan, viz. Our Seamen get no good by going to England, to which I perfectly agree; but the ships left here with me are beyond all common refit, nor can they be furnished with stores, not having any foundation to be kept up; and what would be an ample supply to keep up a Squadron, is really nothing in our situation. Be the event what it may, Lord Keith will probably by this time have returned to Gibraltar; but I hope he will make allowances that I am acting in the same way as if I knew nothing of his being there. Do you know what was his Lordship's intention respecting the French prizes at Mahon? for it is my wish to follow up his plan.'

In writing also during this short period to Mr. Spencer Smith at Constantinople, his Lordship, after thanking that Minister for his kind and interesting letters, said, 'Being now the Commanding Officer of the Mediterranean fleet, your brother Sir Sidney has already experienced, and will continue so to do, every mark of my affectionate regard both as an officer and a friend. The first act of my command was to give your brother the disposal of poor dear Miller's vacancy, and I have promoted all his young men as he desired; besides authorising him to declare, that all vacancies in his Squadron should be given to those serving with him. You know me not, my dear Sir, if you ever believed me capable of wishing to hurt Sir Sidney's feelings for a moment. I feel too much myself on such occasions; and I cannot want to crop any man's laurels: The world has been over bountiful to me. I rejoice with you that our dear friend, Captain Edward Cooke,* is likely to recover from his wounds; no one knows his worth to his Country more than myself.'

In consequence of that dispute between the Sicilians and the Turkish Naval Officers, to which the Admiral alluded in his letter to Admiral Duckworth, which appears to have arisen from the bigotry of the former, and to have been fomented by the jealousy

* Of his Majesty's ship *la Sylbille*; this Officer afterwards died from the wounds which he received when he took *la Forte* of 50 guns in the East Indies. He was related to Sir Sydney Smith.

of Patrona Bey, who was afterwards cut to pieces by his seamen; Lord Nelson kindly took the part of the Turkish Commanding Officer, Vice Admiral Cadir Bey. Having quelled the Mutiny by only appearing on board their flag ship, his Lordship then sent the most honourable testimony to the Grand Seignior, in favour of the character and discipline which this Admiral had uniformly supported; and that nothing might be wanting to protect an injured officer at the Ottoman Court, his Lordship at the same time forwarded the following letter to Mr. Spencer Smith, the English Minister at Constantinople. ‘I shall only say, that no fault attaches itself in the least to Cadir Bey; for a man of more conciliating manners does not exist, and he has gained all our hearts in this house, in which he is considered as a brother. Poor fellow, he is full of affliction, fearing that his enemies, if it be possible he can have any, may do him an injury with the Sultan: That nothing of this kind may happen, I beg for your kindness. I have examined his ship with much attention, and could not but admire her extreme good order and remarkable cleanliness. By desire of Cadir Bey, I have presumed to write to the Grand Seignior, of which I send your Excellency a copy.’

Commodore Troubridge had continued during this time in the Bay of Naples, expecting the further influence of the offer he had sent to the French garrison at Civita Vecchia, and with strong suspicions of the intentions of the Austrians. On the 24th of August, 1799, some account of what had passed there was sent him from Captain Hallowell. ‘This day a flag of truce came off from Civita Vecchia with the enclosed letter from General Belair, brought to me by General Dubaurdieu, &c. a native of Sweden, and formerly aid de camp to that Monarch when Sir Sidney Smith was serving with his army. As the whole was but French humbug, I fed them well and sent them on shore with my answer. I rather suspect their object was to sound me with regard to any attack that was to be made on them, and to find out with whom they were to treat. I gave them to understand, but in indirect terms, that they would soon be besieged. I believe they are sensible that they cannot hold out long, and I am confirmed in this idea by their overstrained civility to me, and the many fulsome compliments which they paid to the English Nation. But to every thing they said I turned a deaf ear, as I was not inclined to make any propositions without having strength enough to enforce them, if refused acceptance; and as I am in daily expectation of that force from you, I have left them in a state of uncertainty, until I see the Marines, Swiss, &c. from Naples. The French prisoners from Egypt, for whom the General in his letter is so anxious to procure passports, are the same vagabonds you permitted to sail from Procida, when you heard of the French fleet; and the same half galley which was riding astern of you for so many days, is now here and has never been to France. All this I drew from the General at dinner, without letting him discover my motive for being so inquisitive about that vessel and her passengers. This accounts for Belair’s being so anxious to get them

away from Civita Vecchia, and I have not a doubt of their having been employed cruising on the Roman coast ever since they left you. If I can get hold of the vessel* and crew, I shall shew them no quarter.'

The great services† of Captain Ball during the tedious Siege of Malta, were this year very honourably noticed by his Sicilian Majesty. During the month of September 1799, Sir John Acton sent him word, That the King having been duly informed of the valour, uncommon vigilance, and praiseworthy conduct which Captain Ball had shewn during the blockade, in compliance with the wishes of the Maltese and with the consent of the most excellent and worthy Admiral the Lord Duke of Bronte, his Majesty had confided to Captain Ball the government of that Island,—Captain Ball's letters to Lord Nelson from the close of August to the end of October, point out some of the causes which had prolonged the Siege. *August 20, 1799.* The French have not received the smallest supply of fresh provisions from this island or Goza these last four months. They have nearly eaten all the cats, dogs, horses, and mules in the garrison. Mule's flesh sold for 4s. a pound a month ago. *Aug. 28.* General Vaubois intends making his escape with his ships, whenever the weather will allow him. I have great hopes of preventing it by storming Ricasoli, or constructing a battery very near it. This General, whose life will be sacrificed whenever he returns to France unless he can reestablish his character by the most vigorous defence, has shewn himself full of resource. He has placed Spies in every company to give him early notice of any intention to mutiny, that he may crush it in the bud; and he has the art to make his soldiers believe, that the arms of the French Republic are victorious and that Naples is still in their possession. The papers we have given them they declare have been fabricated at Malta. The soldiers murmur; but they still remain at their post. *Sept. 15.* I am extremely mortified I cannot assure your Lordship, that la Valette will be very soon carried by our operations; but I trust that when you reflect on the strength and resources of both parties, you will be convinced that more could not be effected. The French have 5000 men; we have 500 English and Portuguese Marines, and about 1500 armed Peasants; not 500 of the latter can be depended on for an assault. I am going to take possession of an important post, contrary to the general opinion of military men; if it can be maintained, which I have very little doubt of, it will accelerate the surrender of the French garrison and furnish a good pretext for their General to give it up. Lieutenant Colonel Lord Blancy has been here for a few days, during which time he has been indefatigable, at the risk of his health and person, in ascertaining the enemy's position and the best mode of attacking them. He will

* This vessel afterwards attempting to escape, notwithstanding a letter of Captain Hallowell's respecting her to General Belair, she was burnt by order of Captain Hallowell.

† See in Appendix, N° 9, Captain Ball's statement or Memorial of service from the time of his first serving off Malta to March 25, 1800, drawn up that Lord Nelson might present it to those Sovereigns who had entered into a Treaty respecting Malta.

detail the particulars of our situation to your Lordship; he has seen a great deal of service and appears to be a good soldier. *October 2.* We are landing many of the guns from the *Alexander*, in Marco Sirocco bay, for the different batteries that must be defended chiefly by seamen, and which I am now erecting. I shall strain every nerve to expel the French. The expence of making regular approaches is beyond my means; I have therefore given direction to take possession of posts which will put the enemy to the test. The engineer tells me I risk too much; but as there is not any alternative, except remaining inactive, I have determined on pursuing my own plan, which I am sanguine enough to think will succeed. *October 10.* I am very glad that the British troops are coming from Messina; I am much prepossessed in favour of Brigadier General Graham's character. *October 14.* I am constructing batteries very close to the palace of Beguy, where I hope we shall soon attempt to fix our post, it being highly important and well worth the risk. The military men think it untenable: I am aware it is irregular according to strict tactical rules to go there immediately; but I think if your Lordship were to see it, you would be apt to deviate from the regular progression. General Graham recommends my not attempting any attack until the arrival of succours; but if his coming is delayed I shall push for Beguy.'

The following extract of a letter from Major General Sir James St. Clair Erskine (Lord Rosslyn) connects these services of Captain Ball with the arrival of Lord Nelson off Malta, and pays a distinguished compliment to the abilities of the Officers who afterwards succeeded in taking that Island. This letter from General Sir James Erskine was addressed to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas,* dated from Mahon, October 16, 1799. 'Sir: Rear Admiral Lord Nelson came to anchor in this port on Saturday; and, having had a full and confidential conversation with his Lordship, I think it my duty to make you acquainted with the information I have collected, and to lay before you the true state of affairs in the Mediterranean.—Lord Nelson's mind is strongly impressed with a very high opinion of the importance of the Island of Malta, whether considered with a view to its political and military consequence, or the influence which the possession of its Harbours might have upon the Levant Trade. But I am sorry to add, that the probability of its being reduced by the Blockade is much less and more distant than I had supposed it. I learn, that the garrison consists of at least 4,000, and, in some of the last despatches, is estimated at 5000 French, including the crews of the ships of war, and that the magazines contain corn sufficient for that garrison for a year to come; but that with respect to wine, meat, and other articles of provisions and of comfort, it has been and continues in great want. The number of armed Peasants who cooperate in the Blockade and receive a small pay is reduced to 1500, of which not more than 600 are fit to be selected for an attack. I am not well informed of the state of ammunition and military stores, but I have no ground

* A copy of which was enclosed to Lord Nelson, by Sir James, on the 11th of November.

to suppose a deficiency in them. On the other hand, it is very singular that so large a body of men should have remained inactive in these works, suffering themselves to be surrounded by so contemptible a force of Peasantry, at no time supported by more than 500 British and Portuguese Marines. I must confess however upon the whole, this statement is very unfavourable to our wishes, and places the enemy in a much more formidable light than I have been accustomed to consider them; for the different letters that had hitherto fallen into my hands, had always stated their numbers at about 2,500, or at the utmost 3,000 men. It is now evident, that unless a respectable land force, in numbers sufficient to undertake the Siege of such a garrison in one of the strongest places of Europe, and supplied with proportionate artillery and stores, be sent against it, no reasonable hope can be entertained of its surrender. I am desirous only of doing away any misconception that may have arisen from the more flattering accounts which I have often received. It will remain for you to appreciate the value of the object when compared with the means necessary for its attainment, and to consider how far you can allot to that enterprise a sufficient body of troops to afford any reasonable prospect of success . . . Lord Nelson is sanguine in his hopes of being able to obtain some Russian force, at most not exceeding 1000 Marines, to cooperate in this undertaking, provided a great exertion can be made from hence for that purpose: but I have not thought myself at liberty to enter into any engagement on the subject, nor even to encourage that expectation; not only because I am utterly unacquainted with your sentiments and projects with respect to this Country, but in consequence of some circumstances reported to me, which render it not improbable that it may be his Majesty's intention to withdraw from the Mediterranean two of the most efficient battalions.'

General Sir James St. Clair Erskine to Lord Nelson, dated Mahon, Oct. 31, 1799.

' My dear Lord: I have received no public letters by Admiral Duckworth, except some duplicates from the office of the Duke of York, and an order from H. R. H. to hold the 28th regiment in readiness for immediate embarkation, as it is to be removed from Minorca. I am confident, that whatever directions General Fox may bring out, he will carry them into execution, and not be induced by any consideration to detain here a single man whose service is required nearer home. I have not a single private letter from any correspondent; but I understand that Admiral Duckworth's private letters say, that some of the British force is to be immediately sent home, and I mention it that you may be prepared for that event and its consequences. The probability of General Fox being able to form and detach such a Corps as may be adequate to undertake the Siege of Malta, becomes now much more doubtful: a few days, however, must clear up all these points . . . I find that the Marquis de Niza, Captain Ball, and General Acton, have all written to try to induce Colonel Graham to embark with a part of his corps for Malta: in answer to which he has

acted in strict obedience to his instructions and in my opinion with the most perfect propriety; for no officer would have been justified, even if left to his discretion, in forming a project for besieging 5000 men and proceeding on active operations, with a corps of 500 men only. I mention this, because I collect from Graham's letter that the last application was pressed, even after his answer that he could not take any step without orders from Minorca.'

The Admiral in writing afterwards to Mr. Nepean, on the subject of Malta, said, 'It has been no fault of the Navy that Malta has not been attacked by land; but we have neither the means ourselves, nor influence with those who have the power.'

Lord Nelson to H. R. II. the Duke of Clarence, dated Port Mahon, Oct. 17, 1779.

'Sir: Although I have really but a moment, yet I am sure I cannot better bestow it than in assuring your Royal Highness of my respectful attachment; and I shall retrace our late occurrences as fast as my pen and head will allow me. Having on the 1st of October received the terms on which the French were to evacuate the City of Rome and Civita Vecchia, on the 2d the Phaeton arrived, bringing me an account that on the 8th and 9th of September, thirteen large ships, supposed to be of the line, had been seen off Cape Ortegale. On this information, in case they should be bound into the Mediterranean, I directed the Culloden and Minotaur, with some small vessels that were off Civita Vecchia, to proceed immediately and join me off Mahon harbour; the Foudroyant arriving the same day, I sailed from Palermo on the morning of the 5th: I had hardly got clear of the gulf, when I met the Salamine with information from Mahon, that on the 28th of September a vessel from Tunis to Minorca had fallen in with two strange sail of the line, frigates, and other vessels, to the amount of twenty, steering towards Malta. As I have seven sail of the line, one frigate and three sloops on the service there, I had to send the brig to ascertain the event. This news, which I still hope is false, did not tend to make me easy, as in truth I required, being very unwell: however, the more difficulty the more exertion is called for. On the 12th I got off Mahon, and, having given all necessary directions for the ships on that station, I made sail for Gibraltar. In the evening, between this island and Majorca, I fell in with the Bull Dog having on board Sir Edward Berry, who brought me letters from Rear Admiral Duckworth, discrediting the account of the enemy's ships being off the coast of Portugal; with this knowledge I instantly returned to Mahon, where so much has required doing that except to pay my visit to the General, and to the naval yard, I have not been out of the ship. General Fox being hourly expected, it has not been in my power to arrange a plan of operations for the immediate reduction of Malta, should it not be effectually relieved by these ships; which is an object of very great importance to us and his Majesty's Allies: but as neither the brig nor any vessel is arrived, I am in total darkness, nor are the ships from Civita Vecchia come in. However I sail to morrow for Palermo

to see what is going on, and prepare all the force I can for Malta. I beg that your Royal Highness will believe me with the truest attachment, your faithful servant, Nelson.'

'The Operations against the Roman Port, Civita Vecchia, by Captains Hallowell, Louis, and the other naval officers who had been detached on that service by Sir 'T. Troubridge, had been crowned with success on the 26th of September; and the articles of Capitulation which were signed on that and the following day, had been received by Lord Nelson, as he mentioned in his letter to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, on the 1st of October. His Lordship, so far back as the end of August, had endeavoured to expedite this event by requesting the cooperation of some British troops from Sir James Erskine; in answer to which a letter had been addressed to him from Mahon, Sept. 5, 1799, by that General, and nearly in the same tone with his more recent communication. — 'You do me but justice, my dear Lord,' said Sir James, 'in supposing that I have the most sincere and ardent desire to forward the great public Cause, in which his Majesty is engaged, by every effort in my power . . . I would readily make every exertion consistent with my duty; but in my present situation, I do not consider myself as justified in ordering the detachment you require at this moment.'—After then stating such objections as arose from his expectation of the speedy arrival of General Fox, his superior officer, the absence of the naval squadron off Mahon, and the intelligence that had transpired respecting the increased strength of the Spanish force at Majorca, Sir James added, 'The local situation of Civita Vecchia, and the baneful effects of the climate of that Country, at this season, would at the same time be sufficient to induce me to delay such an enterprise until the beginning of October, especially as the troops here are suffering under the epidemic fever of the Country. I must at the same time take the liberty to add, that I think the force of 1,200 too small to be committed in an enterprise, which involves in it, first, the reduction of a regular Fortress, supplied, for any thing I know to the contrary, with all that is necessary for its defence; and afterwards, supposing the place taken and the detachment diminished by the siege and the necessary garrison, their advance through a country in the state that you describe the territory of Rome to be, where it is at least equally probable that the armed *moles*, whose only object is plunder, should be hostile to our purpose and render the progress of the detachment difficult and hazardous at least, if not entirely to frustrate the ends for which the service was undertaken . . . Having thus stated to you the reasons that compel me to resist your application, and suggested the difficulties that it will be fit to provide against, if the subject should be resumed, I can only assure you that I will keep every thing in such readiness, that not a moment shall be lost, in case General Fox shall think proper upon his arrival to adopt or authorise this Expedition.'—In answering Sir James Erskine, Lord Nelson observed, 'The Field of Glory is a large one, and was never more open to any one than at this moment to you. Rome would throw open her gates and receive you as her deliverer,

and the Pope would owe his restoration to a Heretic. This is the first great object, as it would not only occasion the complete deliverance of Italy, but would restore peace and tranquillity to the torn to pieces kingdom of Naples; for such an occasion a part of the garrison of Messina might be spared. The next great object is the reduction of Malta, and in any other moment than the present it would be a most important one.

Such was the opinion which one of the first Generals in the Mediterranean entertained of the Expedition against Civita Vecchia: Lord Nelson and Commodore Troubridge continued to pursue that object with a small detachment from the Mediterranean fleet. The following extracts from some letters of the latter Officer, whilst in the Bay of Naples and off Civita Vecchia, not only relate many events relative to proceedings on that service connected with the preceding operations at Naples; but also briefly retrace the manner in which he at length succeeded, and, as the Friar^b had declared, took Rome by the ships that belonged to the squadron under the command of Lord Nelson.

Naples, Sept. 5, 1799. My Lord: I should still like to send Louis in the Minotaur to try them at Civita Vecchia, I think they would give in. While we are here, I wish to render the Cause all the good I can, and Culloden can take care of Naples whilst Louis goes there. As your Lordship directs me in your letter not to quit the Bay until a respectable Russian squadron arrives, I wait with impatience your further orders. The Austrians who are advancing to Rome are only a few regulars, the rest are chiefly such rabble as I believe will not shew themselves before Rome. Orders are issued here for some regulars to be ready to march thither; but if I leave this station before a larger force arrives of Russians, and withdraw my men, it would I fear totally stop their sailing. The Neapolitans are frightened at their own shadow, and as I am told not a man of consequence moves out of his house at night: for my own part, I walk every night all over the City to see what is going on. All appears to me quiet, though they say the Lazeroni threaten to plunder the place. If the King and his Court were here it would give employment to many thousands. *Sept. 7.* I continue my Marines on shore, at the particular request of the Cardinal, who complains loudly of the enormous expence of the Russians. It is too true; the Russian marines and scamen are all clothed by H. S. Majesty. The troops for Rome talk of moving to morrow. I am anxious to hear by the Perscus, whether your Lordship thinks the three Russian frigates a sufficient force to leave at Naples; not a moment shall be lost, if you say Yes. I can embark my Marines whilst I am unmooring. *Sept. 10.* The Transfer arrived last night, and this morning I sent off Civita Vecchia to annoy the enemy as much as possible, and protect the trade of H. S. M. I wish the government gave more encouragement to its commerce. *Sept. 10.* Your Lordship's two letters are just

^b Lord Nelson afterwards requested the King of Sicily to give this Friar preferment in the Church, which was granted. His Lordship also mentioned him in a subsequent letter to the Pope, in 1800.

arrived. I shall not lose a moment in sending Captain Louis with the Proposals to Civita Vecchia, and he will have Mutine, Transfer, and Perseus, when he arrives there. By your letter I am induced to think the fleet of our Allies will direct its course this way. I can then without risk, on their arrival, avail myself of the offer you were so good as to make me; take off my marines, push for Civita Vecchia, and, if Louis has not succeeded, try what I can do. If I go, and do not succeed at Civita Vecchia, I shall join your Lordship at Palermo, leaving Naples to the Russian and Turkish fleets.

Proposals sent from Commodore Troubridge, by Captain Louis, to the Commandant of the Republican Troops at Civita Vecchia.

Sir: I have sent Captain Louis, Commander of the Minotaur, one of H. B. M. ships under my command, to offer your garrison and Corneta the same terms as at Gaieta; assuring you, that the allied forces of Russians, &c. are advancing into the Roman State; and I think it necessary to apprise you, that all prisoners of war taken by the Russians, (which will certainly be your fate, if you refuse the liberal offer I now make you,) are invariably sent to Siberia, nor will the English ever interfere hereafter. If you agree to these terms, I have authorised the commanding officer of H. B. M. ships forming the blockade of the Roman Coast, to transport your garrison with that of Corneta, to Corsica or France as may be most convenient.'

Commodore Troubridge, in continuation, to Admiral Lord Nelson, 1799.

'Sept. 12. The news of Rome is very unfavourable. Bouchard has with him about 2000 Neapolitan regulars and 7000 vagabonds. The Romans, it is said, have all armed to resist him, declaring that the Neapolitans are such thieves, no reliance can be placed on their word; the Romans are determined, therefore, not to be under their yoke: I wish, my Lord, there was not so much truth in what they assert. Although Naples is certainly quiet at present, yet much discontent prevails at the absence of the Court and Nobles: It really appears to me, that means are taken to create discontent. The officers only receive their three carlins a day, the same as the soldiers. The distress I daily meet hurts me much. Many I relieve and thousands I abandon to their fate. The letters from Palermo mention the feasting, and the immense sums of money that are spent there. It has caused the Neapolitans to murmur, and they very justly say, 'If the money were spent in the Capital it would relieve many thousands.' The report to day is, that the Pignatellis are only to be banished. Prince Tarolla the same. Riario is also destined for Maretimo, with a few others. They must finish soon, or every family here will be interested in making a disturbance. They should make some examples, and pass an Act of Oblivion, and let all be

' In some few instances, where Lord Nelson felt himself called on by particular circumstances that had appeared during the Trials before the Junta, he did not fail sometimes to deviate from the strict rule he had otherwise laid down. In a letter from Sir John Acton, dated Sept. 25, that Minister said, "The case of Guiseppe

forgot: at present there are upwards of 40,000 families who have relations confined. *Naples, Sept. 16.* I trust, my Lord, the King will come here; for the Jacobins are now beginning to prosecute the Royalists for murder. Dominico Florentino, who was so active at Sorrento and made so gallant a defence, who led Foote's marines when the place was taken and constantly brought us intelligence at the risk of his life, is now prosecuted for destroying three Jacobins, who would otherwise have destroyed him. The parents of the deceased vagabonds, with the Commissaire de Compagne at their head, are now prosecuting and persecuting this poor fellow. In short, my Lord, if some Act of Oblivion is not passed, there will be no end of persecution; for the people of this country have no idea of any thing but revenge, and to gain a point would swear ten thousand false oaths. I this moment hear the King has sent over to direct that no more should be put to death: I trust it is the beginning of an act to forget all. Not that I think sufficient examples are made; but the law is so slow, that the business is kept too long hanging over their heads, and the innocent and guilty are all afraid of being accused and thrown into jail; and, probably, of having their houses plundered when set at liberty after a considerable time, with nothing to exist on. Constant efforts are made to get a man taken up, in order to rob him. I have seen many instances, which induces me to make this representation to your Lordship: I shall be ruined if I stay here much longer. I fear the property that is confiscated does not reach the King's Treasury—all thieves! If the King knew as much as I do, he would certainly come to Naples. The property of the Jacobins is selling for nothing, and his own people, whom he employs, are buying it up, and the vagabonds pocket the whole. I should not be surprised to hear, that they brought a bill of expences against him for the sale. His Majesty's Custom House is carried on in the same iniquitous manner. If the King, my Lord, does not come and settle his kingdom of Naples, all must go wrong; they are now greater villains, if possible, than before the Revolution. It would really be a proper thing to tell Acton, and through him his Majesty. Villains as these people are, they respect us for our honesty. *Sept. 17.* I have great hope Louis will succeed at Civita Vecchia; yesterday, as I reckon, he would have sent my letter in. I had occasion to go to the Cardinal this morning, and from him I learned the Russians did not intend to sail until the 18th, or the 20th. I shall look out sharp for them, and be off to Civita Vecchia and join Louis, if I do not receive contradictory orders from your Lordship.

‘*Off Civita Vecchia, Sept. 22. 1799.* My Lord: I sailed from Naples the 18th, and

Pignatelli, and the grace obtained for his travelling from H. S. M. at your request, was in order to avoid any further mischief to this young man; as he was the first, to your Lordship's knowledge, who confessed his faults. I cannot explain myself more; but shall remember what difficulties were at first started by his Majesty on the demand for a passport. In another letter, Nov. 5, this Minister mentioned a Prince Calvaraso, in whose behalf Lord Nelson had written to the King of Sicily, through the means of Sir John Acton.

got here on the 20th at night. The next morning I was joined by Captain Louis, with Minotaur, Perseus, Mutine and Transfer. This is a dreadful coast, a deep bay with a constant swell, with the wind since I have been here blowing fresh. I found Captain Louis had sent in my letter and been informed by the Commandant Hennique, that on account of its importance it had been forwarded to the French commanding officer, General Garnier, at Rome. It appeared to me that the General wished to get off from the Roman State; and Civita Vecchia having no powers to treat separately, I took upon myself, without a moment's loss of time, to offer the Gaeta terms for all the Roman State, except Ancona, that I might if possible put his Sicilian Majesty in possession; giving the General twenty hours from its reaching Civita Vecchia. Your Lordship will see by the enclosed paper, that I was obliged to assume an authority and to offer what terms I thought proper and honourable. I trust both your Lordship and his Majesty will pardon this: I wait impatiently to hear you have done it.⁴ The Neapolitan General Rodio's letter gave me but little hopes even of General Bouchard's being able to succeed; who on his way to Rome was obliged to shoot some of his troops, and disarm a large body and send them away. Maturely weighing the whole, I did not see any very great prospect of getting on better than by the Treaty I have offered, which I am very sanguine will be concluded. If it meets your Lordship's approbation, I shall be well satisfied in having cleared the country of villanous Frenchmen, who have plundered and been such a dreadful scourge on the Roman State.'

*Commodore Troubridge to the Commander of his Sicilian Majesty's Troops at Rome,
Sept. 22, 1799.*

'Sir: the French General commanding at Rome, who has Civita Vecchia and Corneta under his orders, has, by letter, signified that Rome may be included in the liberal terms I have offered to Civita Vecchia; and I desire on General Garnier's intimating to you that he has agreed to the liberal offer I have made, that none but regular troops are put in possession of Rome, nor the least plunder whatever suffered; as I have guaranteed the performance of the Treaty in the most solemn manner, upon a supposition, that General Garnier will avail himself of this offer which never can be again proposed. You will be pleased, on his writing to you, to send such a body of regular troops to escort the French garrison and baggage from Rome to Civita Vecchia, as you may see necessary; giving the most positive orders that no person is plundered, on pain of death to the guilty.'

⁴ Commodore Troubridge, as appears by one of General Acton's letters, had received his orders so far back as the month of July, at the particular request of the King of Sicily; but was not to make them public, without Lord Nelson's further directions. Yet so well drilled was this great Naval Officer in Obedience to his superior, that his solicitude for Lord Nelson's approbation and a fear of having exceeded what he might think right, are constantly visible throughout the whole correspondence.

*Commodore Troubridge to his Excellency General Garnier, at Rome, dated Culloden,
Sept. 22, 1799.*

‘ Sir: I am this minute honoured with your letter of the 22d: I had made up my mind to wait only twenty hours, well knowing that a Military Council of officers can settle a business of the nature between us in a very short time; and particularly as I had, to avoid the horrors of war and not to hurt the feelings of an officer of your rank, offered such liberal terms, that I really expected an immediate answer either to accept or reject them. If Civilians do not influence the Council, as I know is the case in your service, though in no other, I cannot see how all this time has been lost. However, I shall wait for the result of the Council; though I think it necessary to inform you that no more time may be lost, it will be expedient to send an officer in your confidence on board the Culloden, with full powers to settle the terms and to sign them, if you wish to terminate the business. I have the honour to be with the highest consideration, &c.’

Commodore Troubridge in continuation, Sept. 23. ‘ My Lord: The Council the French General talks of is, the damned Ambassador and Commissaire, who assume a power over Garnier. The stuff the French proposed made me sick, the Ambassador was the cause of it, the thief is afraid to go to France; he would sooner stay where he is not wanted. He called the Roman Territory the property of the French Republic by right of conquest; I settled that by saying, *It's mine by reconquest*, and he was silenced. *Sept. 27.* If the copy of the very voluminous Capitulation is not so correct as I could have wished, your Lordship will I hope pardon it. I am really tired and worn down, very little sleep since I have been here, and am unable to give your Lordship all my strong and weighty reasons for offering the French General such good terms. I have sent Louis^c up to Bouchard to secure the tranquillity of Rome. ‘The public property is immense’ by the French accounts. The Austrians offered any terms, but I outmanœuvred them, and brought General Garnier on board the Culloden and settled all as your Lordship will see. I pray suspend your opinion, if you think I have acted wrong, until I have the honour of seeing you. I am sure I can then give such *substantial reasons* for all I have done, as wholly to clear every thing. The policy of the Germans to get hold of this State, your Lordship is well acquainted with, particularly as the Pope is dead. I wrote to the Cardinal, but did not tell him that the Papal Chair was to let. I do not feel myself authorised in sending a copy of the Capitulation to Lord Spencer, via Leghorn. I have received the greatest

• Captain Louis was the first British seaman who rowed up the Tiber in his barge, hoisted English colours on the Capitol, and governed Rome.

‘ In a letter dated October 30, Commodore Troubridge informed Lord Nelson, that the Riga spars alone at Civita Vecchia at a low valuation were worth 1500*l*, the ordnance immense, and provisions to at least 40,000 dollars. A large quantity of artillery belonging to the King of Naples was also found, with his valuable geographical and marine plates, those of Herculaneum and a variety of other articles of great value.

assistance from Captain Louis and Lieutenant Schomberg. I really am unable to write more—quite asleep. I never exerted myself more for my own Sovereign, than I have for the King of Naples in this instance. *Sept. 29.* I have been up all night and part of the day with the aid de camp of the Austrian General Frölick, who had a few men at Toscanella, &c. twenty-four miles distant from Civita Vecchia, and forty from Rome, not in sufficient force to advance. Not having acted with him, I did not feel he had any right to sign the capitulation. At this minute General Frölick is not nearer than twenty miles to Rome. *Sept. 30.* I have really and truly a severe task. I suspect I shall have to fight General Frölick; he has attacked the French in their evacuation of the forts. A letter is this moment arrived from Louis. Rome was taken possession of at two o'clock this morning. Frölick's people attacked a detachment this afternoon, killed nine and wounded two. I hope it was brigands and not Austrians; though the Frenchmen swear it was Germans. Pray recommend General Bouchard in the strongest manner to his Sovereign, for his ready cooperation and great exertion: my pen at present cannot do him justice, I am completely jaded. The gangway ladder of the Foudroyant when at Naples and the noise when the King came to the gangway, are not equal to the buz at my elbow.'

Colonel Lord Blaney to Commodore Troubridge.

'My dear Sir: I took the liberty of writing a letter from Rome, but fear the same has not been received. The enclosed may appear at first sight rather extraordinary; but were you to see the manner in which all matters went, it would surprise you. General Bouchard was removed because he was instrumental in preventing robbery, consequently through the violence of those people he was considered as a Jacobin. The person deeply concerned in charge of said affairs for the Neapolitan government, was le General Rodio Com. les Troupes en masse, previously condemned to irons during life, now chief register of Roman property that had belonged to the French nation. You may use my name in any manner you think proper, as I have every corroborating testimony to confirm the enclosed.'

The remainder of Commodore Troubridge's Correspondence, at that time, contains many other important facts. He informed Lord Nelson, 'that Cardinal Ruffo had written to desire the prisoners might be sent to Spain, contrary to the engagement which had been made.' He also added, 'the little dirty Ambassador has just sent to desire my acceptance of a carriage and four horses and a famous saddle horse, an Italian racer: I told him it was an insult to offer a Present to a British Officer, and desired he would never again presume to do so. The same opinion was also transmitted to the Generals, who had acted in a similar manner. They are now endeavouring to plague me with letters, upwards of fifty of a morning; every vagabond abusing his General, and each soldier doing the same. I beg your Lordship to accept my grateful acknowledgments, for the handsome manner you were

kind enough to mention me in your public letter; it has pleased our gracious Sovereign to confer on me the honour of Baronet. I wish my services and abilities were such as to merit it.'—The inhabitants of Rome, grateful for the benefits and liberation they had thus received by a detachment of Lord Nelson's squadron, and wishing to mark their respect for so renowned a character, signified at the close of this year, through Mr. Fagan, their general desire to place a Column in that city, which might record the Battle of Aboukir, with the noble Admiral's subsequent success and that of his brave Officers in delivering Italy from the ravages and plunder of the French. 'I have not words,' replied Lord Nelson, 'sufficient to express my feelings, on hearing my actions have contributed to preserve those works that form the School of Fine Arts in Italy, which the modern Goths wanted to destroy.'—Mr. Fagan in his reply lamented that this Column could not be placed in the Capitol, without removing the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius; since the vicinity of each would injure the effect of both. 'We have therefore,' he added, 'almost determined to place it in the Piazza di Spagna, and in that part which is the widest, formerly called Piazza di Francia.'

Lord Nelson, with his usual liberality of mind towards his brother officers, would not himself transmit an official account of the surrender of Civita Vecchia, but ordered Troubridge to tell his own story in his own way. 'I have desired Commodore Troubridge,' said the Admiral, in writing to the Secretary of the Admiralty from Palermo, October 1, 1799, 'to send for the information of their Lordships extracts of all his letters to me, with the terms entered into with the French for the evacuation of the city of Rome, and Civita Vecchia; on which event I sincerely congratulate their Lordships.'—In communicating with the Commodore, after praising his extraordinary merit and perseverance, Lord Nelson mentioned his intention of going to the defence of Gibraltar, and desired Sir Thomas to join as soon as possible off Mahon. On the Admiral's arrival in that part of the Mediterranean, Mr. Lucas, the British Consul at Tripoli, informed him of the Bashaw's friendly conduct on a late occasion, respecting three seamen who had deserted from El Corso and turned Turks; but, being claimed agreeable to treaty, were immediately delivered up, the first instance of the kind ever known in any part of Barbary. 'The Bashaw,' Mr. Lucas added, 'is not averse from peace with his Sicilian Majesty, but wishes to know what sum he is to receive for it, particularly as he has Neapolitan slaves; and should he make peace with Naples, he must declare war with some other nation, or lay up his cruisers.'

In consequence of Sir Edward Berry's having joined the Foudroyant in the Bull Dog, Captain Hardy was superseded and appointed by Lord Nelson to the Princess Charlotte, until the arrival of Captain Stephenson. On the twenty-third of October, the Admiral returned to Palermo; and, on Captain Hardy's going afterwards to England,* his Lordship

* Towards the end of October 1799, the Zealous, Majestic, Goliath, and Seahorse, returned home.

wrote, as follows, to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, dated Nov. 9, 1799. ‘ Sir: I beg leave to present to your Royal Highness, Captain Hardy, late of the *Foudroyant*, an Officer of the most distinguished merit, and therefore highly worthy of your notice. He will tell you of my arduous work in this country, and that all my anxiety is at present occasioned by the desire of possessing Malta. But I fear, notwithstanding my exertions, that I shall not get any British troops from Minorca; without which the business will be prolonged, perhaps until Malta is relieved, when all the force we can collect would be of little use against the strongest place in Europe. I am impatiently waiting the arrival of General Fox, and hope he will not consider the order for the removal of one or two regiments, of such great consequence as the reduction of Malta by keeping them for two months longer in the Mediterranean. On the one hand they must, in England, or on the Continent, be like a drop of water in the ocean. By staying here and being employed, they would liberate us from our enemy close to our door, gratify the Emperor of Russia, protect our Levant Trade, and relieve a squadron of our ships from this service; besides giving us one 80 gun ship, two 40 gun frigates, a Maltese new ship of the line ready for sea, and two frigates. With these in the scale, I cannot comprehend how a moment can be lost in deciding; but, Sir, I find few think as I do. To obey orders is all perfection: to serve my King and to destroy the French, I consider as the great order of all, from which little ones spring, and if one of these militate against it (for who can tell exactly at a distance) I go back and obey the great order and object, to down, down with the damned French villains. Excuse my warmth; but my blood boils at the name of a Frenchman. I hate them all, Royalists and Republicans.’

In writing previous to this, to Sir Thomas Troubridge, he had remarked when mentioning his anxiety about Malta, ‘ I know Sir James Erskine to be a most fair, honourable and zealous Officer, and I earnestly hope that you will have the carrying of him and 1500 troops to Malta. If, alas! all my arguments are vain against orders not knowing our situation here, or from delicacy of the approach of General Fox, then it is only for me to grieve and entreat of you to come here and bring the *Northumberland*, that at least I may prevent supplies getting in; and for this purpose I shall be under the distressing necessity of taking as many ships as possible from Minorca, which I assure you would hurt me much.’—On the 7th of November his Lordship wrote to Lady Nelson: ‘ Since my arrival from Minorca, my task here has still continued arduous; for I cannot get the General at Minorca to give me some troops for the service of Malta, and I have not force enough to attack it. One day or other I shall rest from all my labours. I still find it good to serve near home, there a man’s sag and services are easily seen; next to that, is writing a famous account of your own actions.’

Captain Blackwood of the *Penelope*, when informing the Admiral, Nov. 17, of six

vessels which the boats of the *Penelope* and *El Vincejo* had cut out from under the batteries of Monaco, sent also the important information that had been gained from one of the Masters of those vessels, That Buonaparte had arrived in the Gulph of Frejus and immediately proceeded to Paris. This General who was destined to act so notorious a part on the Continent of Europe, having deserted his army in Egypt during the month of August, 1799, had arrived in France at the beginning of October, on board *le Muiron* of 28 guns, Rear Admiral Ganteaume, Captain de la Rue. Another frigate sailed in company with the *Muiron*, having on board *Dumanoir le Pelay*, General of Division, and to these ships had been attached two advice boats, *l'Independant*, 4 six-pounders, and *la Revanche*, 4 three pounders. Kleber, who succeeded to the command, in writing to the Directory, October 7, 1799, from Cairo, mentioned the following circumstances that attended this event.¹ 'The Commander in Chief, Buonaparte, quitted this country for France on the morning of the 23d ult. without saying a word of his intention to any person whatever; he had appointed me to meet him at Rosetta on the subsequent day. I found nothing there but his despatches. Unable to divine whether the General has had the good fortune to reach Toulon, I think it incumbent on me to send you a copy of the letter, by which he transferred to me the command of the army.

Buonaparte, Commander in Chief, to General Kleber, dated Alexandria,¹ August 22, 1799.

'Annexed to this, Citizen General, you will find an order for you to take the command of the army. My constant apprehensions lest the English fleet should again appear on the coast, compel me to hasten my voyage by two or three days. I take with me Generals Berthier, Lannes, Murat, Andreossi, and Marmont; Citizen Menge and Citizen Bertholet. Enclosed you will find the English and Frankfort papers up to the 10th of June. You will see by them, we have lost Italy, that Mantua, Turin, and Tortona are in a state of blockade. I have some grounds to flatter myself, the first of these places will hold out to the end of November, and I trust, if fortune smiles upon me, to be in Europe before the beginning of October. The Commission of the Arts shall return to France on board a flag of Truce, which you will demand for this purpose, and according to the late Cartel, sometime in the month of November. Nevertheless, if you think that any of them will be of service to you, you may put them in requisition without scruple. . . . No one, Citizen General, has better means of judging of the importance of Egypt to France, than yourself. The Turkish empire, menaced with ruin on every side, is crumbling to pieces at this moment; and the evacuation of Egypt on our part, would be so much the more unfortunate, as we should be sure to see, ere long, this fine province fall into the hands of some European powers. If the Porte should reply to the overtures I have made for peace, before my letters from France can reach you, it will be, in that

¹ Intercepted Letters, published by authority, Part III. p. 38.

¹ Ib. p. 14.

case, necessary for you to declare that you have all the powers with which I was intrusted. Enter then upon the negociation, adhere strenuously and constantly to the assertion which I have advanced, that France never had the least idea of taking Egypt from the Grand Seignior. . . . Our ships of war will certainly make their appearance this winter, either at Alexandria, Brulos, or Damietta. You must have a battery and a signal tower at Brulos. Endeavour to get together five or six hundred Mameloucs in such a manner, that, when the French fleet arrives, you may be able to lay your hands upon them at the same instant of time, either at Cairo or in the other provinces, and send them off immediately to France. If you cannot procure Mameloucs, such Arab hostages, Cheiks el Beled, as may then be in custody, no matter on what account, will answer the end as well. These people landed in France will contemplate the grandeur of our nation, and when they return to Egypt, will prove to us so many partisans. I have already repeatedly written for a company of Comedians, I will take particular care they shall be sent. This appears to me an article of the utmost consequence, not only for the army, but for the purpose of effecting something like a change in the moral habits of the country. The important situation of Commander in Chief, which is now devolved upon you, will afford you ample opportunities of displaying those talents with which nature has endowed you. This is assuredly the Epoch whence revolutions of the most extraordinary nature will take their date. . . .’—The whole of this diabolical letter extends to a greater length than could be admissible in this work. At the conclusion Buonaparte employed an ambiguous word, as is observed in a note by the translator, in order to blind Kleber respecting the motives of so cruel an abandonment of the army: *L'intérêt de la Patrie, sa Gloire, L'OBEISSANCE, les événemens extraordinaires qui viennent de s'y passer, me decident seul, &c.*—Owing to the intrigues of the Abbé¹ Sieyes at the Court of Berlin, where he had been stationed as the French Republican Minister, Buonaparte had been recommended to the notice and confidence of the King of Prussia, as a military character who would subvert the dreadful excesses of the Republic, and restore a Regal Government under certain restrictions. He was accordingly sent for by Sieyes, and promised the support and countenance of the King; at the subsequent risk of the Abbé whom he deceived, and the utter degradation of that Monarch whose kingdom he overwhelmed. During his voyage, he stopped on the first of October at his native place, Ajaccio in Corsica, whence himself and family had been formerly banished by its Mayor Tartaroli.¹ On the 16th he arrived at Frejus. His being afterwards at Berlin, is noticed by Sir John Acton in a letter to Lord Nelson. On the 9th of November, Buonaparte having repaired to the Council at the Tuilleries, with Generals Berthier and Lefevre, swore to establish the Republic in his own name and that of his soldiers. Barras,

¹ From the information of a foreigner thoroughly conversant with the career of Buonaparte and the Court of Berlin.

¹ At present in England.

who had originally placed him at the head of their army, was now obliged to acknowledge the superior ascendancy of Buonaparte, and was conducted, under a guard, to the villa of Grosbois. On December 13th, 1799, the Consular Government of France, with Buonaparte, Sieyes and Ducos at its head, was completed, and on the 24th proclaimed with much ceremony at Paris.—Some account of the manner in which Buonaparte had effected his escape was given by Sir Sidney Smith, in the following letter to Lord Nelson: ‘I have opened a correspondence with General Kleber, who succeeds Buonaparte, and I find I have a liberal humane man to deal with. The fugitive narrowly escaped the Theseus and Turkish squadron, that were stationed to the westward of Alexandria, on the probability of his departure, to intercept him and prevent supplies from France reaching Egypt. Unfortunately for the first object, the Theseus had been delayed a few days whilst seeking provisions, owing to the perverseness of the Turkish Governor at Baffo in withholding the promised supply.’—On December 8, 1799, Lord Nelson wrote to Sir Sidney, from Palermo. ‘All our Mediterranean operations are pretty nearly at a stand still; for the enemy have no fleet at this moment to make us keep a good look out, although I should not be surprised if the whole Combined Fleet should again pay us a visit this winter. They were perfectly ready for sea the latter end of October, forty-eight sail of the line. Admiral Duckworth, with all the ships, frigates, &c. is ordered by the Admiralty, from Gibraltar, to go off Ferrol; and I think from thence will be called to the Channel; therefore at this moment I have only two sail of the line, and not more than two frigates, in a condition to go to sea. Our Government naturally look to the Russians for aid here, but they will find their mistake: the Russian ships are not able to keep the sea. I am now trying to bring our long blockade of Malta to a close; the garrison of Messina has been permitted to embark for that service, and 2,500 Russians are, I hope, at this moment at Malta. The French ships destined for the relief of Malta went to Ville Franche, and landed their provisions and stores for the army which has since been defeated by General Melas, and 11,000 are said in the report to be killed and taken. This must put Coni into the hands of the Austrians and secure Italy from that quarter; but, alas! we have reports that the Emperor is going to make a Truce with the French, and wishes to keep all Italy himself. We are anxious to hear from you; for I have my fears that your personal bravery will one day end in some accident. You have gained credit enough in that way, and you must now take care of yourself for other occasions.’

Amidst the various splendid marks of public respect which Lord Nelson at this time received, he was particularly gratified by a simple but classic testimony from the Grecian community of the little Island of Zante. It consisted in a golden headed Sword and a Truncheon, or staff of dignity, set round with a single row of diamonds, which were all that could be procured in that Island. The letter which the Greeks sent with their pre-

sent was as follows. ‘ Most honourable Sir, magnanimous Hero; your astonishing victories have liberated this part of Greece, which had fallen an involuntary victim to French fury. Harassed by so many misfortunes, surrounded on all sides by the horrors of anarchy, destruction was near at hand. In the midst of the affliction with which our hearts were filled, who could have foreseen that a man of such talents, sprung from the great Nation of Britain, would have arrived to change the character of our destiny? Your appearance on the coast of Egypt was a prodigy, but your immortal Victory was a still greater one. These seas were rendered free. The combined Imperial fleets descended the Archipelago, and from that instant the voice of Religion, of Nature, of Justice and of Humanity were heard amongst us without constraint. Our hearts, glowing with the sacred flame of gratitude, consecrate to you a Sword and a Truncheon. Accept of them, generous Hero, as a small testimony of our veneration, and preserve them as faithful emblems of that eternal gratitude and remembrance, in which your immortal Name will ever be held by this City, the constant admirer of your mighty deeds. May they accelerate that brilliant day, in which, amidst the glory and peace of Thrones, the miseries of the human race will cease! We remain with the most respectful veneration,” &c.’—Lord Nelson, in writing to Mr. Spiridion Foresti, the English Consul at Corfu, expressed his sense of this high and flattering honour; which he estimated as being equal or superior, as an acknowledgment of his services, to what had been rendered by any country to any officer: ‘ I beg,’ added his Lordship, ‘ you will always say every thing for me to these good people: If possible, I will one day pay them a visit.—A ship is to sail from Mahon in order to bring the *Leander* down; you will find Captain Stevens of the *Chichester*, ordered for the service, a very good Officer and valuable man. The serious attack of Malta will commence in a few days, our troops are collecting for that purpose. Thank God, all is happiness in Old England.—The more I hear of you, the more I am impressed with your extraordinary attention to the business of your office; never have I seen any thing equal to it, and I shall feel it an honour to be called upon to bear my testimony of your worth.’

The troops herein mentioned by his lordship as being intended for Malta, were collecting at Messina under Brigadier General Graham, who had at length obtained a degree of restricted leave from General Fox to go on that service; so much restricted, especially respecting expense, that his general instructions hardly seemed to admit of offensive operations. Sir T. Troubridge had also arrived at Messina, on the 26th of November, to give his powerful assistance; when finding that the intended reinforcement was delayed for want of money, he immediately offered a considerable sum of his own to assist the General. ‘ I promised him, my Lord,’ said the Commodore, ‘ 15000 of my *cobs*; every farthing and every atom of me shall be devoted to the Cause. General Graham seems the man for service,

^m *Logotheti, Gucta, Macri, Foscardi, Cocchini, Sicuro*, of the provisional government, dated 11 October, 1799.

things will go well, I shall now sleep easy. The General appeared to think he should want wine, I promised him he should not; and as the army is not supplied with their dry and salt provisions from the victualling board, we can give them ours.'—Whatever other difficulties occurred, were immediately provided against by this zealous naval officer with equal spirit: 'Nov. 29, 1799. I am hard at work, my Lord, getting the guns off the works and picking carriages, &c. out. I have already filled the ships and the two transports hired by the army, and am just going to try to hire a third in H. S. M. name. Our number, including officers' servants, women, &c. is 1,040. I wish I could draw well enough to send you a likeness of some of the Neapolitan Officers, whenever I come to make a demand for something new, which pops in upon them every hour in the middle of a story; the poor devils think I want all for myself. Nov. 30. I am very busy getting off guns and mortars, anxiously looking for the Northumberland with the tents and blankets; for they cannot and will not move until they come. Many wants have been started, such as money, bread, flints, &c. &c. I have nearly removed them all, the first by the prize money; bread I pray your Lordship to send. Dec. 3. The General is very desirous to move, I like him much. We are at work night and day getting things off. The gale has been severe. The ships are as deep as they can swim. Every day 200 soldiers and 200 of my men have been employed; no time has been as yet lost. I am so wet and cold I can hardly hold the pen. Dec. 4. The Russians had not moved on the 27th from Naples, the letters say they are *getting ready*: large bodies move slow. It still blows a hard gale at south, the ships are driving in the mole. Dec. 5. With the greatest pleasure I inform your Lordship I have brought the General to say, he embarks his men to-morrow morning at seven o'clock. I shall be off the moment they are safe on board. The weather is now changed; we shall stow thick for winter time. I have bargained for no gale, the ship is very deep.'—They arrived off Malta on the 9th of December, when General Graham found that Colonel Lindenthal, a German officer in our service, but bred in the Austrian *etat major*, had been sent by General Fox to make a report; which proved highly honourable to the abilities and skill of Governor Ball.

The next day, December 10, Captain Ball informed Lord Nelson of their arrival, and of the opinion which Colonel Lindenthal had given, as an engineer, respecting the operations that had been carried on at Malta against the French: 'Your Lordship may easily conceive the joy of the Maltese on the arrival of Sir Thomas Troubridge, with the two regiments under the command of General Graham; they all disembarked this morning. Lieutenant Colonel Lindenthal had arrived here on the 6th instant from Minorca, sent by General Fox, as an experienced and intelligent officer, to examine and report upon the state of la Valette and the other works in possession of the enemy. He expressed his surprise at the enemy's allowing us to advance our batteries so near, which he says cannot be

better connected, or more judiciously placed. He does not think of any measures but what are defensive for the present. He is astonished that the French have not made a sortie, and although we are so strengthened, he does not consider us in a very safe situation. I understand General Graham's orders suggest great caution; and that, if he thought his force not sufficient, he had the power of returning to Messina. 'The zeal and persevering conduct of the Marquis de Niza reflect great honour upon him; there are very few foreign officers who would not have availed themselves of the orders he had, to have withdrawn from a tedious and difficult blockade at such a season of the year.'—This testimony in favour of the Portuguese Admiral was also supported by Sir Thomas Troubridge, 'The Marquis has really great credit; his ships have kept the sea without stores, or even provisions.'

The state of Lord Nelson's health at this time certainly required rest, but the rest which he most wanted could not be found at Palermo; every thing there conspired to poison his mind and so prevent its repose. In a letter which he received from Admiral Goodall in England, towards the close of 1799, was the following passage: 'They say here, my good Lord, that you are Rinaldo in the arms of Armida, and that it requires the firmness of an Ubaldo and his brother knight to draw you from the Enchantress.'—Nor was the warm and open heart of Troubridge inattentive to the situation of his friend: 'Pardon me, my Lord, it is my sincere esteem for you that makes me mention it. I know you can have no pleasure sitting up all night at cards; why then sacrifice your health, comfort, purse, ease, every thing, to the customs of a Country, where your stay cannot be long? I would not, my Lord, reside in this Country for all Sicily. I trust the war will soon be over and deliver us from a nest of every thing that is infamous, and that we may enjoy the smiles of our Countrywomen. Your Lordship is a stranger to half that happens, or the talk it occasions; if you knew what your friends feel for you, I am sure you would cut all the nocturnal parties: The gambling of the people at Palermo is publicly talked of every where. I beseech your Lordship leave off. I wish my pen could tell you my feelings, I am sure you would oblige me. I trust your Lordship will pardon me; it is the sincere esteem I have for you that makes me risk your displeasure. I really feel for the Country. How can things go on? . . . I see that the poor inhabitants of Malta are to be sacrificed: If the supplies are stopped, I cannot leave my soldiers to be starved, though I shall have the painful task of abandoning the inhabitants to their fate. I beseech your Lordship press for a yes, or a no. The cries of hunger are now too great to admit of the common evasive answers usually given by the Sicilian government. Do not suffer them to throw the odium on us. If they say we shall not or cannot be supplied, I see nothing for it, but to retreat as fast as possible. The villanous set at Naples will undo very soon all that we have done. Nothing but the King's going there can possibly save his Country.'—Lord Nelson, in replying to Sir Thomas Troubridge respecting the provisions, said, 'I cannot get the frigate out of the mole, there-

fore I must learn to be a hard hearted wretch, for I fancy the cries of hunger in my ears. I send you orders for the different governors. You will see they are for the supply of the army and navy; therefore whatever Graham and you send for, will if possible be granted. I hope the Russians will sail this N. E. wind; and it is my intention to give you all a meeting the moment the Foudroyant arrives.' --In a letter afterwards to Lord Keith, who had signified his intention of coming to Sicily, Lord Nelson added, 'Both Graham and Troubridge are in desperation at the prospect of a famine. Vessels are here loading with corn for Malta; but I can neither get the Neapolitan men of war nor merchant vessels to move. You will find by the report of the disposition of the ships, what a wretched state we are in: in truth, only the Foudroyant and Northumberland are fit to keep the sea. If I cannot get to Malta very soon, I shall, from your letter, remain here to give you a meeting and receive your orders. I have been trying with Sir W. Hamilton, in which the Queen joins, to induce the King to return to Naples; but hitherto without effect. I must suppose his Majesty has reasons which I am unacquainted with. It has long been my wish to send a small squadron on the coast of Genoa, for the Russian ships are of no use, to cooperate with the Germans; but I have them not to send. La Mutine I have directed to protect our trade about Leghorn, and to assist, as far as she is able, in giving convoy to vessels carrying provisions to the Austrian army. The report of the Combined Fleets being ready for sea, induced me to direct the Phaeton and Penelope to cruise between Cape Spartel and Cape St. Vincent, that I might have timely notice of their approach, if bound this way; which I believe.'

In writing about the same time to Colonel Graham, his Lordship again mentioned his intention of soon paying them a visit. 'I only wish,' added he, 'that I could always do all you ask me. It is certain that you cannot go on at Malta without money; therefore, I declare, sooner than you should want, I would sell Bronte. But, I trust, from General Fox's letter to me, that you will have his consent for ordering what money may be necessary. I send you all the Egyptian papers, for yourself, Ball, and Troubridge, and if you like, in confidence, Italinsk. Suworow is at Prague with his whole army, ready to act with the Austrians if they come to their senses, or perhaps against them. Moreau is at Vienna treating for peace. What a state the Allies bring us into, but it is in vain to cry out.'

Unlike the greater part of our Allies, the Turkish government retained, at that time, a correct idea of the dangers to which it would be exposed by a connection with France, and of the great advantages that would accrue from supporting the maritime power and commerce of Great Britain. The Reis Effendi on the 30th of October, 1799, in answer to Mr. Smith's memorial, had ratified the Sultan's grant of the privilege of navigating the Black Sea, under the British flag. Until this permission, given in consequence of Mr. Smith's frequent representations both in writing and conversation, the Euxine had been only navigated by

the Ottoman, the Russian, and the Austrian flags: 'The above Grant' was the first relaxation of that monopoly. The Reis Effendi also, in a letter which he had previously addressed *A son Excellence tres gradué, tres digne, et tres zélé Amiral, notre Ami, qui s'attire l'Amitié*, informed Lord Nelson, that his Imperial Majesty had directed a drawing to be made of the Battle of Aboukir, which his Excellency the Admiral, full of zeal, had gained by the irresistible fleet under his orders. 'His Majesty's wish,' added the Reis Effendi, 'in having such a drawing made, was to obtain a perfect and exact knowledge of that great Battle; and since, considering it as a pledge of esteem and affection between the Turkish and British governments, he has sent it, as such, to the faithful Nelson; the benevolence of whose august Sovereign may perhaps, after such an act on the part of the Ottoman Court, be induced to make new and vigorous exertions in its favour.'—Lord Nelson could not but be gratified at such repeated marks of condescension from the Grand Seignior, equally honourable both to the Admiral and his Country: 'A curious present,' as he observed to Earl Spencer, 'but highly flattering to me, as it marks that I am not in the least forgotten.'—In writing to his Excellency Mr. Smith on this occasion, Dec. 22, 1799, his Lordship expressed himself more fully: 'The Present from the Grand Seignior is certainly curious and particularly in this point, that it assures me of the goodness of his heart; and (a rare quality with men in power) that he does not forget services rendered him. A handful of diamonds comes naturally from a great Sovereign; but this drawing, made probably for the occasion, could only come from an affectionate, amiable disposition, and I beg you will have the goodness to express these my sensations, when you deliver the letter sent herewith. I am perfectly unable to describe my feelings on this, to me, gratifying occasion. I have read with attention all that has passed in Egypt between Buonaparte, Kleber and the Grand Vizier, and I send Lord Elgin some very important papers which will shew their deplorable situation. But I cannot bring myself to believe they would entirely quit Egypt;^o and, if they would, I never will consent to one of them returning to the continent of Europe during the war. I wish them to *perish in Egypt*, and give an awful lesson to the World of the justice of the Almighty.—I should rejoice if the Russian troops you mention were at Malta, as also those from Naples; but Admiral Ouchakof cannot be got to move; and by his carelessness the fate of Malta is not only retarded, but the Island may be lost. The ships in the harbour are ready for sea, and will try to escape. Four days ago three shells fell into the *Guillaume Tell*, and her poop is blown up. When you write to your brother remember me kindly to him. I regret I have not a letter to send with these

^o It was further recognised and confirmed by the Reis Effendi to Alexander Stratton, Esq. Chargé d'Affaires, July 29, 1802.

^o The first overtures for the Negotiation at *El-Arish* were made by General Kleber to Sir Sidney Smith in November, and the Convention was ratified by the Turkish and French Commanders in Chief on Jan. 31, 1800.

intercepted ones to Egypt. I have not only to thank you for your communications, but for all your kind intentions to me. Adieu, my dear Sir.

On the 6th of December, 1799, Lord Keith had returned to Gibraltar; and in writing home on the 6th of January, 1800, he informed the Board, that he should declare Genoa blockaded, as from that port all supplies for the French army had been thrown in. ‘I intend,’ added his Lordship, ‘to repair thither for the more ready communication with his Majesty’s Allies; after which I purpose meeting Lord Nelson at Palermo, as his Lordship has sent the Foudroyant off Malta, otherwise it would have been more my inclination to have met at Naples, there to have consulted on the subject of Malta.’—In writing to Palermo on the preceding day, he had requested to know from Lord Nelson, whether the 10,000*l.* which the Admiralty had directed should be paid to the officer who had delivered the *Leander* to Captain Halliday, from the Emperor of Russia, had been presented.

The difficulties which Sir Thomas Troubridge had experienced, through want of a supply of corn from Palermo, during the preceding summer, were at the beginning of 1800 greatly increased throughout his services at Malta. His mind was also much agitated by the continuance of Lord Nelson at Palermo: Troubridge’s affection for him was unbounded, and being fearful lest the remnant of the Nile squadron, which had taken refuge at Malta, might in an attempt to escape be captured without the presence of the Admiral, the dejected Commodore thus expressed the warmth and disinterestedness of his friendship. ‘*Malta, Jan. 1, 1800.* My Lord: We are dying off fast for want. I learn, by letters from Messina, that Sir W. Hamilton says, Prince Luzzi refused corn some time ago, and Sir W. does not think it worth while making another application. If that be the case, I wish he commanded at this distressing scene instead of me. Puglia had an immense harvest, near thirty sail left Messina before I did to load corn; will they let us have any? If not, a short time will decide the business. The German interest prevails. I wish I was at your Lordship’s elbow for an hour, *all, all* will be thrown on you, rely on it. I will parry the blow as much as is in my power; I foresee much mischief brewing. God bless your Lordship—I am miserable, I cannot assist your operations more. Many happy returns of this day to you, I never spent so miserable an one. I am not very tender hearted; but really the distress here would even move a Neapolitan. *Jan. 5.* I have this day saved 30,000 people from dying; but with this day my ability ceases. As the government are bent on starving us, I see no alternative, but to leave these poor unhappy people to perish, without our being witnesses to their distress. I curse the day I ever served the Neapolitan government. I, who know your Lordship so well, can pity the distress you must suffer; what must be our situation on the spot? I never expected to be treated in this manner. — certainly influences the King’s council; he complains he cannot get his orders put in force, how can he expect it, when he never punishes any of the traitors? on the contrary, is he not daily promoting

them? We have characters, my Lord, to lose, these people have none. Do not suffer their infamous conduct to fall on us. Our Country is just, but severe. I foresee we shall forfeit the little that can be gained. Such is the fever of my brain this minute, that I assure you on my honour, if the Palermo Traitors were here, I would shoot them first, and then myself. Girgenti, I beg to inform you, is full of corn, the money is ready to pay for it, we do not ask it as a gift. Oh could you see the horrid distress I daily experience, something would be done. *Jan. 7, 1800.* Your Lordship will perceive that some engine is at work against us at Naples, and I believe in my former letters I hit on the proper person. If you complain, he will be immediately promoted, agreeably to the Neapolitan custom: my friend Yauch is in high favour, and at present intriguing deeply. All I write to you is known at the Queen's: I suspect my letters are opened before they reach you. For my own part, I look on the Neapolitans as the worst of intriguing enemies; every hour shews me their infamy and duplicity. It may be necessary to caution General Acton respecting what is going on: as that can be done in English, you may be sure of what is said. I pray your Lordship be cautious; your honest, open manner of acting will be made a handle of. It is necessary to be very vigilant over the deceitful set you have to deal with: every nerve of mine shall be exerted to forward your Lordship's views and the service. I cannot assist you so fast as I could wish, so little depends upon me: that little you shall find well done. *Jan. 8.* From the Russians not arriving by the contrivance of these ministers, is to be attributed our inactivity which creates discontent. In short, my Lord, when I see you and tell of their infamous tricks, you will be as much surprised as I am with them: the whole will fall on you, which hurts me much. The Foudroyant shall go as complete to your Lordship as I can possibly let her. If you would contrive to come here and get the credit of the reduction of this very important place, it would much gratify all your friends, and none more than your ever faithful and obliged T. Troubridge.'

On the 7th of January, Lord Nelson sent this friend word that he would shortly come to Malta. On the 16th he sailed from Palermo in the Foudroyant, and having joined Lord Keith on the 20th at Leghorn, wrote as follows to Lord Spencer on the 23d. 'The going away of the Russians has almost done me up; but the King of Naples has ordered 2,600 troops from Sicily to assist Graham, and they are to be under our command. The feeding the inhabitants of Malta, and paying 2000 of the people who bear arms, has been a continual source of uneasiness to my mind. His Sicilian Majesty has done more than it was possible to expect he had the ability of performing; for the resources of his kingdom are hardly yet come round, and his demands are excessive from all quarters of his dominions. The loyalty and attachment of their Sicilian Majesties to our King and Country are such, that I would venture to lay down my head to be cut off, if they would not rather lose their kingdom of Naples, than hold it on terms from Austria and the French, by a separation

from their Alliance with England. The King is a real good man, but inclined to be positive in his opinion; the Queen is certainly a great Monarch and a true daughter of Maria Teresa.'—Previous to leaving Leghorn, his Lordship addressed a few lines to Mr. Davison respecting an opinion which had been given in regard to prize money, that excluded the junior Flag Officers of the Fleet. 'Notwithstanding Dr. Lawrence's opinion, I do not believe I have any right to exclude the junior Flag Officers; and, if I have, I desire that no such claim may be made: No, not if it were sixty times the sum; and, poor as I am, I were never to see prize money.—Lord Keith^a is now here, and I have only to obey.' On the 26th of January his Lordship left Leghorn, and, touching at Palermo in his way, proceeded on his voyage to Malta.

Lord Nelson to Lord Keith, dated Foudroyant at sea, Feb. 10, 1800, off Cape Corso, eight leagues west of Cape Passaro, off shore four miles.

'My Lord: This morning at daylight being in company with the ships named in the margin, I saw the Alexander in chace of a line of battle ship, three frigates, and a corvette; and about eight o'clock she fired several shot at one of the enemy's frigates, which struck her colours, and leaving her to be secured by the ships astern, she continued the chace. I directed Captain Gould of the Audacious and El Corso brig to take charge of this prize. At half past one P. M. the frigates and corvette tacked to the westward, but the line of battle ship, not being able to tack without coming to action with the Alexander, bore up. The Success being to leeward, Captain Peard with great judgment and gallantry lay across his hawse, and raked him with several broadsides. In passing the French ship's broadside, several shot struck the Success, by which one man was killed and the master and seven men wounded. At half past four, the Foudroyant and Northumberland coming up, the former fired two shot, when the French ship fired her broadside and struck her colours. She proved to be le Genereux of 74 guns, bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Perrée, Commander in chief of the French naval force in the Mediterranean, having a number of troops on board from Toulon, bound for the relief of Malta. I attribute our success this day to be principally owing to the extreme good management of Lieutenant William Harrington, who commands the Alexander in the absence of Captain Ball; and I am much pleased with the gallant behaviour of Captain Peard of the Success, as also with the alacrity and good conduct of Captain Martin and Sir Edward Berry. I have sent Lieutenant Andrew Thomson, first lieutenant of the Foudroyant, whom I beg leave to recommend to your Lordship for promotion, to take charge of le Genereux; and I send her, under care of the Northumberland and Alexander, to Syracuse, to wait your Lordship's orders.'

^a Lord Keith was directed by an Admiralty order of Nov. 15, 1799, to proceed to the Mediterranean, and take the Command there, which had previously been virtually with Earl St. Vincent.

In writing afterwards to his brother, Mr. Maurice Nelson at the Navy Office, his Lordship said, 'I have written to Lord Spencer, and sent him my Journal to prove that the *Genereux* was taken by me, and owing to my plan; that my quitting Lord Keith was at my own risk, and for which, if I had not succeeded, I might have been broke. If I had not, the *Genereux* would never have been taken.'—Together with the *Genereux*, Lord Nelson captured a storeship, the *Ville de Marseilles*, and dispersed the remainder of Admiral Perrée's squadron. The French Admiral died the next day of his wounds, and the major of division, Poulain, immediately requested that the deceased might have funeral and military honours rendered to him, as a homage to the manes of a brave man. Commodore Troubridge in writing to Lord Nelson, previous to the death of the French Admiral, said, 'I hope Mr. Perrée will be treated as he deserves; this fellow was taken a few months since and not exchanged.'—Sir John Acton replied to the intelligence which his Lordship sent of this event to Palermo, 'I have their Majesties orders to present their thanks and congratulations; but what can I say in the name of H. R. H. Prince Leopold? I went immediately to his apartments with your Lordship's letters and present of the French Admiral's flag. The young Prince was in raptures, he writes himself to your Lordship.'

Whilst off Malta, Lord Nelson found his health so indifferent, that he requested permission of the Commander in Chief to return again to Palermo. Lord Keith replied, Feb. 24, 1800: 'I am not well, for God's sake hold out until we hear of these twenty-two sail. Troubridge is not able to move with the rest of the squadron, and we must be collected.'—On the same day Sir Thomas Troubridge, in writing to his friend, said, 'By what Lord Keith mentioned yesterday to the General, you will I find be left here. Remember, my Lord, the prospects are rather good at present for reducing this place, and that William Tell, Diana and Justice are the only three ships left from the Nile fleet. I beseech you, hear the entreaties of a sincere Friend, and do not go to Sicily for the present. Cruising may be unpleasant; leave the *Foudroyant* out, and hoist your flag in the *Culloden* to carry on the operations with the General: every thing shall be done to make it comfortable and pleasing to you. A month will accomplish all. The strong fever I labour under must plead my excuse for this jumble; please God I recover and get from my bed, I will be again on board the *Foudroyant*. There is not a man on earth I love, honour and esteem more than your Lordship.'—Lord Nelson remained off Malta until the 8th of March, and then finding himself daily growing worse, with an internal complaint to which he had been long subject, he again requested a short leave of absence, and on the 16th returned to Palermo. In writing to Sir T. Troubridge on the 20th, 'It is too soon,' said the Admiral, 'to form an opinion whether I can ever be cured of my complaint. At present I see but glimmering hopes; and probably my career of service is at an end, unless the French Fleet should come up the Mediterranean, when nothing shall prevent my dying at my post. Pray do not

fret at any thing, I wish I never had; but my return to Syracuse in 1798 broke my heart, which on any extraordinary anxiety now shews itself, be that feeling pain or pleasure.'— Lord Keith replied to Lord Nelson on the 20th of March from Leghorn: 'I learn with sincere concern your Lordship's ill state of health, and your intention of returning to Palermo at so momentous a period; particularly, as I hear that Sir Thomas Troubridge is still confined by illness, and under the late misfortune of the loss of the Queen Charlotte, I have no means of returning to carry on the service before Malta myself. I must, however, request that your Lordship will not delay a moment in ordering Sir Edward Berry off Malta; and, in the event of the Guillaume Tell's escape from la Valette, either that ship or the Northumberland may be directed to follow her off Toulon, and thereafter to join me in the gulf of Genoa . . . I must beg that my orders of the 8th of January last, respecting the return of the French from Egypt, may be circulated and rigorously enforced.'

On the 28th of March, 1800, Lord Nelson wrote to Mr. Spiridion Foresti at Corfu: 'All your letters are highly interesting, and continue to prove your unabated zeal in the cause of your King and Country. Be assured there is not any man in Europe that estimates your services higher than myself. Most probably my health will force me to retire in April, for I am worn out with fatigue of body and mind. Yesterday we had the melancholy account of the loss of the Queen Charlotte by fire, on the 17th off Leghorn. Lord Keith was on shore, but many lives were lost. Buonaparte^a has again offered terms of peace, which have been rejected. The ships at Malta are preparing to get out of the harbour, and whenever that event happens the garrison will of course surrender. I wish the Prince Wolkousky was there with his 3000 troops. The Grand Master wrote to me himself, that he had named him as Commander of the troops ordered for Malta, and his letter was dated January 4th, new style. P. S. A friend of mine has heard, and read in a French book, that your Islands have an infallible remedy for the gout; I therefore beg that you will either send the receipt or ingredients.'

Lord Nelson to his Excellency the Captain Pasha, dated Palermo, March 31, 1800.

'Sir: By your Excellency's courier I have been honoured with two letters, both of which I have transmitted to Lord Keith, who at present commands the British fleet in the Mediterranean; and I can assure your Excellency that there is not the smallest cause for alarm, even should the whole Combined Fleet of the Enemy venture into the Mediterranean; but, in my opinion, they will not again come inside the Straits. Respecting the second part of your letter, the sending ships to Egypt to escort the French army to France, I have left my Commander in Chief to answer it. But I cannot help regretting, and with

^a At the close of the year 1799, Buonaparte having deluded Sieyès and gained an ascendancy in France, addressed a most extraordinary letter to the King of England, with one of those delusive Overtures for Peace, which he has since seen in the light of repeating.

the deepest sorrow, that any such Treaty should have been entered into with the French invaders and despoilers of the fairest provinces of the Ottoman empire, more especially as, I own, I see not how it is possible to fulfil the Treaty; for one Ally cannot have the power of getting rid of an Enemy's vanquished army, by sending them with arms in their hands to fight against a Friend. Could I have been fortunate enough to have been either at the camp of the Grand Vizier, or with your Excellency, it would have been easy to prove, that no Ally could consent to receive 16,000 troops to fight against another Ally. I regret in the extreme that the Foreign Ministers at the Sublime Porte did not make proper representations of the impossibility of permitting the return of such an army, but as *prisoners of war*; for in no other way could they be allowed to pass, as must be obvious to every capacity. But, situated as I am at this moment in the Mediterranean fleet, my station is only to obey the orders of my Commander in Chief.'

The Treaty of El Aarisch, which Lord Nelson disapproved of in this letter, had been signed on the 24th of January, 1800, by General Desaix and the Administrator General of Finance, Poussielque, on the part of the French, by Mustapha Reschid and Mustapha Rassiche in the name of the Grand Vizier, and by Captain Sir Sidney Smith and the Russian Minister, who were resident in the Turkish camp. The opinion which Lord Nelson gave respecting this Treaty had been supported by the disapprobation of government, as signified to Lord Keith, Dec. 15, 1799. Finding, however, afterwards (March 28, 1800) that the French General had considered Sir Sidney Smith as a person whom he *bona fide* conceived to possess such authority as rendered the Treaty valid, 'His Majesty, from a scrupulous regard to the public faith, judged it proper that his Officers should abstain from any act inconsistent with that engagement.'

The escape of the *Guillaume Tell* from Malta had been carefully provided against by Governor Ball and Sir Thomas Troubridge; both of whom informed Lord Nelson that such an event might be daily expected. Sir Thomas had kept the ships hovering close off the harbour's mouth, placing a lieutenant and three good men every night after dark in a house called the Belvidere, close to the Cottenera, with a night glass to watch her motions. The day the *Foudroyant* arrived, the *Guillaume Tell* started about twelve that night: they immediately made the signal from the shore, and in half an hour our ships were firing at her. The *Lion*, *Penelope*, *Foudroyant*, and *Vincejo* were after her. They saw the firing on shore, as it was a fine night, until four minutes past four, increasing its distance, steering to the N. E.—As Captain Manley Dixon, in his official letter to Sir Thomas Troubridge, declared, the *Guillaume Tell* was of the largest dimensions, and carried thirty-six pounders on the lower gun deck, twenty-four pounders on the main deck, twelve pounders on the

* Papers laid before the House of Commons by Lord Hawkesbury respecting Egypt. See also the speeches of Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt, in answer to Mr. T. Jones respecting this Treaty, March 27, 1801.

quarter deck, and thirty two pound carronades on the poop: Her force altogether consisted of 86 guns and 1220 men, bearing the flag of Contre Amiral Decrès. If the Foudroyant had not arrived so opportunely, the Lion and Penelope would have been no match for her; and yet the latter ship was so well fought by Captain Blackwood, as to render most essential service. 'I have to inform you,' said Captain Dixon, in writing to Commodore Troubridge, March 31, 1800, 'that the signal rockets and cannonading from our batteries at Malta the midnight preceding, with the favourable strong southerly gale, together with the darkness which succeeded the setting of the moon, convinced me the enemy's ships of war were attempting to effect an escape; and which was immediately ascertained by that judicious and truly valuable officer, Captain Blackwood of the Penelope, who had been stationed a few hours before between the Lion and la Valette for the purpose of observing closely the motions of the enemy. Nearly at midnight an enemy's ship was descried by him . . . I lost not one moment in making the signal for the Squadron to cut or slip, and directed Captain Miller of the Minorca to run down to the Foudroyant and 'Alexander with the intelligence, and to repeat the signal . . . As the day broke I found myself in gun shot of the chace, and the Penelope within musket shot raking her, the effects of whose well directed fire, during the night, had shot away her main and mizen topmasts and main yard. The enemy appeared in great confusion, being reduced to their head sails going with the wind on the quarter. The Lion was run close alongside, the yard arms of both ships being just clear, when a destructive broadside of three round shot in each gun was poured in, luffing up across the bow, when the enemy's jib boom passed between the main and mizen shrouds. After a short interval, I had the pleasure to see the boom carried away and the ships disentangled, maintaining a position across the bow, firing to great advantage. I was not the least solicitous either to board or to be boarded, as the enemy appeared of immense bulk and full of men, keeping up a prodigious heavy fire of musketry, which with the bow chaces she for a long time could only use. I found it absolutely necessary, if possible, to keep from the broadside of this ship. After being engaged about fifty minutes, the Foudroyant was seen under a press of canvas, and soon passed hailing the enemy to strike, which being declined, a very heavy fire from both ships, broadside to broadside, was most gallantly maintained; the Lion and Penelope frequently in situations to do great execution. In short, Sir, after the hottest action that probably was ever maintained by an enemy's ship opposed to those of his Majesty, and being totally dismasted, the French Admiral's flag and colours were struck.

'I have not language to express the high sense of obligation I feel myself under to Captain Blackwood, for his prompt and able conduct in leading the line of battle ships to the enemy; for the gallantry and spirit so highly conspicuous in him, and for his admirable

• Lieutenant Harrington acting.

management of the frigate: 'To your discriminating judgment, it is unnecessary to remark of what real value and importance such an Officer must ever be considered to his Majesty's service. The termination of the battle must be attributed to the spirited fire of the Foudroyant, whose Captain, Sir Edward Berry, has justly added another laurel to the many he has gained during the war. Captain Blackwood speaks in very high terms of the active and gallant conduct of Captain Long, of the Vincejo, during the night; and I beg to mention the services of Captains Broughton and Miller. The crippled condition of the Lion and Foudroyant made it necessary for me, to direct Captain Blackwood to take possession of the enemy, to take him in tow and proceed to Syracuse. I received the greatest possible assistance from Lieutenant Joseph Patey, senior officer of the Lion, and from Mr. Spence, the master, who together with the officers and ship's company shewed the most determined gallantry. Captains Sir Edward Berry, and Blackwood, have reported to me the same gallant and animated behaviour in the officers and crews of their respective ships. I am sorry to say the three ships have suffered much in killed and wounded, and that of the enemy prodigiously, it being upwards of 200.'

The Hon. Captain Blackwood in his letter to Lord Nelson, described more minutely that part of this gallant action which had fallen to his share.—'The defence made by Admiral Decrès was such as reflects the highest honour on himself and all about him; and I have to congratulate your Lordship very sincerely on the gallant conduct of Sir Edward Berry in the Foudroyant, whose arrival at Malta took place a few hours previous to the Chace. In consequence of some information received by deserters from la Valette on Saturday, the wind coming to the southward, Captain Dixon anchored all the ships, excepting the Penelope, Bonne Citoyenne, and brigs, in an excellent situation for intercepting any thing that might come out. The station I took, was fortunately such as gave me the opportunity of very soon descrying the enemy; who, having weathered our ships, was standing under all sail to the eastward. I tacked, and at twelve o'clock at night was close up with him. Finding my sailing vastly superior, I was enabled to place myself so that I became only casually exposed to his stern chaces, whilst he suffered much from our broadsides, which we continued with additional success as they led up the Lion and Foudroyant. At daylight, I had the satisfaction to find that our shot had told well; for this huge and fine ship had lost her mizen mast, main topmast, &c. and main yard. At five the Lion ran alongside within half pistol shot, in the most gallant manner, and maintained an action for nearly an hour, during which the French Admiral attempted to board; but not succeeding, continued to fire with such energy, that Dixon, not having a sail to manage his ship, fell to leeward. Next came up the Foudroyant, who soon knocked away his main mast and fore topmast; but Berry himself was soon so roughly handled, that in an hour he also was indeed even worse off than the Lion. From this time until nine o'clock, when the G. Tell

struck, not having any thing but her bowsprit standing, the action was distant and partial; the *Penelope* as before, from not having lost any thing, being enabled to place herself with much advantage, either under his bows or on his quarter. The carnage on board the *G. Tell*, where there were 1220 men, was dreadful; but the exact number I have not yet been able to ascertain. I am sorry to add that the *Foudroyant* and *Lion* have also suffered much in all ways; the *Lion* seven killed and thirty eight wounded; the *Foudroyant* eight killed and sixty one wounded, *Penelope* only four men, her master and one man killed and two wounded. Enclosed I send your Lordship a note from Sir E. Berry, which will explain his situation. The *Lion* has also suffered much in her masts, the bowsprit particularly. Captain Miller has this moment informed me, that another ship was seen, which we suppose was either the *Diana* or *Justice*, and I believe that may be the case from the apparent alarm the Admiral was in at my telling him, that the *Bonne Citoyenne* and *Alexander* went in chace after her. All friends will rejoice in the capture of this fine ship; and the more so, as she is the last of the line of battle ships in the Nile fleet. The Admiral seems much hurt that your Lordship was not in the *Foudroyant*; he does not relish having been obliged to strike to any thing under an Admiral: he certainly is a gallant officer, but a hot republican.'

Lord Nelson to Admiral Lord Keith, dated Palermo, April 8, 1800.

'My Lord: I have the happiness to send you a copy of Captain Dixon's letter to Commodore Sir Thomas Troubridge, informing him of the capture of the *William Tell*. The circumstances attending this glorious finish to the whole French Mediterranean fleet, are such as must ever reflect the highest honour to all concerned in it. The attention of Commodore Troubridge, in placing officers and men to attend the movements of the French ships, and the exactness with which his orders were executed, are a proof that the same vigour of mind remains, although the body, I am truly sorry to say, is almost worn away. Then come the alacrity of the *Vincejo*, Captain Lory, and other sloops of war; the gallantry and excellent management of Captain Blackwood of the *Penelope* frigate, who, by carrying away the enemy's main and mizen topmasts, enabled the *Lion* to get up; when Captain Dixon shewed the greatest courage and officer like conduct, in placing his ship on the enemy's bow, as she had only 300 men on board and the enemy 1220. The conduct of these excellent officers enabled Sir Edward Berry to place the *Foudroyant* where she ought, and is the fittest ship in the world to be, close alongside the *William Tell*, one of the largest and finest two decked ships in the world; where he shewed that matchless

Captain Schomberg in his *Naval Chronology* (Vol. III. p. 440) says, that both these French frigates afterwards, August 24, 1800, escaped from the harbour of la Valette. They were immediately pursued by the Northumberland, G. Martin, Success, S. Peard, and Genereux, M. Dixon, when the *Diana* was taken. Captain Schomberg has inserted (page 436) Admiral Decrès' official account of the capture of the *Guillaume Tell*. Her name was afterwards changed to the *Malta*.

intrepidity and able conduct as a seaman and officer, which I have often had the happiness to experience in many trying situations. I thank God I was not present, for it would finish me could I have taken a sprig of these brave men's laurels: they are, and I glory in them, my children; they served in my school, and all of us caught our professional zeal and fire from the great and good Earl St. Vincent. I am confident your Lordship will bestow the promotion in the properest manner, therefore I have done nothing in that respect; and on this occasion I only beg leave to mention, that Governor Ball would be much flattered by the command of the *William Tell*.'

With that attention to the feelings of every officer in his Squadron, for which he was so remarkable, Lord Nelson sent the following short note to Lieutenant Inglis on board the *Guillaume Tell* at Syracuse. 'My dear Sir: How fortunate I did not permit you to quit the *Penelope*, to be a junior lieutenant in the *Foudroyant*. You will now get your promotion in the pleasantest of all ways, by the gallant exertions of yourself and those brave friends who surrounded you on that glorious night. What a triumph for you, what a pleasure to me, what happiness to have the Nile fleet all taken under my orders and regulations! Blackwood's coming to me at Malta, and my keeping him there, were something more than chance. Ever, my dear Sir, believe me your truly sincere friend, BRONTE NELSON OF THE NILE.'

Amongst some French letters found on board the *Guillaume Tell* by Commodore Troubridge, the following extract is worthy of notice. 'Alas, dear citizen, who would have said, that after two years sufferings we should have finished by giving up this superb place to the enemies of humanity! Fate, unjust Fate, would have it so. We must make up our minds. The *Guillaume Tell* sails; it is without doubt all we shall be able to save of the squadron. Heaven grant that she may enter our ports.'—Villeneuve, chief of division commanding the frigate *la Justice*, in writing home said, 'That he should follow the *Guillaume Tell* in a few days.'

Lord Nelson, soon after writing the above note to Lieutenant Inglis, April 16, 1800, sailed for Malta,* and was accompanied thither by Sir W. and Lady Hamilton. He was received with every honour due to his character, and presented with the flag of the *Guillaume Tell*. His Lordship was at this time intent on returning to England, which idea his real friends, and in particular Earl Spencer, wished to overcome; as the reduction of Malta did not appear far distant, and as the enemy were constantly expected to appear again suddenly in the Mediterranean. 'However,' added Earl Spencer, 'I am quite clear, and I believe I am joined in opinion by all your friends here, that you will be more likely

* By a letter from Sir Charles Whitworth at Petersburg, Lord Nelson had been informed, that at his recommendation the Emperor had named Lady Hamilton, *Dame Petite Croix de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jerusalem*, and Captain Ball *Commandeur Honoraire*.

to recover your health and strength in England, than in an inactive situation at a foreign Court, however pleasing the respect and gratitude shewn to you for your services may be; and no testimonies of respect and gratitude, from that Court to you, can be, I am convinced, too great for the very essential services you have rendered it. I trust you will receive in good part what I have taken the liberty to write to you as a friend.'—When Lord Keith was informed of the Admiral's desire to return, every possible arrangement was liberally made to accommodate him that circumstances would admit of. 'I am very sorry, my dear Nelson,' said Lord Keith, April 19, 1800, 'for the contents of your letter, and I hope you will not be obliged to go: Strictly speaking I ought to write to the Admiralty before I let a Flag Officer go off the station; particularly as I am directed to send you, if you like it, to Egypt; but when a man's health is concerned, there is an end of all, and I will send you the first frigate I can lay hold of: when I talked of a storeship I meant Hindoostan of 50 guns. If you think the Culloden is capable of taking you all safe to England, give an order to Sir Thomas Troubridge for that purpose; although I should lament the loss of the Comodore, yet he is likely to be soon wanted at home.'

After remaining some time at Malta, Lord Nelson with Sir William and Lady Hamilton prepared to return again to Palermo. On which Sir Thomas Troubridge delivered the following remonstrance, in his own name and that of his brother Officers: 'Your friends, my Lord, absolutely, as far as they dare, insist on your staying to sign the Capitulation. Be on your guard.'—On this generous conduct from an Officer he so much respected, the Admiral delayed his intentions, but afterwards returned to Palermo, and immediately prepared to go to England; and to accompany the Queen of Naples on her intended visit to Vienna. During his Lordship's absence, three Spanish ships, two of them laden with quicksilver, which for nearly seventeen months had taken refuge in the port of Palermo, contrived to make their escape, notwithstanding the precautions that had been taken both by his Lordship and the Commander in Chief.

Sir John Acton, June 8, having instructions from H. S. Majesty, enclosed three letters to Lord Nelson for Sir Thomas Troubridge, Captains Hood and Hallowell, informing them of their being appointed Commanders to the Order of St. Ferdinand or Merit. Sir John also added, that he had transmitted the same intelligence to Captain Ball, with a remuneration of one thousand ounces for his expences at Malta.

It was not until the 8th of June, 1800, that every thing was finally arranged for Lord Nelson's taking leave of Sicily. The state of affairs in Italy, where Buonaparte had lately arrived, and the express orders which had been received not to send any line of battle ships home, without the permission of the Admiralty, rendered it extremely difficult for the Commander in Chief to accommodate Lord Nelson and his numerous party as he could have wished. Before they left the Mediterranean, intelligence was sent to Lord Keith from

Antibes, that the Brest fleet was at sea, with 25,000 men on board; and that 'Buonaparte, who was attended by Pignatelli, had said publicly, *There is one Power still in Italy to be reduced before I can give it peace!* Lord Nelson sailed from Palermo, for Leghorn, with the Foudroyant and Alexander; on board of which were the Queen of Naples, the three Princesses and Prince Leopold, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, Prince Castelcicala, and their attendants. On the 14th of June, 1800, they arrived at Leghorn, but were not able to land until the 16th. His Lordship having received permission from the Admiralty to return either by sea or land, determined on the latter. On the 27th of June, Lord Keith, then at Leghorn, informed Lord Nelson that Sir E. Berry was directed to proceed with the Foudroyant to Minorca, for the purpose of being refitted; but that previous to her sailing, whatever remaining ship was most agreeable to the Admiral should be appointed to receive his flag.

Amidst the various letters which he was obliged to despatch, before he left a station where he had gained so much honour and experienced so much anxiety, the following was one of the most remarkable. It was addressed to the new Pope, Pius VII, dated from Leghorn, June 24, 1800. 'Holy Father: As an individual, who from his public situation has had an opportunity of using his utmost exertions to assist in bringing about the happy event of your Holiness's return to Rome, I presume to offer my most sincere congratulations on this occasion; and with my most fervent wishes and prayers that your residence may be blessed with health and every comfort this world can afford. Your Holiness will, I am sure, forgive my mentioning a circumstance which, although at the time it was spoken of appeared impossible, in fact did happen. Father M'Cormick, a friar, coming to the house of Sir William Hamilton in September, 1798, to congratulate me on the Battle of the Nile, said, as can be testified, *What you have done is great, but you will do a greater thing, you will take Rome with your Ships.* And although I do not believe that the Father had the gift of foretelling future events, yet his guess was so extraordinary, and has turned out so exactly, that I could not in my conscience avoid telling your Holiness of it. I will now only trespass on your time, by assuring your Holiness with what respect I am your most obedient servant, BRONTE NELSON OF THE NILE.'

Before the Foudroyant sailed from Leghorn for Mahon, Lord Nelson received on the 26th of June, the following proof of that attachment from his boat's crew which he never failed to create in the minds of all who served with him: 'My Lord: It is with extreme concern that we find you are about to leave us. We have been with you, although not in the same ship, in every Engagement your Lordship has been in both by sea and land;

* Buonaparte returned to Paris, July 3, 1800.

† Previous to Lord Nelson's leaving Sicily, the King invested him with the Order of St. Ferdinand, of which he was the first Knight after the Royal Family. This Order has the especial privilege of being conferred in the King's presence.

and most humbly beg of your Lordship to permit us to go to England, as your Boat's Crew, in any ship or vessel, or in any way that may seem most pleasing to your Lordship. My Lord, pardon the rude style of Seamen, who are but little acquainted with writing, and believe us to be, my Lord, your ever humble and obedient servants, *Barge's Crew of the Foudroyant.*'

During his journey to England, the Admiral was every where received with those honours which he had so justly merited. He remained about a month at Leghorn; whence, after nearly escaping from falling into the hands of the French, he proceeded to Florence. Passing through Ancona and Vienna, where he left the Queen and had been introduced by her Majesty to the Emperor and Empress, his Lordship visited, by express desire, the gallant Archduke Charles at Prague. From Prague he went to Dresden, Magdeburgh and Ham-
burgh, at which latter place he first became acquainted with General Dumourier, and landed at Yarmouth, Nov. 6, 1800. His Lordship arrived in London, with Sir William and Lady Hamilton, on the 9th of November; and, with them, went immediately to his venerable Father and Lady Nelson. Their joy was, however, mingled with sorrow; and on first meeting after so long an absence, the presence of Sir W. and Lady Hamilton added to a disquietude, which if they had innocently been the cause of, they should have carefully endcavoured not to aggravate. The exultation that prevailed throughout the metropolis, on the arrival of the British Hero, formed an extraordinary contrast with the depression of his own mind; and afforded a memorable example of the inefficacy of all earthly rewards. At the civic feast of the city of London on Monday the 10th of November, 1800, his Lordship was nobly received by Sir W. Staines, the new Lord Mayor. After a magnificent entertainment, the valuable Sword which the metropolis had voted after the Victory of Aboukir, was presented by the Chamberlain, Mr. Clarke, with an appropriate address. To which the noble Admiral thus replied: 'Sir: It is with the greatest pride and satisfaction that I receive from the Honourable Court this testimony of their approbation of my conduct; and, with this very Sword, I hope soon to aid in reducing our implacable and inveterate Enemy to proper and due limits; without which, this Country can neither hope for nor expect a solid, honourable and permanent Peace.'—The gratitude of his native Country was also shewn in every manner, that could most publicly display the general sense of his splendid achievements. Wherever he appeared, he was followed with mingled astonishment and even veneration by the thronging multitude, as a being of a superior nature. To use the words of the biographer of Lorenzo de Medici, '*On all sides he touched the extremes of human character; and the powers of his mind were only bounded by that impenetrable circle which prescribes the limits of human nature.*'"

BOOK THE THIRD.

SECTION III.

From Admiral Nelson's leaving England as second in command under Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, to the Peace of Amiens.

WHILST SERVING ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS SAN JOSEF, ST. GEORGE, ELEPHANT,
L'UNITÉ, LEYDEN, MEDUSA, AND AMAZON.

From 1801 to 1803.

Anno
Ætat. 43.

THE gloom which had long impended over the private happiness and even public services of Lord Nelson, was not dispersed by his return to his native Country. His mind was affected by an extraordinary power, which almost merited the term Enchantment and had resisted the entreaties and remonstrances of his numerous friends; many of whom lost his confidence, by a vain endeavour to restore the natural bias of his affectionate but too susceptible heart. In taking his final leave of Lady Nelson on the 13th of January, 1801, he acted, however wrong, with that greatness and liberality of mind which nothing could subdue: 'I call God to witness,' exclaimed he, 'there is nothing in you or your conduct I wish otherwise.' On the same evening he addressed the following note to her from Southampton, to which place he had been accompanied by his brother, the Rev. Dr. William Nelson. 'My dear Fanny: We are arrived and heartily tired, and with kindest regards to my Father and all the Family, believe me your affectionate Nelson.'—This formed a most striking epocha in his eventful life, and as such deserves to be noticed. It gradually operated a fatal change, not only in the natural cheerfulness of his disposition, but in the general delicacy and exquisite tenderness of his character. To use the expression of Cicero, as applied by his biographer, Middleton, though in a somewhat different sense, 'It was the commencement of a new life to him, which was to be governed by new maxims and a new kind of policy, yet so as not to forfeit his old character: *Alterius vitæ quoddam initium ordimur.*'^a The remaining portion of his biography is, therefore, exclusively devoted to his more splendid public character; to those astonishing and most important services, which he rendered to his Country when she most required them: each of which claimed a distinct praise, as surpassing what had preceded it by some new proof of professional Enterprise^b and Ability.

On the first day of the year 1801, his Lordship was advanced Vice Admiral of the Blue: previous to which Captain Hardy had been appointed his Captain on board the

^a Ad. Att. 4. 1.

^b Mr. Pitt, when hearing of the Battle of Trafalgar on what may be called his death-bed, is reported to have said, It surpassed the Battle of Copenhagen as much as that surpassed the Battle of the Nile.

Namur at Plymouth, until the San Josef, 112 guns, one of the Spanish prizes taken by the Admiral February 14th, 1797, could be got ready for his flag, which was hoisted on board her at Plymouth, January 17, 1801. On the 26th he sent the following letter to Sir E. Berry from Cawsand Bay: 'I beg if you think the two hundred pounds are enough for poor dear Miller's Monument, that you will direct Flaxman to proceed instantly about it; and as far as that sum, should no one subscribe more, I will be answerable. If those Officers who were in the 14th of February are to be allowed the honour of subscribing, I then think we ought to expend five hundred pounds. A less sum would not be proper for such a body. Pray let me know the intended Inscription, for we must take care not to say too much or too little; the language should be plain, as flowing from the heart of one of us sailors, who had fought with him. As far as we can judge of the San Josef, she will answer all our expectations; she is ready this moment to go alongside the finest ship out of France, and on such a happy occasion, I can assure you that there is not any man in the service I would sooner select as my second than yourself.'—On the 28th he received his orders to proceed to Torbay and put himself under the command of Earl St. Vincent. Lord Nelson sailed on the 1st of February, having previously received the Freedom of the ancient Borough of Plymouth, and joined his old Commander in Chief a few days before he resigned the command of the Channel Fleet to Admiral Cornwallis, in order to succeed Earl Spencer at the Admiralty. The moment Earl St. Vincent came from the King, as Lord Nelson informed Mr. Davison, he despatched a very flattering letter to the Admiral, asking for his support; 'So I will support him,' added Nelson, 'as a great Sea Officer.'—The new Board, of which Sir Thomas Troubridge was a member, was officially announced on the 21st of February. On the 17th of March, amidst the change that took place, Mr. Addington, who both as a Minister and a Man was particularly respected by Lord Nelson, succeeded Mr. Pitt as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Hawkesbury succeeded Lord Grenville as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Previous to which the Admiral had shifted his flag to the St. George, preparatory to his going to the Baltic as second in command under Sir Hyde Parker.

The following are extracts from some letters of Lord Nelson, to Earl St. Vincent, at the beginning of this year, 1801. '*February 12.* My flag is on board the St. George, but my person owing to the heavy sea cannot be conveyed from the St. Josef. You may rely, my dear Lord, that all your directions and wishes, if I can guess them, shall be complied with. Now you are on the spot I trust you will have full scope for giving your opinions, as to the most proper mode of humbling our enemies. You will never I think recommend

* During the Admiral's continuance at Plymouth he was seized with a violent ophthalmia in his only remaining eye, with a most acute pain and total want of sight. He was attended by Dr. Trotter, and in a few days was enabled to resume his services.

an ignominious Peace: No, let us be conquered, and not submit tamely to the fetters of the French Republic or a wild Monarch of the North. *Feb. 16.* I feel all your kind expressions, and in return I have only to assure you, that I never will ask you for what my judgment may tell me is an improper thing. My sole object, and to which all my exertions and abilities tend, is to bring this long War to an honourable termination; to accomplish which, we must all pull in the collar, and as we have got such a driver who will make the lazy ones pull as much as the willing, I doubt not but we shall get safely, speedily, and honourably to our journey's end. With every kind wish, both as a friend and as an Englishman for your ministerial prosperity, believe me, as ever my dear Lord, your obliged and affectionate NELSON AND BRONTE.'

About the 20th of February he sailed from Torbay in the *St. George* for Portsmouth, and thus continued his Correspondence with Earl St. Vincent. '*March 1, 1801.* The wind was yesterday at S. S. W. which has prevented *Warrior*, *Defence* and *Agincourt* from sailing. 'Time, my dear Lord, is our best Ally, and I hope we shall not give her up, as all our Allies have given us up. Our friend here is a little nervous about dark nights and fields of ice, but we must brace up; these are not times for nervous systems. I want Peace, which is only to be had through I trust our still invincible Navy. I have not seen Captain *Thesinger* here, I shall receive him with much pleasure; if he is still in town, pray send word to him to meet me in the Downs or Yarmouth. I have written to *Troubridge* relative to *Miller's Monument*. *March 2, getting under sail.* I am always happy when my conduct meets with your approbation, and whilst I remain in the service my utmost exertions shall be called forth: for although, I own, I have met with much more honours and rewards than ever my most sanguine ideas led me to expect, yet I am so circumstanced that probably this Expedition will be the last service ever performed by your obliged and affectionate friend.'—Earl St. Vincent replied: 'Be assured, my dear Lord, that every public act of your life has been the subject of my admiration, which I should have sooner declared, but that I was appalled by the last sentence of your letter; for God's sake, do not suffer yourself to be carried away by any sudden impulse. With many thanks for the spur you have given to the movement of the ships at Spithead, believe me to be yours most affectionately.'

Whilst at Yarmouth, his Lordship wrote to Sir E. Berry, dated *St. George, March 9th, 1801.* 'As to the plan for pointing a gun truer than we do at present, if the person comes here I shall of course look at it, and be happy if necessary to use it; but I hope we shall be able, as usual, to get so close to our enemies, that our shot cannot miss their object; and that we shall again give our northern enemies that hail storm of bullets, which is so emphatically described in the *Naval Chronicle*, and which gives our dear Country the dominion of the Seas: We have it, and all the devils in the north cannot take it from us, if

our Wooden Walls have fair play.'—On the 16th of March his Lordship sent the following letter to Mr. Davison, dated in latitude 57 N.—'Our weather is very cold, we have received much snow and sharp frost. I have not yet seen my Commander in Chief, and have had no official communication whatever. All I have gathered of our first plans, I disapprove most exceedingly; Honour may arise from them, Good cannot. I hear we are likely to anchor outside Cronenburgh Castle, instead of Copenhagen which would give weight to our Negotiation: A Danish Minister would think twice before he would put his name to War with England, when the next moment he would probably see his Master's Fleet in flames, and his Capital in ruins; but out of sight out of mind, is an old saying. The Dane should see our flag waving every moment he lifted up his head.'—A few days after the date of this letter, Lord Nelson had a long conversation with Sir Hyde Parker, respecting the importance of the service on which they were employed; and on the next day, March 24th, his Lordship sent him the following admirable letter. 'My dear Sir Hyde: The conversation we had yesterday has naturally, from its importance, been the subject of my thoughts; and the more I have reflected, the more I am confirmed in opinion, that not a moment should be lost in attacking the enemy: They will every day and hour be stronger, we never shall be so good a match for them as at this moment. The only consideration in my mind is how to get at them with the least risk to our ships. By Mr. Vansittart's account, the Danes have taken every means in their power, to prevent our getting to attack Copenhagen by the passage of the Sound. Cronenburgh has been strengthened, the Crown Islands fortified, on the outermost of which are twenty guns pointing mostly downwards, and only eight hundred yards from very formidable Batteries placed under the citadel, supported by five sail of the line, seven floating batteries of fifty guns each, besides small craft, gun boats, &c. &c: And that the Revel squadron of twelve or fourteen sail of the line are soon expected, as also five sail of Swedes. It would appear by what you have told me of your instructions, that Government took for granted you would find no difficulty in getting off Copenhagen, and in the event of a failure of negotiation you might instantly attack; and that there would be scarcely a doubt but the Danish Fleet would be destroyed, and the Capital made so hot that Denmark would listen to reason and its true interest. By Mr. Vansittart's account, their state of preparation exceeds what he conceives our Government thought possible, and that the Danish Government is hostile to us in the greatest possible degree. Therefore here you are, with almost the safety, certainly with the Honour of England more intrusted to you, than ever yet fell to the lot of any British Officer: On your decision depends, whether our Country shall be degraded in the eyes of Europe, or whether she shall rear her head higher than ever: again do I repeat, never did our Country depend so much on the success of any Fleet as on this. How best to honour our Country and abate the pride of her Enemies, by defeating their schemes, must be the

subject of your deepest consideration as Commander in Chief; and if what I have to offer can be the least useful in forming your decision, you are most heartily welcome.

‘ I shall begin with supposing you are determined to enter by the Passage of the Sound, as there are those who think if you leave that passage open, that the Danish Fleet may sail from Copenhagen and join the Dutch or French. I own I have no fears on that subject; for it is not likely that whilst their Capital is menaced with an attack, 9000 of her best men should be sent out of the kingdom. I suppose that some damage may arise amongst our masts and yards; yet perhaps there will not be one of them but could be made serviceable again. You are now about Cronenburgh: If the wind be fair and you determine to attack the Ships and Crown Islands, you must expect the natural issue of such a Battle—Ships crippled and perhaps one or two lost; for the wind which carries you in, will most probably not bring out a crippled ship. This mode I call taking the bull by the horns. It, however, will not prevent the Revel ships, or Swedes, from joining the Danes; and to prevent this from taking effect, is in my humble opinion a measure absolutely necessary and still to attack Copenhagen. Two modes are in my view, one to pass Cronenburgh, taking the risk of damage, and to pass up the deepest and straitest Channel above the Middle Grounds; and coming down the Garbar or King’s Channel, to attack their Floating Batteries, &c. &c. as we find it convenient. It must have the effect of preventing a junction between the Russians, Swedes, and Danes, and may give us an opportunity of bombarding Copenhagen. I am also pretty certain that a Passage could be found to the northward of Southolm for all our ships, perhaps it might be necessary to warp a short distance in the very narrow part. Should this mode of attack be ineligible, the passage of the Belt I have no doubt would be accomplished in four or five days, and then the attack by Draco could be carried into effect, and the junction of the Russians prevented, with every probability of success against the Danish Floating Batteries. What effect a Bombardment might have, I am not called upon to give an opinion; but think the way would be cleared for the trial. Supposing us through the Belt with the wind first westerly, would it not be possible to either go with the Fleet or detach ten ships of three and two decks, with one bomb and two fireships to Revel, to destroy the Russian squadron at that place? I do not see the great risk of such a detachment, and with the remainder to attempt the business at Copenhagen. The measure may be thought bold, but I am of opinion the boldest measures are the safest; and our Country demands a most vigorous exertion of her force directed with judgment. In supporting you, my dear Sir Hyde, through the arduous and important task you have undertaken, no exertion of head or heart shall be wanting from your most obedient and faithful servant, NELSON AND BRONTE.’

The subsequent Narrative of the Battle of Copenhagen is chiefly taken from a valuable Memoir which an Officer who was with Lord Nelson has furnished, and from the interest-

ing Memoranda of another eye-witness, Mr. Ferguson, surgeon of the Elephant, which have been transmitted by Mr. Matcham through Sir Thomas Hardy. In this Battle, Captain Foley, who led the van off the Nile, bore the flag of Lord Nelson in the Elephant; it being shifted from the St. George on the 29th of March.

‘ Lord Nelson’s plan,’ says the Memoir, ‘ would have been to have proceeded with the utmost despatch, and with such ships as were in readiness to the mouth of Copenhagen Harbour; then and there to have insisted on amity or war, and to have brought the objects of Messrs. Drummond and Vansittart’s Negotiation to a speedy decision. He would have left orders for the remainder of the fleet to have followed in succession, as they were ready, and by this rapidity of his proceedings would have anticipated the formidable preparations for defence which the Danes had scarcely thought of at that early season. The delay in Yarmouth roads did not accord with his views.—An order from the Admiralty arrived on the 11th of March, in consequence of which the fleet, consisting of about fifty sail, sixteen of which were of the line, put to sea* on the succeeding day. On the 15th we encountered a heavy gale of wind, which in some measure scattered the fleet and prevented our reaching the Naze until the 18th. On the next day, when off the Scawe, the whole were nearly collected; a north west wind blew, and an opportunity appeared to have been lost of proceeding through the Categate. Every delay, however trifling, gave cause for regret and favoured the views of the Northern Coalition. The openness of those seas had rarely been equalled at that season of the year, and in particular called for activity in our movements. The Commander in Chief had probably, however, instructions by which he acted; and if so, that, in addition to numerous other instances of a similar nature, marks the propriety of discretionary powers whenever success is to depend on energy and activity. Lord Nelson, as I understood, was greatly vexed at the delay.

‘ On the 21st of March it blew hard: we anchored for twenty four hours, and did not arrive off the point of Elsineur until the 24th. The Blanche frigate, with Mr. Vansittart on board, preceded the fleet from the Scawe, and landing him at Elsineur on the 20th, he joined Mr. Drummond at Copenhagen. The Terms demanded by these gentlemen having been rejected, they returned to our fleet on the 24th, and left us for England on the ensuing day. The wind was again strong and favourable, expectation was alive that we should have sailed on the 25th: it was, however, generally understood, that the formidable reports which had been made by Mr. Vansittart and by the pilots whom we had brought with us, as to the state of the batteries at Elsineur and of the defensive situation of Copenhagen,

* On board the Fleet was a detachment of troops, consisting of the 49th regiment, about 760 rank and file, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Brooke, and a company of the rifle corps (now the 95th regiment), 100 rank and file, commanded by Captain Sidney Bickwith. The whole was under the Hon. Colonel Stewart, brother to the present Earl of Galloway.

induced the Commander in Chief to prefer the circuitous passage by the Great Belt. Lord Nelson, who was impatient for action, was not much deterred by these alarming representations; his object was to go to Copenhagen, and he said, *Let it be by the Sound, by the Belt, or any how, only lose not an hour.*—On the 26th of March the whole Fleet accordingly sailed for the Great Belt; but after proceeding for a few leagues along the coast of Zealand, the plan was suddenly changed. This arose partly in consequence of some suggestions from Captain G. Murray of the *Edgar*, who was to have led the fleet through the intricate channels, partly on account of some difficulty appearing in our course (one or two of the smaller craft being on the rocks) but chiefly at the instigation of Lord Nelson, who went on board Sir Hyde Parker's ship, the *London*, about ten A. M: be the reasons what they may, the Fleet returned to its former anchorage before sunset. As if a more than sufficient time had not been given for the Danes to prepare their defence, another message was sent on the 27th of March to the Governor of Elsinour, Stricker, to discover his intentions relative to opposing our Fleet, if it were to pass the Sound. He replied, 'I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that his Majesty the King of Denmark did not send away the Chargé d'Affaires; but that on his own demand he obtained a passport. As a Soldier I cannot intermeddle with politics; but I am not at liberty to suffer a Fleet, whose intention is not yet known, to approach the guns of the Castle of Cronenburgh which I have the honour to command. In case your Excellency should think proper to make any proposals to the King of Denmark, I wish to be informed thereof before the Fleet approaches nearer to the Castle.'—Sir Hyde Parker replied, 'That finding the intentions of the Court of Denmark to be hostile against his Britannic Majesty, he regarded his Excellency's answer as a Declaration of War; and, therefore, agreeably to his instructions, could no longer refrain from hostilities, however reluctant it might be to his feelings. But, at the same time, the Admiral would be ready to attend to any proposals of the Court of Denmark for restoring the former amity and friendship which had for so many years subsisted between the two Courts.'

'On the 26th of March, the *Elephant*, Captain Foley, and another 74 had joined the Fleet, bringing the melancholy intelligence of the loss of the *Invincible*, 74 guns, Rear Admiral Totty, Captain Rennie, one of our squadron, on the sand bank called Hammond's Knowl.' On the 29th, Lord Nelson shifted his flag from the *St. George* to the *Elephant*, commanded by his intimate friend, Captain Foley, in order to carry on operations in a lighter ship. Both the 28th and 29th of March were unfortunately calm: orders had, however, been given for the Fleet to pass through the Sound as soon as the wind should permit. At daylight on the morning of the 30th it blew a topsail breeze from N.W: The signal was made,

'A melancholy account of this shipwreck is given in Captain Schomberg's *Naval Chronology* (Vol. III. p. 495). Captain Rennie, who had been made Post for his conduct at the Helder, was lost, with 400 of the crew.

and the Fleet proceeded in the order of battle previously arranged; Lord Nelson's division in the van, the Commander in Chief's in the centre, and Admiral Graves's in the rear: Captain Murray in the *Edgar* with the fleet of bomb and gun vessels, took their station off Cronenburgh Castle on the preceding morning; and, upon the first Danish shot, opened their fire upon the Castle. The semicircular form of the land off Elsinour, which was thickly lined with batteries, caused our Fleet to pass in a form truly picturesque, and nearly similar. It had been our intention to have kept in mid channel, the forbearance of the Swedes not having been counted upon, the lighter vessels were on the larboard side of our line of battle, and were to have engaged the Helsinburg shore: not a shot, however, was fired, nor any batteries apparent, and our Fleet inclined accordingly to that side, so as completely to avoid the Danish shot, which fell in showers, but at least a cable's length from our ships. The Danish Batteries opened a fire, as we understood, with nearly 100 pieces of cannon and mortars, as soon as our leading ship, the *Monarch*, came abreast of them; and they continued in one uninterrupted blaze during the passage of the Fleet, to the no small amusement of our crews; none of whom received injury, except from the bursting of one of our own guns. Some of our leading ships at first returned a few rounds, but perceiving the inutility, desisted. The whole came to anchor about midday, between the island of Huen, and Copenhagen; the division under Captain Murray following, as soon as the main body had passed: as is usually the case in sea bombardments, little or no damage was afterwards found to have been done by our shells. Our Fleet was no sooner at anchor, than the Commander in Chief accompanied by Lord Nelson, two or three senior Captains, the commanding Officer of the Artillery and of the troops, proceeded in a schooner to reconnoitre the harbour and channels. We soon perceived that our delay had been of important advantage to the enemy, who had lined the northern edge of the shoals near the Crown Batteries and the front of the harbour and arsenal, with a formidable flotilla. The Tre Kroner Battery appeared in particular to have been strengthened, and all the buoys of the northern and of the King's Channels had been removed. Having examined these points with some attention, the party returned to the London.

'The night of the 30th of March was employed by some of the intelligent masters and pilots, under the direction of Captain Brisbane, in ascertaining the channels round the great Shoal called the Middle Ground, and in laying down fresh buoys, the Danes having either removed or misplaced the former ones. On the next day, the Commander in Chief and Lord Nelson attended as before, with the addition of all the Artillery Officers, proceeded in the *Amazon* frigate, Captain Riou, to the examination of the Northern Channel and of the flotilla from the eastward. Captain Riou became on this occasion first known to Lord Nelson, who was struck with admiration at the superior Discipline and Seamanship, that were observable on board the *Amazon* during the proceedings of this day. The

Danish line of defence was formed in a direct line eastward from the 'Trekroner Battery, and extended at least two miles along the coast of Amak: It was ascertained to consist of the hulls of seven line of battle ships with jury masts, two only being fully rigged, ten pontoons or floating batteries, one bomb ship rigged, and two or three smaller craft. On the Trekroner appeared to be nearly seventy guns, on the smaller Battery, in shore, six or seven guns, and on the coast of Amak several Batteries which were within a long range of the King's Channel. Off the Harbour's mouth, which was to the westward of the Trekroner, were moored four line of battle ships and a frigate; two of the former and the latter were fully rigged. Their whole line of defence, from one extreme point to the other, might embrace an extent of nearly four miles. The Dockyard and Arsenal were in line nearly south, within the Trekroner, about half a mile distant. A few shot were fired at the Amazon whenever we approached the leading ship of their line. The Officers of Artillery were desired to ascertain, whether, in the event of the line of defence being in part or wholly removed, they could place their bomb ships, of which there were seven, so as to play with effect on the Dockyards and Arsenal. After some hours survey the Amazon returned to the fleet, when the opinions of the Artillery Officers were given in the affirmative, if the Flotilla to the eastward of the Crown Batteries were only removed. A Council of War was held in the afternoon, and the mode which might be advisable for the attack was considered: that from the eastward appeared to be preferred. Lord Nelson offered his services, requiring ten line of battle ships and the whole of the smaller craft. The Commander in Chief, with sound discretion and in a handsome manner, not only left every thing to Lord Nelson for this detached service, but gave him two more line of battle ships than he demanded. During this Council of War, the energy of Lord Nelson's character was remarked: Certain difficulties had been started by some of the members, relative to each of the three Powers we should either have to engage in succession, or united, in those seas. The number of the Russians was in particular represented as formidable. Lord Nelson kept pacing the cabin, mortified at every thing which savoured either of Alarm or Irresolution. When the above remark was applied to the Swedes, he sharply observed, *The more numerous the better*; and when to the Russians, he repeatedly said, *So much the better, I wish they were twice as many, the easier the Victory, depend on it*: He alluded, as he afterwards explained in private, to the total want of Tactique among the northern fleet; and to his intention, whenever he should bring either the Swedes or Russians to action, of attacking the head of their line, and confusing their movements as much as possible. He used to say, *close with a Frenchman, but, out-manceuvre a Russian*. The night of the 31st of March was employed as the preceding, in ascertaining, even by buoy lights, the course of the Upper Channel. Captain Brisbane was particularly active on this service, conducted under Lord Nelson's immediate directions.'

Mr. Ferguson's Memoranda begin from this date, and in the following manner: 'At the Battle of Copenhagen I was amongst the companions of the Hero. The attempt was arduous in the extreme, no common mind would have dared to conceive it; but it was suited to the exalted enterprise of Lord Nelson. As his was the invigorating spirit of the Council that planned the attack, so in the execution he only could have commanded success. During the interval that preceded the Battle, I could only silently admire when I saw the first man in all the world spend the hours of the day and night in boats, amidst floating ice, and in the severest weather; and wonder when the light shewed me a path marked by buoys, which had been trackless the preceding evening.

'On the first of April in the afternoon, we took our departure with twelve sail of the line,* and a proportional number of smaller vessels, from the main body of the Fleet then lying about four miles below Copenhagen; and coasted along the outer edge of the Shoal called the Middle Ground, until we doubled its farthest extremity, when the Fleet cast anchor. This Shoal, of the same extent as the sea front of the town, lies exactly before it at about three quarters of a mile in distance; the interval between it and the shore had deep water, and is called the King's Channel: there the Danes had arranged their Line of Defence as near the town as possible. It consisted of nineteen ships and floating batteries, flanked at the town's extremity by two artificial islands at the mouth of the harbour, called the Crown Batteries; and extended for about a mile along the whole front of the town, leaving intervals for the Batteries on shore to play. As our own anchor dropped at eight in the evening, Nelson emphatically called out, *I will fight them the moment I have a fair wind*. He spent the whole night in consultation. About half past nine A. M. of the 2d of April, the signals of the different ships having been made, repeated, and answered, we had the mortification to see the Agamemnon get upon the edge of the Shoal, on the first attempt to leave her anchorage, where she remained immoveable. A similar misfortune followed in succession to the Russell and Polyphemus; and in addition to all this, the Jamaica frigate, with a convoy of gun boats and small craft, having fallen in with the counter current, made the signal of inability to proceed. A mind less invincible than Nelson's might have been discouraged: though the battle had not commenced, yet he had

* The *Elephant*, Lord Nelson and Capt. Foley; *Defiance*, R. Adm. T. Graves and Capt. R. Retalick; *Monarch*, J. R. Mousse; *Bellerophon*, Sir T. B. Thompson; *Edgar*, G. Murray; *Russell*, W. Cuming; *Ganges*, T. F. Fremantle; *Glatton*, W. Bligh; *Isis*, 50, J. Walker; *Agamemnon*, 64, R. D. Fancourt; *Polyphemus*, 64, J. Lawford; *Ardent*, 64, T. Bertie; *Amazon*, 38, E. Riou; *Desirée*, 40, H. Inman; *Blanche*, 36, G. E. Hamond; *Alcmene*, 32, S. Sutton; *Dart*, (Sp.) 50, J. F. Devonshire; *Arrow*, (Sp.) 50, W. Bolton; *Cruiser*, (Sp.) 18, James Brisbane; *Harpy*, (Bg.) 16, W. Birchall; *Zephyr*, (F. S.) 14, O. Upton; *Otter*, (F. S.) 14, G. M'Kinley; *Discovery*, (Bg.) 16, John Conn; *Sphinx*, (Bb.) 10, H. Whitter; *Hecla*, (Bb.) 10, R. Hatherill; *Explosion*, (Bb.) 8, J. H. Martin; *Zebra*, (Bb.) 16, E. S. Clay; *Terror*, (Bg.) 8, S. C. Rowley; *Volcano*, (Bb.) 8, J. Watson. In addition to these, Captain J. Rose in the *Jamaica*, 26, had the command of six Gun Brigs, which were to have raked the southernmost ships of the Danish Line, had the current permitted.

approached the Enemy; and he felt that he could not retreat to wait for reinforcements, without compromising the glory of his Country. The signal to bear down was still kept flying. His agitation during these moments was extreme: I shall never forget the impression it made on me. It was not, however, the agitation of indecision, but of ardent, animated patriotism panting for glory, which had appeared within his reach and was vanishing from his grasp' . . . But to return, and in some degree to retrace these events in the more circumstantial narrative which the Memoir affords.—‘ On the forenoon of the first of April,’ says that Officer, ‘ the whole Fleet removed to an anchorage within two leagues of the Town, off the N. W. end of the Middle Ground. It was intended that the Division under Lord Nelson should proceed from this point through the Northern Channel. His Lordship, accompanied by a few chosen friends, made his last observations during that morning on board the Amazon, and about one o’clock returning to the Elephant, he threw out the wished for signal to weigh. The shout with which it was received throughout the Division was heard to a considerable distance; the ships then weighed^b and followed the Amazon in succession through the narrow Channel. The wind was light but favourable, and not one accident occurred. The buoys were accurately laid down and the smaller Craft distinctly pointed out the course: the gallant Riou led the way, the scene was perfect. About dark, the whole Fleet was at its anchorage off Draco Point; the headmost of the Enemy’s line not more than two miles distant. The small extent of the anchoring ground, as the Fleet did not consist of less than thirty-three pendants, caused the ships to be so much crowded, which the calmness of the evening increased, that had the Enemy but taken due advantage of it by shells from mortar boats, or from Amak Island, the greatest mischief might have ensued. They threw two or three about eight P. M. which served to shew that we were within range. The Danes were, however, too much occupied during this night in manning their ships and strengthening their line; not from immediate expectation, as we afterwards learned, of our attack, conceiving the Channel impracticable to so large a Fleet; but as a precaution against our nearer approach. Our guard boats were actively employed between us and the Enemy, and Captain Hardy even rowed to their leading ship; sounding round her, and using a pole when he was apprehensive of being heard. His chief object was to ascertain the bearing of the eastern end of the Middle Ground; the greatest obstacle, as it proved, that we had to contend with.

^b The Commander in Chief in his official letter says, It had been previously agreed with Lord Nelson, that the ships remaining with Sir Hyde should weigh at the same moment with his Lordship, and menace from the northward, the Crown Batteries and their four ships of the line that were at the entrance of the Arsenal, as also to cover our disabled ships as they came out of action.—These ships, thus remaining with the Commander in Chief, consisted of the *London*, 98, the flag ship, Captains W. Donnett and R. W. O’way; *Defence*, 74, Lord H. Paulet; *Amillies*, 74, R. Barlow; *Raisonné*, 64, John Dilkes; *St. George*, 90, F. M. Hardy; *Satan*, 74, R. Lambert; *Veteran*, 64, A. G. Dickson; *Warrior*, 74, C. Tyler.

On board the Elephant, the night of the 1st of April was an important one. As soon as the Fleet was at anchor, the gallant Nelson sat down to table with a large party of his comrades in arms. He was in the highest spirits, and drank to a leading wind and to the success of the ensuing day. Captains Foley, Hardy, Freemantle, Riou, Inman; his Lordship's second in command, Admiral Graves, and a few others to whom he was particularly attached, were of this interesting party; from which every man separated with feelings of admiration for their great leader, and with anxious impatience to follow him to the approaching Battle. The signal *to prepare for Action* had been made early in the evening. All the Captains retired to their respective ships, Riou excepted, who with Lord Nelson and Foley arranged the Order of Battle and those instructions that were to be issued to each ship on the succeeding day. These three Officers retired between nine and ten to the after cabin, and drew up those Orders that have been generally published, and which ought to be referred to, as the best proof of the arduous nature of the Enterprise in which the Fleet was about to be engaged. From the previous fatigue of this day and of the two preceding, Lord Nelson was so much exhausted while dictating his Instructions, that it was recommended to him by us all, and indeed insisted upon by his old servant Allen, who assumed much command on these occasions, that he should go to his cot. It was placed on the floor, but from it he still continued to dictate. Captain Hardy returned about eleven, and reported the practicability of the Channel, and the depth of water up to the ships of the enemy's line: had we abided by this report, in lieu of confiding in our Masters and Pilots, we should have acted better. The Orders were completed about one o'clock, when half a dozen clerks in the foremost cabin proceeded to transcribe them. Lord Nelson's impatience again shewed itself; for instead of sleeping undisturbedly, as he might have done, he was every half hour calling from his cot to these clerks to hasten their work, *for that the wind was becoming fair*: he was constantly receiving a report of this during the night. Their work being finished about six in the morning, his Lordship, who was previously up and dressed, breakfasted, and about seven made the signal for all Captains. The Instructions were delivered to each by eight o'clock; and a special command was given to Captain Riou to act as circumstances might require. The land forces and a body of 500 seamen were to have been united under the command of Captain Freemantle and the Hon. Colonel Stewart, and as soon as the fire of the Crown Battery should be silenced, they were to storm the work and destroy it. The division under the Commander in Chief was to menace the ships at the entrance of the harbour, the intricacy of the Channel would however have prevented their entering: Captain Murray in the Edgar was to lead: The above were Lord Nelson's judicious dispositions for this memorable day.—With the returning light, the wind had been announced as becoming perfectly fair. The Pilots, who were in general mates of

trading vessels from the ports of Scotland and north of England to the Baltic, and several of the masters in the Navy, were ordered on board the Elephant between eight and nine o'clock. A most unpleasant degree of hesitation prevailed amongst them all, when they came to the point about the bearing of the east end of the Middle Ground, and about the exact line of deep water in the King's Channel—Not a moment was to be lost; the wind was fair, and the signal made for Action. Lord Nelson urged them to be steady, to be resolute, and to decide. At length Mr. Bryerley, the master of the Bellona, declared himself prepared to lead the fleet; his example was quickly followed by the rest, they repaired on board of their respective ships, and at half past nine the signal was given to weigh in succession. This was quickly obeyed by the Edgar, who proceeded in a noble manner for the Channel. The Agamemnon¹ was to follow, but happened to take a course in a direct line for the end of the shoal. The Polyphemus' signal, Captain Lawford, was then made, and this change in the order of sailing was most promptly executed. The Edgar was, however, unsupported for a considerable time; when within range of the Provestein, she was fired at, but returned not a shot until she was nearly opposite to the number which was destined for her by the instructions, she then poured in her broadsides with great effect. The Polyphemus was followed by the Isis, Bellona, and Russell; the former, commanded by Captain Walker, took her station most gallantly, and had the severest birth this day of any ship, the Monarch perhaps not excepted. The Bellona and Russell in going down the Channel kept too close on the starboard shoal, and ran aground; they were, however, within range of shot, and continued to fire with much spirit upon such of the Enemy's ships as they could reach. An instance of Lord Nelson's presence of mind now occurred, and which, if I mistake not, was as follows. In going down the Channel, the water was supposed to shoal on the larboard shore, each ship had been ordered to pass her leader on the starboard side: when it came to the turn of the Elephant, his Lordship, thinking that the two above mentioned ships had kept too far on that direction, made their signal to close with the Enemy; perceiving that this was not done, which their being aground unknown to him was the cause of, he ordered the Elephant's helm to starboard, quitted the intended order of sailing, and went within those ships. The same course was consequently followed by the succeeding ships, and the major part of our Fleet might thus, in all probability, have been saved from going on shore. In succession, as each ship arrived nearly opposite to her number in the Danish line, she let her anchor go by the stern, the wind nearly aft, and presented her broadside to the Enemy.

¹ The Action began at five minutes past ten. In about half an hour afterwards the first

¹ In Lord Nelson's official letter to Sir Hyde Parker, it was observed, 'That the Agamemnon could not weather the Shoal of the Middle Ground, and was obliged to anchor; but not the smallest blame could be attached to Captain Fancourt, it was an event to which all the ships were liable.'

half of our fleet was engaged, and before half past eleven the Battle became general. The Elephant's station was in the centre, opposite to the Danish Commodore, who commanded in the *Daanebrog*, 62, Commodore Fischer,¹ Captain F. Braun. Our distance was nearly a cable's length, and this was the average distance at which the Action was fought; its being so great, caused the long duration of it. Lord Nelson was most anxious to get nearer; but the same error which had led the two ships on the shoal, induced our master and pilots to dread shoaling their water on the larboard shore: they, therefore, when the Lead was at a quarter less five, refused to approach nearer and insisted on the anchor being let go. We afterwards found, that had we but approached the enemy's line, we should have deepened our water up to their very side, and closed with them; as it was, the Elephant engaged in little more than four fathom. The *Glatton* had her station immediately astern of us, the *Ganges*, *Monarch* and *Defiance* ahead; the distance between each not exceeding a half cable. The judgment with which each ship calculated her station in that intricate channel, was admirable throughout. The failure of the three ships that were aground and whose force was to have been opposed to the *Trekroner* battery, left this day, as glorious for seamanship as for courage, incomplete. The Lead was in many ships confided to the Master alone, and the contest that arose on board the Elephant, which of two officers who attended the heaving of it, should stand in the larboard chains, was a noble competition, and greatly pleased the heart of Nelson as he paced the quarter deck. The gallant Riou, perceiving the blank in the original plan for the attack of the Crown Battery, proceeded down the line with his squadron of frigates, and attempted, but in vain, to fulfil the duty of the absent ships of the line:² his force was unequal to it, and the general signal of recall, which was made about mid-action by the Commander in Chief, had the good effect of, at least, saving Riou's squadron from destruction.

‘About one P. M. few if any of the Enemy's heavy ships and praams had ceased to fire. The *Isis* had greatly suffered by the superior weight of the *Provestein*'s fire; and if it had not been for the judicious diversion of it by the *Desirée*, Captain Inman, who raked her, and for other assistance from the *Polyphemus*, the *Isis* would have been destroyed: both the *Isis* and *Bellona* had received serious injury by the bursting of some of their guns. The *Monarch* was also suffering severely under the united fire of the *Holstein* and *Zealand*; and

¹ Who afterwards shifted his broad pendant to the *Holstein*, and subsequently, about two o'clock, to the battery of the Three Crowns. Captain Rusbrigh, who commanded the *Vagrien*, 48, had been a Lieutenant under Admiral Rodney in the *Formidable*, on the 12th of April, 1782.

² Lord Nelson in a private letter to Earl St. Vincent said, “If it had not been for the untoward accident of three of our line getting on shore, it would have covered the Crown Islands and the channel of the Harbour, and my plan would have been complete; for from the southernmost ship, to the Dart being on shore on the north side of the entrance of the harbour, was my intention to have swept clean. In that case poor dear Riou might have been saved: but his bravery attempted, what I directed three sail of the line to assist him in.”

only two of our bomb vessels could get to their station on the middle ground, and open their mortars on the Arsenal, directing their shells over both Fleets. Our squadron of gun brigs, impeded by currents, could not, with the exception of one, although commanded by Captain Rose in the Jamaica, weather the eastern end of the middle ground, or come into Action. The division of the Commander in Chief acted according to the preconcerted plan; but could only menace the entrance of the Harbour. The Elephant was warmly engaged by the Dannebrog, and by two heavy praams on her bow and quarter.^a Signals of distress were on board the Bellona and Russel, and of inability from the Agamemnon. The Contest, in general, although from the relaxed state of the Enemy's fire, it might not have given room for much apprehension as to the result, had certainly at one P. M. not declared itself in favour of either side. About this juncture, and in this posture of affairs, the signal was thrown out on board the London, for the Action to cease.

Lord Nelson was at this time, as he had been during the whole Action, walking the starboard side of the quarter deck; sometimes much animated, and at others heroically fine in his observations. A shot through the mainmast knocked a few splinters about us; he observed to me, with a smile, *It is warm work, and this day may be the last to any of us at a moment*; and then stopping short at the gangway, he used an expression never to be erased from my memory, and said with emotion, *But mark you, I would not be elsewhere for thousands*. When the signal, N° 39, was made, the signal Lieutenant reported it to him.—He continued his walk, and did not appear to take notice of it. The Lieutenant meeting his Lordship at the next turn, asked, *Whether he should repeat it?* Lord Nelson answered *No, acknowledge it*. On the officer returning to the poop, his Lordship called after him, *Is N° 16, (signal for close action which had been flying from the beginning) still hoisted?* the Lieutenant answering in the affirmative, Lord Nelson said, *Mind you keep it so*. He now walked the deck considerably agitated, which was always known by his moving the stump of his right arm. After a turn or two, he said to me, in a quick manner, *Do you know what's shewn on board of the Commander in Chief, N° 39?* On asking him what that meant, he answered, 'Why to leave off action.' *Leave off action!* he repeated and then added, with a shrug, *Now damn me if I do*. He also observed, I believe, to Captain Foley, *You know, Foley, I have only one eye, I have a right to be blind sometimes*; and then with an archness peculiar to his character, putting the glass to this blind eye, he exclaimed, *I really do not see the signal*. This remarkable Signal was, therefore, only acknowledged on board of the Elephant, not repeated. Admiral Graves did the latter, not being able to distinguish the Elephant's conduct on the occasion: either by a fortunate accident or

^a The Elephant was much exposed to the fire of the floating battery, N° 1, commanded by Villemoes, second Lieutenant, in his seventeenth year; and who manœuvred it with so much skill and bravery, that he attracted the notice and public commendation of Lord Nelson. (Charnock's *Memoirs of Lord Nelson*, page 256.)

The Agamemnon
under the Command of
Vice Admiral
Sir J. B. Nelson
against the Danish Line of Ships
off Copenhagen.
2nd day of April.
1801.

British Force. 1 Polkissus 64 Guns 2 Lrs 50 Guns 3 Eclair 74 guns. 4 Infant 38 Guns 5 Pelition 38 Guns 6 Elephant 74 tons bearing the Flag of Lt Adm^r Leach N.Y. com 74 guns
7 Vanguard 74 guns bearing the Flag of Rear Adm^r Sir Thos Graves 10 Amazon Frigate 11 Blanche 11 12 Alcmene D 13 Iron Ship 14 Part Ship 15 Zephyr Sloop
16 Zebra 17 Zetland 18 Zetland 19 Pillara of 74 tons built around 20 Book Trisica Ac
The above are among the Danish Flag Protection. N.B The British Squadron was anchored by the 1st with sails loose but closed up. The wind blowing fresh at South





intentionally, N^o 16 was not displaced. The squadron of frigates obeyed the signal and hauled off. That brave officer, Captain Riou, was killed by a raking shot, when the Amazon shewed her stern to the Trekroner. He was sitting on a gun, was encouraging his men, and had been wounded in the head by a splinter: he had expressed himself ~~grieved~~ at being thus obliged to retreat, and nobly observed, *What will Nelson think of us?* His Clerk was killed by his side; and by another shot several of the Marines, while hauling on the mainbrace, shared the same fate. Riou then exclaimed, *Come then, my boys, let us die all together!* The words were scarcely uttered, when the fatal shot severed him in two. Thus, and in an instant, was the British service deprived of one of its greatest ornaments; and society of a character of singular worth, resembling the heroes of romance. Lord Nelson, in writing to Earl St. Vincent said, "I do not know his circumstances; but I recollect when he was at death's door in the Guardian, in 1788, he recommended a Mother and Sisters. I need say no more." This Mother had died in the interim, between the 2d of April and the possible receipt of the melancholy intelligence in England.

• The Action now continued with unabated vigour. About two P. M. the greater part of the Danish line had ceased to fire: some of the lighter ships were adrift, and the carnage on board of the Enemy, who reinforced their crews from the shore, was dreadful. The taking possession of such ships as had struck, was however attended with difficulty; partly by reason of the batteries on Amak Island protecting them, and partly because an irregular fire was made on our boats, as they approached, from the ships themselves. The Dannebrog acted in this manner, and fired at our boat; although that ship was not only on fire and had struck, but the Commodore, Fischer, had removed his pendant and had deserted her. A renewed attack on her by the Elephant and Glatton, for a quarter of an hour, not only completely silenced and disabled the Dannebrog, but by the use of grape, nearly killed every man who was in the praams, ahead and astern of that unfortunate ship.* On our smoke clearing away, the Dannebrog was found to be drifting in flames before the wind, spreading terror throughout the Enemy's line. The usual lamentable scene then ensued; and our boats rowed in every direction, to save the crew who were throwing themselves from her at every port hole; few, however, were left unwounded in her after our last broadsides, or could be saved. She drifted to leeward, and about half past three blew up. - The time of half past two, brings me to a most important part of Lord Nelson's conduct on this day, and about which so much discussion has arisen: his sending a flag of truce on shore. To the best of my recollection the facts were as follow. After the Dannebrog was adrift, and had ceased to fire, the Action was found to be over, along the whole of the line astern of us; but not so with the ships ahead and with the Crown Batteries. Whether from

* After Commodore Fischer had left her, her gallant Captain, Braun, continued to give his orders on board, amidst the flames in which she was enveloped, until he lost his right hand; when Captain Lemning succeeded.

ignorance of the custom of War, or from confusion on board the Prizes, our boats were, as before mentioned, repulsed from the ships themselves, or fired at from Amak Island. Lord Nelson naturally lost temper at this, and observed, "That he must either send on shore and stop this irregular proceeding, or send in our fire ships and burn them." He accordingly retired into the stern gallery and wrote, with great despatch, that well-known letter addressed to the Crown Prince, with the address, *To the brothers of Englishmen, the brave Danes*: and in order to shew that no hurry had ensued upon the occasion, he sent for a candle to the Cockpit, and affixed a larger seal than usual.—"Vice Admiral Lord Nelson has been commanded to spare Denmark, when she no longer resists. The line of defence which covered her shores has struck to the British flag. Let the firing cease then, that he may take possession of his Prizes, or he will blow them into the air along with their crews who have so nobly defended them. The brave Danes are the brothers, and should never be the enemies of the English." This letter was conveyed on shore through the contending Fleets by Captain Sir Frederick Thesiger, who acted as his Lordship's Aid-de-Camp; and who found the Prince near the sally port, animating his people in a spirited manner. Whether we were actually firing at that time in the Elephant or not, I am unable to recollect: it could only have been partially, at such of the farther ships as had not struck. The three ships ahead of us were however engaged; and from the superiority of the force opposed to them, it was by no means improbable, that Lord Nelson's observing eye pointed out to him the expedience of a prudent conduct. Whether this suggested to him the policy of a flag of truce or not, two solid reasons were apparent, and were such as to justify the measure: viz. The necessity of stopping the irregular fire from the ships which had surrendered, and the singular opportunity that was thus given, of sounding the feelings of an Enemy, who had reluctantly entered into the war, and who must feel the generosity of the first offer of amity coming from a conquering foe. If there were a third reason for the conduct of the noble Admiral, and some of his own officers assert this, it was unnecessary that it should have been expressed; it was certainly not avowed, and will for ever remain a matter of conjecture.—While the boat was absent, the animated fire of the ships ahead of us, and the approach of two of the Commander in Chief's division, the *Ramilies* and *Defence*, caused the remainder of the Enemy's line to the eastward of the *Trekroner* to strike: that formidable work continued its fire, but fortunately at too long a range to do serious damage to any one except the *Monarch*, whose loss in men, this day, exceeded that of any line of battle ship during the war. From the uninjured state of this *Outwork*, which had been manned at the close of the Action with nearly 1500 men, it was deemed impracticable to carry into execution the projected plan for storming it: the boats for this service had been on the starboard side of each ship during the Action. The firing from the Crown battery and from our leading ships did not cease until past three o'clock; when the Danish Adjutant General,

Lindholm, returning with a flag of truce, directed the fire of the Battery to be suspended. The signal for doing the same, on our part, was then made from our ship to those engaged. The Action closed after five hours' duration, four of which were warmly contested.

'The answer from the Prince Regent was to inquire more minutely into the purport of the Message. I should here observe, that previous to the boat's getting on board, Lord Nelson had taken the opinion of his valuable friends, Fremantle and Foley, the former of whom had been sent for from the Ganges, as to the practicability of advancing with the ships which were least damaged, upon that part of the Danish line of defence yet uninjured. Their opinions were averse from it; and, on the other hand, decided in favour of removing our Fleet, whilst the wind yet held fair, from their present intricate channel. Lord Nelson was now prepared how to act when Mr. Lindholm came on board, and the following answer was returned to the Crown Prince by Captain Sir Frederick Thesiger: 'Lord Nelson's object in sending the Flag of Truce was Humanity: he therefore consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken on shore. And Lord Nelson will take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn and carry off his prizes as he shall think fit. Lord Nelson, with humble duty to H. R. H. the Prince of Denmark, will consider this the greatest Victory he has ever gained, if it may be the cause of a happy reconciliation and union between his own most gracious Sovereign, and his Majesty the King of Denmark.'—His Lordship, having finished this letter, referred the Adjutant General to the Commander in Chief, who was at anchor at least four miles off, for a conference on the important points which the latter part of the message had alluded to; and to this General Lindholm did not object, but proceeded to the London. Lord Nelson wisely foresaw, that exclusive of the valuable opportunity that now offered itself for a renewal of peace, time would be gained by this long row out to sea, for our leading ships which were much crippled to clear the shoals, and whose course was under the immediate fire of the *Trekroner*. The Adjutant-General was no sooner gone to the London, and Captain Thesiger despatched on shore, than the signal was made for the Glatton, Elephant, Ganges, Defiance, and Monarch to weigh in succession. The intricacy of the Channel now shewed the great utility of what had been done; the Monarch, as first ship, immediately hit on a shoal, but was pushed over it by the Ganges taking her amid ships. The Glatton went clear, but the Defiance and Elephant ran aground, leaving the Crown battery at about a mile distance; and there they remained fixed, the former until ten o'clock that night, and the latter until eight, notwithstanding every exertion which their fatigued crews could make to relieve them. Had there been no cessation of hostilities, their situation would certainly have been perilous; but it should be observed on the other hand, that measures would in that case have been adopted, and they were within our power, for destroying this formidable work.

The Elephant being aground, Lord Nelson followed the Adjutant General, about four

o'clock to the London, where that negociation first began, which terminated in an honourable peace. He was low in spirits at the surrounding scene of devastation, and particularly felt for the blowing up of the Dannebrog. '*Well,*' he exclaimed, '*I have fought contrary to orders, and I shall perhaps be hanged: Never mind, let them.*' Lindholm returned to Copenhagen the same evening, when it was agreed that all prizes should be surrendered, and the suspension of hostilities continue for twenty-four hours: the whole of the Danish wounded were to be received on shore. Lord Nelson then repaired on board the St. George, and the night was actively passed by the boats of the division which had not been engaged, in getting afloat the ships that were ashore, and in bringing out the prizes. The Desirée frigate towards the close of the action in going to the aid of the Bellona, became fast on the same shoal; but neither these ships, nor the Russel, were in any danger from the enemy's batteries, as the world has frequently since been led to suppose.

'Early in the morning of the 3d of April, when it was scarcely light, Lord Nelson repaired, in his gig, (his usual conveyance) on board of our ship the Elephant; conceiving that we were still aground. The fatigue and cold of a long row in a northern sea, and at that early hour, and after the most severe exertions both of body and mind for several successive days, had no effect in causing this uncommon man either to indulge in rest, or to forget those whose fate he valued for an instant. His delight and praises at finding us afloat were unbounded, and recompensed all our misfortunes. He took a hasty breakfast, and then rowed to such of the prizes as were not yet removed from the Danish shore: and here he gave another proof of the eccentricity, as well as boldness of his character. Finding that one of the line of battle ships, the Zealand, which had struck the last and was under the immediate protection of the *Trekroner*, had refused to acknowledge herself to be a captured ship, and made some quibble about the colours and not the pendant having been hauled down,' his Lordship ordered one of our brigs to approach her; and proceeded in his gig to one of the enemy's ships which were within that battery, in order to communicate with the Commodore, whose flag was flying on board of the Elephanten. When he had got along side, he found it to be his old acquaintance, Muller, whom he had known in the West Indies. He invited himself on board, and acted with so much ability and politeness towards his friend and the officers assembled, that he not only explained and gained the point in dispute about the Zealand; but left the ship as much admired by his enemies, as he had long been by those who were his intimate friends in his own Fleet. This day was actively employed in refitting the squadron, securing the prizes, distributing the prisoners, and in negotiating with the shore. It was resolved, that Lord Nelson should wait on the Prince Regent on the ensuing day.

* Captain Otway displayed great presence of mind by the assistance which he devised on this occasion.

‘ On the 4th of April his Lordship left the ship, accompanied by Captains Hardy and Fremantle, and was received with all possible attention from the Prince. The populace shewed a mixture of admiration, curiosity, and displeasure. A strong guard secured his safety, and appeared necessary to keep off the mob; whose rage, although mixed with admiration at his thus trusting himself amongst them, was naturally to be expected. The events of the 2d, had plunged the whole town into a state of terror, astonishment, and mourning: the oldest inhabitant had never seen a shot fired in anger at his native Country. The battle of that day, and the subsequent return of the wounded to the care of their friends on the 3d, were certainly not events that could induce the Danish Nation to receive their Conqueror, on this occasion, with much cordiality. It perhaps savoured of rashness in Lord Nelson thus early to risk himself amongst them; but with him, his Country's Cause was paramount to all personal consideration.

‘ The Negotiation continued; and the interim between the 4th and 9th of April, was employed in destroying the prizes, refitting the fleet, and in taking a position with the Bomb Vessels and Gun Brigs, in order to open the bombardment in the event of hostilities being renewed. On the 9th, Lord Nelson landed again, and was accompanied by the Adjutant General Lindholm, who came to receive him, and whose attention was marked throughout; and by Lieutenant Colonel Stewart, Captain Parker, the Rev. Mr. Scot, &c. He was escorted to the Palace, surrounded by an immense crowd, who shewed more satisfaction on this occasion than on the preceding one. The Commissioners, who were appointed to adjust the terms of an Armistice, proceeded to business without delay. On the seventh Article of this Treaty much difficulty arose, and the Negotiation was likely to have been broken off on the point of duration. The Danish Commissioners candidly avowed their apprehension of the Court of Russia: Lord Nelson assured them, with a degree of candour not quite customary in diplomacy, that his reason for requiring so long a term as sixteen weeks, was that he might have time to act against the Russian fleet, and then return to them: The point not being acceded to on either side, one of the Danish commissioners hinted at the renewal of hostilities. Upon which Lord Nelson, who understood French sufficiently to make out what the Commissioner said, turned to one of his friends with warmth, and said, *Renew hostilities! Tell him that we are ready at a moment, ready to bombard this very night.* The Commissioner apologised with politeness, and the business went on more amicably. The duration of the Armistice could not however be adjusted; and

‘ Article VII. This Armistice shall continue in force during the space of fourteen weeks, from the day of its being signed by the Contracting Parties. After the expiration of that time, each of the said parties shall be at liberty to declare its termination, and recommence hostilities, after giving a previous notice of fourteen days. The Contents of this Armistice shall, on every occasion, be explained in the most liberal and candid manner; in order to remove every ground of future dispute, and to facilitate the means of a restoration of friendship and good understanding between the two Kingdoms.

the conference broke up at two o'clock, for reference to the Crown Prince. A levee was consequently held in one of the state rooms, the whole of which were without furniture from the apprehension of a bombardment. His Lordship then proceeded to a grand dinner up stairs, the Prince leading the way. Lord Nelson, leaning on the arm of a Friend, whispered, *Though I have only one eye, I see all this will burn very well*: He was even then thinking more about the bombardment than about the dinner. During the entertainment, which was laid for fifty covers, Lord Nelson sat on the Prince's right hand, and much cordiality prevailed. They were afterwards closeted together for some time, and the Prince at length acceded to an Armistice of fourteen weeks duration; to which Lord Nelson assenting, with the reservation of the approval of the Commander in Chief, the party returned on board. On the same day, April 9th, in writing to Earl St. Vincent from on board the *St. George*, he said, 'Just returned from getting the Armistice ratified. I am tired to death. No man but those who are on the spot can tell what I have gone through, and do suffer. I make no scruple in saying, That I would have been at Revel fourteen days ago, that without this Armistice the Fleet would never have gone but by order from the Admiralty, and with it, I dare say, we shall not go this week. I wanted Sir Hyde to let me at least go and cruise off Carlscroone, to prevent the Revel ships from getting in. I said, I would not go to Revel to take any of those laurels which I was sure he would reap there. Think for me, my dear Lord, and if I have deserved well let me retire; if ill, for Heaven's sake supersede me, for I cannot exist in this state.'—On the succeeding day, April 10, 1801, the Danish Commissioners repaired to the London, where the Terms were finally ratified by the Commander in Chief. Colonel Stewart having volunteered his services as bearer of the Despatches, was sent with them to England. Previous to the convention of the 9th, the whole of the Danish prisoners were sent on shore, and receipts had for 6,000 killed, wounded, and taken on the 2d. The Prizes, which amounted to six line of battle ships and eight praams, exclusive of one line of battle ship and two smaller craft burnt and sunk during the Action, were all destroyed, excepting the *Holstein*; she was sent to England with wounded men, under the charge of that excellent medical officer Surgeon Ferguson, who had volunteered his services with Colonel Stewart during the service, and whose professional skill acquired him the high opinion of Lord Nelson. The measure of destroying the Prizes was much regretted, but deemed necessary by the Commander in Chief, with a view to the ulterior active services of his Fleet.—Lord Nelson in writing to Earl St. Vincent at the Admiralty, respecting this, said, 'Whether Sir Hyde Parker may mention the subject to you, I know not, for he is rich and does not want it: Nor is it, you will believe me, from any desire I possess to get a few hundred pounds, that actuates me to address this letter to you; but, my dear Lord, Justice to the brave Officers and men who fought on that day. It is true our Opponents were in hulks and floats only adapted for the position they were placed in; but that made our

Battle so much the harder, and Victory so much the more difficult to obtain. Believe me, I have weighed all circumstances, and in my conscience I think that the King should send a gracious Message to the House of Commons, for a Gift to this Fleet: for what must be the natural feelings of the Officers and men belonging to it, to see their rich Commander in Chief burn all the fruits of their Victory; which if fitted up and sent to England, as many of them might have been by dismantling part of our Fleet, would have sold for a good round sum. Having mentioned the subject, I shall leave it to the better judgment of your Lordship and Mr. Addington.'

In writing to Mr. Davison, Lord Nelson complained of the manner in which the carpenters had condemned the Zealand, 74, which he described to have been as large and full as fine a ship as the Sans Pareil; and also that they had reported the Infodstratten, Captain Thura, 64 guns, to have been an old ship, and she was in consequence destroyed, when she had been only seven years from the stocks, and never at sea.—In this letter was enclosed the subsequent Report of Captain Sir Frederick Thesiger to the Admiral: 'The following is a list of the Prizes, which remained at their anchorage after the Victory of the 2d of April, 1801; and those line of battle ships and floating batteries, within the circumflex,' were boarded by me in the following order, by the directions of the Vice Admiral.'—His Lordship added to this report, 'Two ships ran towards the harbour and sunk by the way, and a floating battery did the same; one said to be sunk alongside the Elephant, was seen by Captain Bligh and escaped into the port.'

In his official letter to Sir Hyde Parker, April 3, Lord Nelson, after mentioning the able assistance of Captain Riou, the unremitting exertions of Captain Brisbane, and the Masters of the Amazon and Cruiser; and noticing the accidents that had befallen the Bellona, Russel and Agamemnon, as events to which all the ships were liable, added—'These accidents prevented the extension of our line by the three ships before mentioned, who would, I am confident, have silenced the Crown Islands, the two outer ships in the harbour's mouth, and prevented the heavy loss in the Defiance and Monarch; and which unhappily threw the gallant and good Captain Riou, to whom I had given the command of the frigates and sloops named in the margin (Blanche, Alcmena, Dart, Arrow, Zephyr, and Otter) to assist the attack of the ships at the harbour's mouth, under a very heavy fire. The consequence has been the death of Captain Riou and of many brave officers and men in the frigates and

Vagten	Ship of the line.
Provost	Ditto.
Bellona	Floating Battery.
Zealand	Ship of the Line.
Crown Islands	Floating Battery.
Severn	Ditto.
Shark	Ditto.

Charlotte Amelia	Floating Battery.
Holstein	Ship of the Line.
Sea Horse	Floating Battery.
Infodstratten	Ship of the Line.
Dannebrog	Line of Battle on fire.
Zealand	Ship of the Line.

Frederick Thesiger.

sloops. The bombs were directed and took their stations abreast of the Elephant, and threw some shells into the arsenal. Captain Rose, who volunteered his services to direct the gun brigs, did every thing that was possible to get them forward, but the current was too strong for them to be of service during the Action; yet not the less merit is due to Captain Rose, and, I believe, to all the officers and crews of the gun vessels, for their exertions. The boats of those ships of the Fleet that were not ordered on the attack, afforded us every assistance; and the officers and men who were in them merit my warmest approbation. The *Desirée*, Captain H. Inman, took her station in raking the southernmost Danish ship of the line, and performed the greatest service. The Action began at five minutes past ten. The van led by Captain George Murray of the *Edgar*, who set a noble example of intrepidity, which was as well followed up by every Captain, Officer and man in the squadron. It is my duty to state to you the high and distinguished merit and gallantry of Rear Admiral Graves. To Captain Foley, who permitted me the honour of hoisting my flag in the Elephant, I feel under the greatest obligations: his advice was necessary on many important occasions during the Battle. I beg leave to express how much I feel indebted to every Captain, Officer and man, for their zeal and distinguished bravery on this occasion. The Hon. Colonel Stewart did me the favour to be on board the Elephant; and himself, with every officer and soldier under his orders, shared with pleasure the toils and dangers of the day. The loss in such a Battle has naturally been very heavy. Amongst many other brave Officers and men who were killed, I have with sorrow to place the name of Captain Moss, of the *Monarch*, who has left a wife and six children to lament his loss; and amongst the wounded that of Captain Sir Thomas Boulden Thompson of the *Bellona*.—In some private letters afterwards to Earl St. Vincent, Lord Nelson did **not** fail, as was his invariable custom, to render service to such other Officers as he thought had merited the attention of the Admiralty. After mentioning the names of Lieutenants Bolton, Pearce, and others whom he considered as his children, and who had not been promoted; he generously added, “I can only say, that the first I must name, can be no other than the first Lieutenant of the Elephant, no acquaintance, and one intended to be advanced by Sir Hyde Parker. Captain Devonshire, after Brisbane, highly deserved to be made Post.”—Again, “*April 14*. Captain Bligh has desired my testimony to his good conduct, which although perfectly unnecessary, I cannot refuse: his behaviour on this occasion can reap no additional credit from my testimony. He was my second, and the moment the Action ceased, I sent for him on board the Elephant, to thank him for his support. I am sure of your goodness to Thompson.”—Again, “*May 8*. I dare say Sir Hyde Parker has recommended to your notice Lieutenant Joshua Johnson* of the

* In a letter to Mr. Angerstein, Lord Nelson, when speaking of Mr. Johnson, said, ‘He is an excellent officer and a good man. In nine days from the loss of his arm, he did his duty again as first lieutenant. Such spirit in the service is never to be overcome.’—In addition to the Officers thus honourably noticed, his Lordship afterwards

Edgar. At the commencement of the Action he was second Lieutenant; but the first being very soon killed, he acted as such until his left arm was shot off. He refused the idea of being sent to England, and hoped that Captain Murray would be content by the first lieutenant's duty being done by a one armed officer. He is now perfectly recovered, and doing his duty as first lieutenant: all his conduct has been so highly creditable, that I should be unjust not to recommend him to your Lordship's protection."

The Danish Commodore Fischer, in his official letter to the Crown Prince, gave great offence to Lord Nelson, on account of some unfair statements and incorrect claims, which were entirely repugnant to the integrity of a British Admiral. His Lordship, in the first warmth of his displeasure, sent a remonstrance through the medium of General Lindholm, to the Prince of Denmark (April 22). The Admiral began by stating his reasons for taking such a step, and by giving the exact force of the British and Danes; he declared, that the Danish Line of Defence, to the southward of the Crown Islands, was much stronger and more numerous than the British; that we had only five sail of Seventy-fours, two Sixty-fours, two Fifties, and one frigate engaged; that two of our Seventy-fours and one Sixty-four, grounded by an accident on the Crown Islands. Towards the latter end of the Action, a bomb vessel threw some shells into the Arsenal. As his Lordship proceeded in his letter, his warmth increased: 'I am ready,' said he, 'to admit, that many of the Danish officers and men behaved as well as men could do, and deserved not to be abandoned by their Commander—I am justified in saying this from Commodore Fischer's own declaration: In his letter he states, that after he quitted the *Dannebrog*, she long contested the Battle; if so, more shame for him to quit so many brave fellows. Here was no manœuvring, it was downright fighting, and it was his duty to have shewn an example of firmness becoming the high trust reposed in him: he went in such a hurry, if he went before she struck, which but for his own declaration I can hardly believe, that he forgot to take his broad pendant with him, for both pendant and ensign were struck together; and it was from that circumstance that I claimed the Commodore as a prisoner of war. He then went, as he said, on board the *Holstein*, the brave Captain of which did not want him, where he did not hoist his pendant; from this ship he went on shore, either before or after she struck, or he would have been again a prisoner. As to his nonsense about Victory, his Royal Highness will not much credit him. *I sunk, burnt, captured, or drove into the harbour*, the whole Line of Defence to the southward of the Crown Islands. He says, he was told that *two* British Ships

added, in other letters to Earl St. Vincent, The names of Lieutenant W. Charlton and Lieutenant E. King, the former Commander of the *Henry* gun brig and the latter first Lieutenant of the *Desirée*, in the Battle of Copenhagen; both of whom were entire strangers to Lord Nelson. He also reminded Earl St. Vincent of Lieutenant Pettis first of the *Nemur*, who on account of his good character had been taken by Lord Nelson into the *St. Josef*, and *St. George*, and also of the most and extraordinary good conduct of Mr. Antrim, who had previously lost a part of his thigh in the Battle of the Nile.

struck; why did he not take possession of them? I took possession of his, as fast as they struck . . . He states, that the ship in which I had the honour to hoist my flag, fired latterly only single guns —It is true; for steady and cool were my brave Fellows, and did not wish to throw away a single shot. He seems to exult that I sent on shore a Flag of Truce: You know, and his Royal Highness knows, That the guns fired from the shore, could only fire through the Danish ships which had surrendered; and that if I fired at the shore, it could only be in the same manner. God forbid I should destroy a non resisting Dane: when they became my prisoners, I became their Protector. Humanity alone could have been my object. His Royal Highness thought as I did. It has brought about an Armistice, which, I pray the Almighty, may bring about a happy reconciliation between the two Kingdoms.' . . . The Adjutant General replied with every attention to the wounded feelings of the British Admiral, yet protested against the severity with which the Danish Commodore had been treated on the occasion; and touched on the painful task that his Lordship had imposed. He appealed to Lord Nelson's candour and indulgence, to allow of some few observations in vindication of the Commodore, yet without having had any communication with him. The General confessed he still thought, and had always been of opinion, that the British Division, or rather the part of it which was stationed to the southward of the Crown Battery, was stronger than that part of the Danish line. After urging every argument he could devise as to the Danish ships being old and rotten, being badly officered, and manned the greater part with landsmen; that the British Squadron was superior in number of guns, and those of a greater caliber, exclusive of the carro-nades which did the Danish ships so much injury; General Lindholm asserted, that as the Dannebrog was on fire, it had been the duty of the Commodore to remove his broad pendant; and that he would have been justified, from a wound in his head, if he had quitted the command altogether. The man who had taken down the broad pendant and hoisted the Captain's pendant, had been killed when coming down the shrouds, and fell upon the deck with the Commodore's pendant in his hand.— After urging further arguments in defence of his countryman, the General thus concluded: 'As to your Lordship's motives for sending a Flag of Truce to our government, they can never be misconstrued; and your subsequent conduct has sufficiently shewn, that Humanity is always the companion of true Valour: you have done more, you have shewn yourself a friend to the reestablishment of Peace and good Harmony, between this Country and Britain.'

The general spirit and drift of this letter were so entirely different from the Commodore's, that his Lordship was determined not to cavil at the incorrectness of some parts; and he therefore replied, May 3, 1801, 'If Commodore Fischer's letter had been couched in the same manly and honourable manner, I should have been the last man to have noticed any little inaccuracies which might get into a Commander in Chief's public letter. I have

done ample justice to the bravery of nearly all your officers and men; and as it is not my intention to hurt your feelings or those of his Royal Highness, but on the contrary to try and merit your esteem; I will only say, that I am confident you would not have written such a letter: Nothing, I flatter myself, in my conduct ought to have drawn ridicule on my character, from the Commodore's pen; and you have borne the handsomest testimony of it, in contradiction to his. 'I thought then as I did before the Action and do now, *that it is not the interest of our Countries to injure each other.*'—In some private remarks which Lord Nelson afterwards made on General Lindholm's letter, it was observed, that the latter ought to have omitted the guns of the Russel, Bellona, Agamemnon, Amazon, Alcmena, Blanche, Dart and Arrow: The two first were aground, and although within random shot, yet were unable to do that service which was expected from 74 gun ships: the Agamemnon was not within three miles; the other frigates and sloops were exposed to a part of the Crown Battery, and the ships in the other channel; but not fired upon by the eighteen sail drawn up to the southward of the Crown Islands. His Lordship also subjoined his statement of the real number of guns engaged on both sides, which gave 692 to the British force in action, and 800 to the Danes; making a superiority of the Enemy of 108 guns. We had 254 killed, and 699 wounded.

The Commander in Chief, Sir Hyde Parker, throughout the whole of this most arduous enterprise, and in the difficult situation in which he was ultimately placed, certainly preserved a candid and honourable conduct. Sir Hyde's behaviour to Lord Nelson, which has been commended in the previous Memoir of this Battle, was rendered still more liberal by the manner in which the former closed his Official Letter . . . 'His Lordship has stated so fully the whole of his proceedings on that day, as only to leave me the opportunity to declare my entire acquiescence and testimony, of the Bravery and Intrepidity with which the Action was supported throughout the line; were it possible for me to add any thing to the well-earned renown of Lord Nelson, it would be by asserting, that his exertions, great as they have heretofore been, never were carried to a higher pitch of Zeal for his Country's service. I have only to lament that the sort of attack, confined within an intricate and narrow passage, excluded the ships particularly under my command from the opportunity of exhibiting their valour; but I can with great truth assert, that the same Spirit and Zeal animated the whole of the Fleet.'—After mentioning the death of the brave and gallant Captains Mosse and Riou (the former of whom being killed early in the action, his ship had been fought with the greatest spirit and good conduct by Lieutenant John Yelland), and the known gallantry of Sir T. B. Thompson, whose leg had been shot off; Sir Hyde concluded with referring their Lordships to Captain Otway, who had been with Lord Nelson in the latter part of the Battle.—In writing after the Action to his old acquaintance Admiral Holloway, Lord Nelson, after bearing testimony to the professional merit of the Captain

of the London, added, 'From my heart, my dear Holloway, I wish you had been here; be assured there is not that man in the service who respects you more than myself, or who feels more grateful for the many kind favours you have shewn me on various occasions. I like the appearance of Mr. Parrey very much. Lyons is on board the St. George, and is a very fine lad. If this northern business is not settled, they must send more Admirals. I am going home immediately, the keen air of the north has cut me to the heart.'

Mr. Ferguson in his Memoranda thus described the state of our Ships when Lord Nelson sent the Flag of Truce. 'Sir Hyde Parker and the rest of the Fleet had approached even within gunshot; and for the Crown Batteries, which alone were to be dreaded, the following disposition had been made for carrying them: As the Flag of Truce left Lord Nelson's ship, 1500 of the choicest boarders, who had been selected from the whole Fleet previous to the Action, descended into 50 boats, 30 men in each boat; these boats were to have been commanded by the Hon. Colonel Stewart and Captain Fremantle. The moment it could be known that the Flag of Truce had been refused, the boats were to have pushed for the Batteries, and the fire of every gun in the Fleet would have covered their approach.—Many days were lost unnecessarily in proceeding up the Baltic; and his Lordship's permanent flag ship, the St. George, drawing too much water to pass over a shallow Channel through which the only passage ran, he was detained even after the Fleet did pass, to have the St. George lightened of her guns. Before this could be effected, however, the report of the Swedish Fleet being out reached him: inaction at such a time little suited the temper of his mind. The report came in the evening; he instantly descended into his gig, in a very cold night of that climate; and after having been so exposed sixteen hours on the water, got on board the Elephant, the former bearer of his flag and his triumph. The Swedes returned into port, and the Russians remained the only object of vengeance. Their Baltic Fleet winters in two divisions at the great arsenals of Revel and Cronstadt; but at the former station the ships are locked in by the ice several weeks longer than the latter. It was about the time that it might be possible to get into Revel, thither the Fleet steered; when they were met by a cutter announcing the death of the Emperor Paul, and having conciliatory propositions from his successor Alexander. Sir Hyde Parker immediately returned to the anchorage near Copenhagen: such a step was by no means agreeable to Lord Nelson, who knew that to negotiate with effect, force should be at hand and in a situation to act. The position of the British Fleet ought to have been between the two Russian divisions, so as to prevent their junction, in case their pacific overtures had proved insincere. Weeks were lost in this inactivity. Sir Hyde Parker was then recalled, and the Command vested in Lord Nelson.—Not a moment was now lost; nine sail of the line immediately weighed anchor with the Admiral and proceeded to Revel. Of the friendship of the Russians there had been no confirmation; the message might have been a *ruse de guerre* to

save their Fleet, and it was time to prove their disposition by entering one of their ports. On the passage every possible opportunity was embraced of calling our different Commanders together, arranging plans of conduct in the event of finding the Russians friendly or hostile, and the port of Revel was at all events to be entered; but on our reaching it, we learned to our surprise and mortification, that the state of the ice had permitted their escape to Cronstadt three days before. Nelson was not disconcerted, the hostile visit was made to pass for one of honour and courtesy, the Governor and forts were saluted, messages of cordiality were sent, and an invitation from the shore was accepted; and after three days spent amicably, he parted with the Russians on the best terms. Such was the man equally fitted to serve his Country by his Courage, his Talents, and his Address. True original genius he possessed in an eminent degree. He was a decided enemy to any severe system of Discipline, and never would consent to inflict corporal punishment on a man if it were possible to avoid it: when he was actually driven to it, he was more miserable and unhappy during the execution of a sentence than the culprit himself. He understood mankind, and could lead them where he pleased. No man was ever more faithfully obeyed, yet knew he not the use of Terror. His hold was on the Affections and Reason of Man, aided by Example; and such a hold, that he could by it inspire cowardice itself with Courage and Enthusiasm. In all his life he never was known to do an unfriendly act to any Officer about him: if they behaved ill, and he was asked to prosecute them, he used to answer, "That there was no occasion for him to ruin a poor devil, who was sufficiently his own enemy to ruin himself." Expulsion from the ship was the severest punishment he inflicted. He was literally what I have heard his Sailors, in their plain expressive language, say of him, "*Our NEL is as brave as a Lion, and as gentle as a Lamb.*"

Captain Otway arrived at the Admiralty with the despatches on the 15th of April, 1801; and on the 16th, on the motion of Thanks being made in the House of Lords by Earl St. Vincent, to Sir Hyde Parker, Lord Nelson, Rear Admiral Graves, and the rest of the Officers and Seamen who had served under them; the Duke of Clarence said, 'That success seemed to attend the Valour of his friend Lord Nelson in every enterprise he undertook; and as a Prince of the Blood, added his Royal Highness, I acknowledge my own personal obligations to those gallant Commanders for the accomplishment of such a Victory.—In the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Addington, having made a similar motion for the thanks of that House, thus proceeded: "To enter, Sir, into all the particulars of this great Action, is unnecessary; it is sufficient for me to observe, that the Fleet after passing the Sound advanced to Copenhagen. The situation of the Enemy's force was such, that all our ships could not possibly be engaged: in these circumstances, Sir Hyde Parker, with a degree of judgment which reflected the highest credit on his choice, appointed Lord Nelson, whose name had already been covered with

Splendour and Renown, to the execution of the important Enterprise that had been resolved on; and great as had been the Courage, great as had been the Skill, and the Success, which had previously been shewn by the illustrious Admiral at Aboukir, they have been equalled or surpassed by the ability that was displayed in his attack on the Danish Fleet moored for the defence of Copenhagen.”—Mr. Addington then entered on that Address and Spirit, which his Lordship had equally manifested in sending the Flag of Truce, and concluded with these words: *I must add, that Lord Nelson has proved himself as wise as he is brave; and has clearly ascertained, that the talents of a Warrior and a Statesman may be united in the same person.*

Lord Nelson to H. R. II. Admiral the Duke of Clarence,' Kioge Bay, April 27, 1801.

‘ Sir: I feel infinitely your Royal Highness’ kindness by your expressions of attachment to me in the House of Peers, which I am sure your R. II. will believe, that no conduct of mine shall ever be likely to diminish. As I think that all our fighting is over in the North, I am going to England: my health and circumstances absolutely require it. Admiral Graves desires me to present his dutiful thanks to your Royal Highness, for the very handsome manner you spoke of him. We are now, I believe, waiting for Orders from home what is next to become of us. I would strongly recommend keeping our Seamen actively employed; for there has been, I suspect, something very wrong going on in many of our ships, instigated in England. Believe me, for ever, your Royal Highness’ faithful servant,
NELSON AND BRONTE.’

Earl St. Vincent to Lord Nelson, dated Admiralty, April 1801.

‘ My dear Lord: It is impossible for me to describe the satisfaction expressed by his Majesty, his confidential servants, and the whole body of the people, at the conduct of your Lordship, and the Officers, Seamen, Marines, and Soldiers, who served under your auspices on the 2d instant; and all are equally well disposed to give credit to your zeal as a Negotiator. You cannot have a stronger proof, than in your appointment to succeed Admiral Sir Hyde Parker in the command of the Baltic Fleet; on the conduct of which, the dearest interests of this Nation depend: And although the death of the late Emperor of Russia appears to have made a material change in the politics of the Court of Petersburg, it is absolutely necessary to be prepared for the sudden changes, which too frequently happen in the political hemisphere. I will seize the first opportunity to convey to the King the high estimation in which you hold our friend Colonel Stewart: he is the bearer of this, and will, I am persuaded, be of great use to you both in negotiating and fighting, if there should be again occasion. That the same Divine Influence which has hitherto prospered all your

* Very few letters relative to the Baltic, of which his Royal Highness possesses a great number, are inserted, from political reasons.

Lordship's exertions in the cause of your Country, may continue to hover over you, is the fervent prayer of your truly affectionate ST. VINCENT.'

In writing during the same month to his old Commander, at different intervals, his Lordship said, 'I am in truth unable to hold the very honourable station you have conferred upon me: Admiral Graves also is so ill, as to keep his bed. I know not exactly the purport of Fremantle's mission: If Sir Hyde were gone, I would now (May 5) be under sail, leave six sail of the line off Bornholm to watch the Swedes and to cover our communication, and go to Revel, where I should at least, if not too late, prevent the junction of the two squadrons; that I shall never suffer. I will have all the English shipping and property restored; but I will do nothing violently; neither commit my Country, nor suffer Russia to mix the affairs of Denmark or Sweden, with the detention of our ships. Should I meet the Revel squadron, I shall make them stay with me until all our English ships join; for we must not joke. As the business will be settled in a fortnight, I must entreat that some person may come out to take this command. *May 7.* It is no compliment, for it is true, that except those who have served in your School, I find such a deficiency of resource, that even I, who never had any compared with twenty who served in the Mediterranean, am astonished: but by seeing others get on with the service, it is surprising what Example effects. I shall endeavour to do my best whilst I remain; but, my dear Lord, I shall either soon go to Heaven, I hope, or must rest quiet for a time. My little trip into the Gulf of Finland will be, I trust, of national benefit, and I shall be kind or otherwise, as I find the folks. *Revel Bay, May 16, 1801.* 'To your Lordship, I shall confine myself to what we clearly could have done with our Baltic Fleet, such as it was after the conclusion of the Armistice with Denmark. I shall not say more of the Swedes, than as we saw their force at Carlscroon, where they had wisely retired when they *saw our frigates* in the Baltic. On the 19th of April we had eighteen sail of the line and a fair wind. Count Pahlen (the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs) came and resided at this place, evidently to endeavour to prevent any hostilities against the Russian Fleet here; which was, I decidedly say, at our mercy: nothing, if it had been right to make the attack, could have saved one ship of them in two hours after our entering the Bay; and to prevent their destruction, Sir Hyde Parker had a great latitude for asking for various things for the suspension of his orders: but I hope all is for the best, and that the Emperor has not deceived us. On Wednesday the 29th of April, the Bay of Revel was clear of firm ice; and, on that day, the ice in the Mole, about six feet thick, was cut, and three sail of the line got out and moored on the eastern side of the Bay, absolutely unprotected except by a battery of six guns. By the Sunday they were all out, fourteen sail of ships; but I am not certain yet, whether the Fleet was ten, eleven, or twelve ships of the line; two were three-decked ships: they sailed for Cronstadt the same day. I hope you will approve of our coming here; we now know the navigation.

should circumstances call us here again. All the folks are thieves, and think us fair game. Hardy and myself have managed the whole business here. *May 17, 1801.* The answer from Count Pahlen, with all my correspondence, is under cover to Mr. Nepean; after such an answer, I had no further business here. Has the Count any meaning in his gross falsehoods, or has it been an entire misunderstanding of my letter? Time will shew; but I do not believe he would have written such a letter, if the Russian Fleet had been in Revel. A word for myself: since the 27th of April, I have not been out of my cabin, except in being obliged to do the civil thing at Revel; nor do I expect to go out, until I land in England, or am carried out of the ship. I therefore most earnestly hope, that some worthy Admiral will be arrived to command this Fleet, which I can truly say is deserving of any Officer; for more zeal and desire to distinguish themselves I never saw. In four days I hope to join Admiral Totty off Bornholm. *May 22.* I send you a plan of the Bay of Revel, drawn by our friend Colonel Stewart, who is an excellent and indefatigable young man, and, depend upon it, the rising hope of our Army. As there is no other plan in existence, perhaps you will direct a copy to be lodged in the Hydrographer's Office. The Fleet, when out of the Mole, always moor on the east side of the Bay, the outer ship is supposed to be protected by the fort, which is marked; there are, it is true, a number of guns, but as the Officer who goes there is not to be supposed to mind guns, if he can get in and out again, in my opinion the Revel Fleet, whether in or out of the Mole, would be destroyed by a vigorous attack; and that it may, if the Russians again give us offence, is the sincere wish of your affectionate sick friend. P. S. You have often spoke of that worthy Officer Admiral George Montague: I own, I long from his character to give up this Fleet to him, or some other good man.—*May 24.* The death of my dear Brother,* which I received only yesterday, has naturally affected me a good deal; and if I do not get some repose very soon, another will go. Six sons are gone out of eight; but I hope yet to see you, and to cheer up once more.—Earl St. Vincent replied, *May 31:* ‘I have the deepest concern at learning from Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson, that your health has suffered in so material a degree. To find a proper successor, your Lordship well knows is no easy task; for I never saw the man in our Profession, excepting yourself and Troubridge,* who possessed the magic art of infusing the same Spirit into others, which inspired their own actions; exclusive of other talents and habits of business, not common to naval characters. But your complaint demands prompt decision; we have therefore fixed on Admiral Pole. Your Lordship's whole Conduct, from your first appointment to this hour, is the subject of our constant Admiration. It does not become me to make comparisons: All agree there

* Maurice Nelson, his elder brother, universally respected by all who knew him.

* In the year 1798, if Sir Horatio had not returned so soon from England, Earl St. Vincent had intended to appoint Captain Troubridge to command the squadron detached up the Mediterranean.

is but one Nelson. 'That he may long continue the Pride of his Country, is the fervent wish of your Lordship's truly affectionate ST. VINCENT.'

Lord Nelson in continuation, June 12, 1801. 'I feel truly thankful, my dear Lord, for your complying with my request; and your very kind way of relieving me and seeing the Fleet resigned into such good hands, really has set me up. I shall give my friend Charles Pole every information in my power. *June 14. Kioge Bay.* I hope the reply of the Admiralty to my letter of this day, will be clear and explicit, Whether the Commander in Chief is at liberty to hold the language becoming a British Admiral? Which very probably, if I am here, will break the Armistice and set Copenhagen in a blaze. I see every thing which is dirty and mean going on, and the Prince Royal at the head of it; but your astonishment will cease, when I assure you, that a French Republican Officer in his uniform, feathers, &c. is always with his Royal Highness. The measure is so indelicate towards England, that you will not be surprised, if every thing which is sacred amongst Nations of Honour should be broken. The Armistice, except their ships being absolutely hauled out, has been totally disregarded: *ships have been masted, guns taken on board, floating batteries prepared;* and except hauling out and completing their rigging, every thing has been done in defiance of the Treaty. I do not, under our present circumstances, feel myself at liberty to pass over the Grounds with a part of the Fleet: but the moment I receive an assurance that the business of Russia is settled, I shall pass into Copenhagen Roads with all the Fleet, except eight sail of the line to watch the Swedes until they are settled. My heart burns, my dear Lord, at seeing the word of a Prince, nearly allied to our good King, so falsified; but his conduct is such, that he will lose his Kingdom if he goes on, for *Jacobins* rule in Denmark. I have made no representations yet, as it would be useless to do so until I have the power of correction. All I beg in the name of the future Commander in Chief is, that the Orders may be clear; for enough is done to break twenty Treaties, if it should be wished, or to make the Prince Royal, and his Republican Companion, humble themselves before British Generosity.'

The preceding Memoir of the Battle, which has already detailed the various occurrences that took place at Copenhagen, to the conclusion of this Armistice, next retraces Lord Nelson's proceedings from his being appointed Commander in Chief, as successor to Sir Hyde Parker. This intelligence had been conveyed to him, as appears from Earl St. Vincent's letter, by Colonel Stewart; and but for this appointment, such was the precarious state of his Lordship's health, that he had determined on returning to England in the *Blanche*, on the very day when the account arrived.—'The first Signal,' says the Memoir, 'which Lord Nelson made, as Commander in Chief, was to hoist in all launches and prepare to weigh. This at once shewed how different a system was about to be pursued: it having been intended, that the Fleet should await at anchor fresh instructions from England rela-

tive to the state of the northern affairs, an account of which had but lately been despatched. Lord Nelson, who foresaw every bad consequence from this inactive mode of proceeding, owed his bad health more to chagrin than to any other cause. The joy with which the Signal was received not only manifested what are the customary feelings on those occasions; but was intended as peculiarly complimentary to the Admiral. On the 7th of May, 1801, the Fleet left Kioge Bay, and proceeding towards Bornholm, anchored in blowing weather off that island. The greater part was here left to watch the motions of the Swedes; and with a chosen Squadron, consisting of his ten best sailing seventy fours, two frigates, a brig, and a schooner, Lord Nelson sailed for the port of Revel. He wished for further satisfaction respecting the friendly disposition of the Russians, and thought that the best method of putting this to the proof, would be to try how he should be received in one of their ports. He sincerely desired Peace, but had no apprehension of Hostilities. Exclusive of a wish to shew the activity of his Fleet, he had two other objects in view: personally to wait on the Emperor and congratulate him on his accession to the throne, and also to promote the release of the British merchant ships and seamen, who had been detained by the Emperor Paul. A favourable wind brought us, on the 12th of May, into Revel Roads, where he was rather disappointed at not finding the Russian Fleet: the early breaking up of the ice had enabled it to proceed to Cronstadt, three days before our arrival. We came to anchor in the outer bay, and a friendly message was sent on shore to the Governor, General Sacken, inquiring whether a salute was intended to be fired? Lord Nelson stated his being ready to return the same, and assured him of the above mentioned friendly objects which he had in view in entering a Russian port. Cordial declarations of amity were returned, and a salute promised: this, however, being neglected, the Admiral again sent on shore, and was informed that the delay had arisen from the misconduct of the officer commanding the artillery, who had been put under arrest in consequence, and that the salute should be given. This was accordingly done, but at so late an hour that our salute was not returned until the next morning. Lord Nelson having been invited by the Governor, went on shore about noon on the 13th of May, and was received with all military honours. His letter having been forwarded to the Emperor, great activity was exerted in providing the Fleet with fresh meat and vegetables. The joy which pervaded the whole empire on the death of Paul was manifest at Revel; nor were the disgraceful circumstances that attended his death by any means concealed: the reestablishing a good understanding with England appeared, on the other hand, to give general satisfaction, and we were cordially received by the inhabitants, as well as the military. On the 14th of May the Governor returned Lord Nelson's visit, on board the *St. George*: he was accompanied by young Pahlen, the Minister's son, who commanded a regiment of hussars in garrison there, and by other military commanders. They were shewn over every part of the ship

by Lord Nelson, and it was observable that the Cossack Officers gave infinitely more attention to what they saw, than did any of the Russians. The interval between this and the 16th of May, was employed by his Lordship in observation, and in acquiring information of the harbour, mole and anchorage. It was decidedly his opinion, that had the Russian Fleet been hostile, it might have been attacked with success by firing the wooden mole, behind which it is always moored during the winter months: A position seemed also to present itself for a three decker across the mouth of the harbour, by which ship the whole dock might have been raked from end to end. On the 16th of May, about three P. M. the answer to Lord Nelson's letter was received from Petersburg. It was in terms expressive of surprise at the arrival of a British Fleet in a Russian port; it professed amicable intentions towards the British Government, but declined the personal visit of the Admiral at the Capital, if accompanied by more than a single ship.

‘ Much may certainly be doubted, as to the good policy of our entering a Russian Port, under the peculiar circumstances of that period. The new Emperor was pacifically inclined, and might possibly have misconstrued the liberal views of Lord Nelson: be this as it may, the event gave him an opportunity of displaying much energy of character, and much knowledge of human nature. The answer was from Count Pahlen, their Minister for Foreign Affairs; and was accompanied by a letter from Governor Sacken, expressing a wish that the British Fleet should retire from the anchorage of Revel. Lord Nelson received it a few minutes before dinner time; he appeared to be a good deal agitated by it, but said little, and did not return an immediate reply. During dinner, however, he left the table, and in less than a quarter of an hour sent for me to peruse a letter which, in that short absence, he had composed. It was concise, expressed great indignation at the motives having been doubted which he had avowed for his visit to Revel, and he repeated that it would have been his anxious wish, under other circumstances, to have paid his personal respects to the Emperor, and to have closed with his own hand the Act of Amity between the two Countries. This remarkable sentiment was, I remember, in it, *The word of a British Admiral, when given in explanation of any part of his conduct, was as sacred as that of any Sovereign in Europe*: It concluded with his intention of retiring with his Fleet from the coasts of Russia. The signal for preparing to weigh was immediately made; the answer above mentioned was sent on shore, and although contracts had been entered into for fresh provisions, &c. for the Fleet, his Lordship would not admit of the least delay; but caused it to weigh and to stand as far to sea as was safe for that evening. It was only dark for an hour or two, during which time we lay to, and at dawn of day proceeded down the Baltic: a brig was left to bring off the provisions, and settle the contracts. When off Bornholm, we were joined by the Squadron under Captain Murray. A detachment from the Fleet was then sent off to Kioe Bay, where a British merchant established in Denmark.

Mr. Balfour, had contracted for the supply of fresh provisions, under the sanction of the Danish Government. Another detachment was sent on the same errand to Dantzic, and Lord Nelson himself proceeded with a few ships to Rostock Bay.

‘The keeping his Fleet continually on the alert, and thus amply furnishing it with fresh water and provisions, were the objects of his Lordship’s unremitted care; and to this may in a great measure be ascribed the uniform good health and discipline which prevailed. Another point to which he gave nearly equal attention, was his economy of the resources of his Fleet in regard to stores: their consumption was as remarkable for its smallness in the Baltic, as it was in the Fleet that was afterwards under his command in the Mediterranean.—His hour of rising was four or five o’clock, and of going to rest about ten; breakfast was never later than six, and generally nearer to five o’clock. A midshipman or two were always of the party; and I have known him send during the middle watch to invite the little fellows to breakfast with him, when relieved. At table with them, he would enter into their boyish jokes, and be the most youthful of the party. At dinner he invariably had every Officer of his ship in their turn, and was both a polite and hospitable host. The whole ordinary business of the Fleet was invariably despatched, as it had been by Earl St. Vincent, before eight o’clock. The great command of time which Lord Nelson thus gave himself, and the alertness which this example imparted throughout the Fleet, can only be understood by those who witnessed it, or who know the value of early hours. The Russian frigate *Venus*, with Admiral Ischitchagoff on board, met us on our return to Bornholm; she had been in search of us, with the answer to some pacific overtures that had passed between Sir Hyde Parker and the Russian Government, and which was of the most friendly description. Lord St. Helens also met us in the *Latona*, on his way to Petersburg on a special mission. At Rostock not an hour was lost in procuring fresh provisions for the Fleet. The greatest veneration was here shewn to the name of Nelson; and some distant inland towns of Mecklinburgh sent even deputations, with their public books of record, to have his name written in them by himself. Boats were constantly rowing round his flag ship the *St. George* with persons of respectability in them, who were anxious to catch a momentary sight of this illustrious man. He did not again land whilst in the Baltic; his health was not good, and his mind was not at ease: with him mind and health invariably sympathised. The day after our arrival off Rostock, on the 26th of May, 1801, a Russian lugger brought the reply from Count Pahlen, to Lord Nelson’s letter written on leaving Revel. The effect intended by that letter had been fully felt at Petersburg: a more flattering communication was perhaps never made from a Sovereign to the subject of another power, than was conveyed in the Minister’s reply. It apologized for any misconception of his Lordship’s views in having entered Revel roads, it expressed an anxious wish that Peace should be restored on the most solid basis; and in a particular manner

invited Lord Nelson to Petersburg, in whatever mode might be most agreeable to himself. The lugger, on leaving our Fleet with Lord Nelson's answer to this gracious letter, fired a salute; an act which implies much more in the Russian service than in many others. Lord Nelson's observation to me, on my return from the shore, was, *Did you hear that little fellow salute? Well now, there is peace with Russia, depend on it: Our jaunt to Revel was not so bad after all.*

' After being at anchor some days off Rostock, we were getting under weigh for Kioge Bay, when the Duke of Mecklinburgh Strelitz, the Queen's brother, was announced to be coming from Butzo to wait on Lord Nelson.' His Royal Highness was received with all the attention which the sudden visit could give time for, and was shewn by Lord Nelson through every part of the ship. We returned to Kioge Bay on the 5th or 6th of June, but remained there only a few days to complete our water, which could not be done at Rostock, and to arrange the stations of the various Squadrons that were constantly kept on the move. Lord Nelson's principle was to keep all hands employed, and he used to say, *No matter how, and no matter where.* In the mean time, communications of the most pacific nature were passing between us and the Courts of the Northern Confederacy. Denmark and Sweden only waited for the decision of Russia, to accede to a general Peace, and Prussia had not declared herself decidedly hostile during any part of the campaign. The Enemy's Fleets, with the exception of a single ship for the instruction of the Danish naval academy, were confined to their ports, and the intercourse of commerce, excepting coastways, was temporarily suspended: by the good arrangements, however, of Lord Nelson, nothing occurred on the face of these Northern seas, which could in the smallest degree tend to interrupt Negotiation, or the returning good understanding between the Confederates and Great Britain. The St. George made her last cruise, with Lord Nelson's flag on board, off Bornholm, between the 9th and 13th of June; on which latter day he received the sanction of the Admiralty for his return to England, and the instructions of his Majesty to invest Rear Admiral Graves with the Order of the Bath. This ceremony was performed with all possible dignity on the 14th of June, on the quarterdeck of the St. George, Lord Nelson laying the Sword on the Rear Admiral's shoulder in the name of the King; he accompanied this by a very dignified and animated speech: never was Knight more honourably invested. Sir Charles Maurice Pole arrived a few days afterwards in the *Æolus* frigate, and received the chief command.

' Lord Nelson's resignation was attended with infinite regret to the whole Fleet, and

' In writing to Earl St. Vincent, June 1, 1801, his Lordship said, "I have made Lord Henry Paulet my Master of the Ceremonies, and to wait on his Highness, in order to express my sorrow at not being able to go on shore myself." He afterwards added, "I thought the exertion would have killed me, but from that moment I rallied, and my cough left me."

there was a complete depression of spirits upon the occasion. He issued a very flattering Order of thanks and of praise, in which is to be found this remarkable passage: "Lord Nelson cannot but observe, with the highest satisfaction which can fill the breast of a British Admiral, that with the exception of —, out of 18,000 men, of which the Fleet is composed, not a complaint has been made of any officer or man in it; and he cannot but remark that the extraordinary health of this Fleet, under the blessing of Almighty God, is to be attributed to the great Regularity, exact Discipline, and cheerful Obedience of every individual in it. If it please God that the Vice Admiral should recover his health, he will feel proud, on some future day, to go with them in pursuit of further Glory, and to assist in making the name of our King and Country beloved and respected by all the World."—He embarked on the 19th of June in the Kite brig, Captain Digby, and sailed for England. By this last act, in declining the use of a frigate, he shewed his usual preference for the good of the Service, over every consideration of personal convenience. Few Admirals, dignified as he justly was, have chosen to return from their station in so small a vessel. He had even the intention at one time, that he might not remove a single pendant from the station, of traversing Jutland in his boat, by the canal to Tonningen on the Eyder, from Frederickest; and he proposed to me that I should accompany him. I remained for some weeks afterwards in the Fleet—I was witness to the general regret which his absence caused, and to the deep rooted attachment with which that great and good man had inspired every Officer, who had had the good fortune of serving under him—*Take him for all in all, I fear we ne'er shall look upon his like again.*

Admiral Pole, who had been thus called on by the Admiralty to relieve his gallant and beloved friend, had been previously, in 1800, appointed Commander in Chief and Governor of Newfoundland. To succeed such an Officer, and at so critical a moment, was a duty which they who know how Lord Nelson was regarded, can best appreciate; and no one in the Navy knew him better, or loved him with greater sincerity, than his successor. The Northern Powers were daily more and more disposed to become the friends of Great Britain, when the British Fleet received orders to quit those seas. Admiral Pole detached a part, under the command of Sir T. Graves, through the Sound; whilst Sir Charles himself determined to make the experiment, of passing the Great Belt with nine sail of the line, which he accomplished in the most satisfactory manner, his flag ship, the St. George, leading; and as the wind was adverse, his ships were under the necessity of working through. By which means that Channel, which had never before been passed by line of battle ships, was effectually explored, and a confidence has thus been given to our late operations in those seas, which must have proved of great national advantage.—Lord Nelson landed at Yarmouth on the first of July, 1801, and immediately visited the Hospitals where the wounded had been conveyed after the Battle of Copenhagen. He was escorted to Lowestoffe

by the volunteer cavalry; and on his arrival in London proceeded to the house of Sir William Hamilton.

During the summer of 1801, Government received intelligence that the Invasion of Great Britain by France might be certainly expected. Every preparation was immediately made with that energy and deliberate resolution, which have always marked our national character; neither despising the threats of our vaunting Enemy, nor suffering any agitation or alarm to distract our Councils. The general wish of the Nation that Lord Nelson should be the guardian of that part of its southern coast, where it was expected the Enemy would make the attempt, was gratified by the plan which the vigilance of Earl St. Vincent had proposed; the reasons for which are thus described by himself, in a letter to Admiral Lutwidge, who had the command in the Downs, dated Admiralty, *July 24, 1801*. ‘The state of the Enemy’s preparations on different parts of the Coast in the Channel, particularly opposite to you, beginning to wear a very serious appearance, and all our intelligence agreeing, that a descent on some part of the Coast is actually intended; it has naturally been matter of consideration, what measures would be most advisable to be taken for our defence? And after viewing the subject in every shape in which it could present itself, no plan appears to me to be so effectual for frustrating the Enemy’s designs, as that of placing the whole of the force applicable to that particular service, under the command of a Flag Officer who will have no other duty to perform, than that of attending to this important object. I am aware that the measure I have mentioned will materially interfere with your command in the Downs; and I can assure you, with great truth, that I have so much respect both for your public and private character, that I should not have taken this, or any other measure that might be in any respect unpleasant to you, if I had thought it could have been avoided without detriment to the public service. The Officer I have fixed upon is Viscount Nelson, who will, I think, hoist his flag in one of the frigates, and proceed immediately to the coast of France to settle the necessary arrangements with the Officers now employed there. The command in the Downs will of course be left in your hands, with the superintendence of what is generally understood to be the Port duty, while it may be requisite to continue Lord Nelson in this situation.’

He immediately sent an account of this appointment to H. R. II. the Duke of Clarence. ‘Sir: I have this morning received my Commission as Commander in Chief of a squadron of ships and vessels employed on a particular service. My command is to extend from Orfordness to Beachey Head, on both shores; but without interfering with either the Nore or Downs command. I assure your Royal Highness, that I feel my ability to render service in this new sort of command only in my zeal; in many other respects I am sensible of much deficiency, and require that great allowance should be made for me.’—On this service he was again accompanied by the Hon. Colonel Stewart, as his principal Aid de

Camp. Some extracts from his private letters to Earl St. Vincent, will give Lord Nelson's own account of his proceedings.

July 28th, Sheerness, 1801. Every thing, my dear Lord, must have a beginning, and we are literally at the foundation of our fabric of defence. I agree perfectly with you, that we must keep the Enemy as far from our own coasts as possible, and be able to attack them the moment they come out of their ports . . . As soon as all the orders are given, it is my intention to go to Deal and to consult with Admiral Lutwidge. Should the Enemy approach our coasts near the Thames, our Dock Yards can man flat boats if they are kept in readiness, and this Yard has 100 men, who can man two flats which are ordered to be fitted out. If the *Unité* arrives at the Nore this day, I shall go on board her, in order to shew that we must all get to our posts as speedily as possible. *Deal, July 30.* As I had arranged every thing possible for me to do at Sheerness, I thought it best to set off for the Downs by the way of Faversham, as I wished to see Captain Beecher on the subject of the Sea Fencibles. I had previously sent Captain Sheppard to desire that a Mr. Salisbury would meet me; as he was a person of respectability, rich (got it by the fair trade) and of great influence amongst the seafaring men on that part of the coast, particularly about Whitstable. I made him sensible of the necessity of our ships, which were to be stationed off the Sand heads, being manned. He thought if the Admiralty, through me, gave the men assurances that they should be returned to their homes, when the danger of the Invasion was passed, that the sea folk would go; but that they were always afraid of some trick: This service, my dear Lord, above all others, would be terrible for me; to get up and harangue like a recruiting serjeant—I do not think I could get through it; but as I am come forth, I feel that I ought to do this disagreeable service as well as any other, if judged necessary. I hoisted my flag here this morning. The *Medusa* (Captain Gore) is sent for, and I propose going over to the coast of Boulogne, if possible, to morrow or next day morning, and to take Captain Fyers of the artillery with me; to return here, and then to go off Flushing with a Captain Owen of the *Nemesis*: I have thoughts of fixing a squadron of small vessels under him, if I find him equal to my expectation from his writing, and of stationing Captain Bedford of the *Leyden*, whose good sense and officer like conduct I have heard much commended, to support him off Flushing; and also for Captain Owen to have the chief command of the ships and vessels anchored off Margate Sand.

July 31, Deal. Our force will by your great exertions soon get so formidable, that the Enemy will hardly venture out. I shall endeavour in the morning to ascertain the possibility of destroying their vessels in the harbour of Boulogne. I send you the return of men in the Master attendant's department in Sheerness Yard (247), who could man on an emergency the six upper vessels: for the time must come, if the Enemy approaches, that all work, except fighting, would stand still; therefore I propose, if we have not men to man

them at present, that at least the vessels should be prepared and ready for the Dock Yard men to be put on board, commanded by their own officers: which would be of the greatest consequence, and they could always get either to the Essex coast or towards Margate, in any weather the Enemy would attempt coming over. Other Yards may be also able to do much.

Off Boulogne, August 2, 1801. I have been looking at Boulogne this morning, and see their line of vessels all armed which lie outside the port: Captain Fyers of the artillery thinks that they are stationed to add strength to the place. The French are erecting Batteries both for guns and mortars on each side the town, as if fearful of an attack. All accounts agree, that fifty or sixty is the full number of boats, large and small, at Boulogne, and that these can be moved out of the reach of shells: however, I have sent for the bombs, and will try what can be done. *Medusa, off Boulogne, August 3.* The wind falling nearly to a calm, and what was worse coming to the northward, I called the bombs off after they had fired ten or twelve shells, some of which went as far as the town, but without any effect that we could see. We have, however, ascertained that we can bombard the vessels at proper times of tide, and, with the wind to the southward of the west, with great facility. I hope the wind will come westerly, when we can fully try the effect of shells. *August 4.* The wind being at N. E. the bombs anchored at half past five abreast of the town. What damage has been done cannot be ascertained inside the pier; on the outside, two large floating batteries are sunk, and one large gun brig cut her cables and ran on shore, where she lies abandoned. The bombs are very well placed by their Captains, and the Artillery Officers and men have the greatest desire to do their duty. Boulogne is certainly not a very pleasant place this morning; but it is not my wish to injure the poor inhabitants, and the town is spared as much as the nature of the service will admit. Very little damage has been done to our bombs. Captain Fyers is slightly wounded in the thigh, but remains at his post. I have paid them all a visit, and the Medusa is at anchor one cable's length from them. P. S. Since I finished my letter, one or two more gun vessels are destroyed.

In writing the next day to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, the Admiral said, 'The whole of this business is of no further moment, than to shew the Enemy, that, with impunity, they cannot come outside their ports. I see nothing but a desire on the part of our officers and men to get at them. I am now on my way off Ostend and Flushing, whence I shall cross to either Margate or Hoseley Bay. Most cordially do I congratulate your Royal Highness on the distinguished merits of Captain Keats, your opinion of him was truly formed. Again let me assure you how sensibly I feel all your partiality for me, and that I will ever continue to deserve it.'

To Earl St. Vincent, in continuation, August 6. 'The wind being easterly I have deter-

mined to give up for a few days my visit to Flushing, and to do my utmost to get the Fencibles afloat. The information respecting the number of troops assembled at Boulogne cannot be true; it is evidently a lie, most likely fabricated by some scoundrel Emigrant in London. I have now more than ever reason to believe, that the ports of Flushing and Flanders are much more likely places to embark men from, than Calais, Boulogne, or Dieppe; for in Flanders we cannot tell by our eyes what means they have collected for carrying an Army. Captain Myers' wound is so very painful, that I am sending him to Deal; I am sorry, at this moment, to lose the services of so useful and zealous an officer. Again, and again, I congratulate and rejoice with you on Sir James Saunarez' success: no small degree of merit must attach itself to your Lordship, for nicking the time of sending out that squadron. *August 7th, Margate Road.* You have seen a copy of my letter to the Captains of the Fencibles. As Margate will probably serve as a model for the situation of all the Sea Fencibles, I shall confine myself to it; and submit with deference, what in my humble opinion is best to be done. But as they are only the thoughts of the moment, you must make due allowances, and much must require arranging.—Of the 2,600 Sea Fencibles enrolled between Orfordness and Beachy Head, only 385 have offered themselves to go on board a ship and serve at the Sand Heads, &c. The Sea Fencibles of Margate, for instance, consist of 118 men, their occupation is Pier men, belonging to the Margate hoys, and some few who assist ships up and down the river; these men say, “Our employment will not allow us to go from our homes beyond a day or two, and for actual service:” but they profess their readiness to fly on board, or on any other duty ordered, when the Enemy are announced as actually coming on the sea. This, my dear Lord, we must take for granted is the situation of all other Sea Fencibles: when we cannot do all we wish, we must do as well as we can. Our ships fitted for the service, on both shores between Orfordness and the north Foreland, want 1,900 men, the river Barges 2 or 300. Shall I try and arrange, that when the Invasion is coming, these ships shall be manned from particular places? In that case, we must get as many volunteers as we can at present to take care of our ships, and trust to their being manned at the last moment by the (almost) scrambling manner I have pointed out; in which case the unmanned ships must be brought from the end of Margate Sand into the Roads, and kept as safe as possible with a few men. Respecting the River Barges, out of the twelve ordered to the Nore, I propose placing four on Whitstable Flat, and the others on the Essex side, about Mersey Island: these must be considered as belonging to the Sea Fencibles, and in a certain degree under the orders of those Captains, and the men exercised on board them. It is my intention to get over, if possible, to-morrow to Hosely Bay or Harwich, and to have a meeting with Captains Schomberg and Edge. My Flotilla, I hope, will be finished by Wednesday, and I am vain enough to expect a great deal of mischief to the Enemy from it.

I am sure that the French are trying to get from Boulogne ; yet the least wind at W.N.W. and they are lost. I pronounce that no embarkation can take place at Boulogne, whenever it comes forth it will be from Flanders, and what a forlorn undertaking : consider cross tides, &c. &c. As for rowing that is impossible. It is perfectly right to be prepared against a mad Government, but with the active force your Lordship has given me, I may pronounce it almost impracticable.

* *Off Harwich, August 9, 1801, King George Cutter.* We anchored with the Medusa yesterday under Bawdsey Sand, and our Downs Pilots are so ignorant that they would neither carry us into Hosely Bay nor Harwich. I sent off express for Captains Schomberg and Edge, and am now here, half sea sick, waiting their arrival.—The men, I believe, will come forth, when the whole Country prepares for fighting and all other business stands still ; but they are no more willing to give up their occupations than their Superiors. . . We are so prepared at this moment, on the Enciny's coasts, that I do not believe they could get three miles from their own shore. Many thanks for your giving my friend *Bromwich the Warden's place at Portsmouth : I will answer for him. *Medusa, Harwich, August 10.* In truth, I have no desire, my dear Lord, for any thing else, than to get at a proper time clear of my present Command : in which I am sure of diminishing my little fortune, which at this moment does not reach 10,000*l.* ; and never had I an idea of gaining money by accepting it. I wrote to Hardy to prepare to go into the San Josef. Do you still think of sending me to the Mediterranean ? If not, I am ready to go, for the spur of the occasion, on the Expedition which is in embryo, but to return the moment it is over ; for I am afraid of my strength. I am always ready, as far as I am able. I shall be at the Nore by sun-set. Mr. Spence, the maritime Surveyor of this Coast, is going to carry the Medusa out by a new channel. It is necessary I should know all that is to be known of the Navigation ; and I have been a tolerable Pilot for the mouth of the Thames in my younger days." The Medusa frigate had, at the time of the Admiral's writing this letter, run in through the proper Channel, between the Ridge shoal and the Andrews shoal, and had anchored in the rolling Ground off Harwich. In her passage she had touched once or twice, being a very large frigate of 18 feet draught of water. On Mr. Spence's going on board to shew the Admiralty orders he was under, Lord Nelson said, " We have got the Medusa into this hole, but cannot get out again through the proper Channel, whilst this wind remains ; and although I have two or three Pilots on board, neither they, nor the Harwich Pilots will take charge of the ship in so dangerous a Navigation, much less will they venture over the Naze, as they call it : but I must get to the Nore at all hazards in the frigate. I will therefore esteem it a particular favour, if you would devise some means to get me out of this place into the Swin, by any

* See Vol. I. Pages 15, 16, 46, 47.

* From William Pearce, Esq.

possible way in your power, or through any channel ; for I am in a great hurry.”—Mr. Spence had surveyed the back Channel over the Naze very minutely, and immediately engaged to carry the Medusa out that way ; although he could not promise, there would be more than 22 or 23 feet at high water that tide, and perhaps not so much ; and even that for three or four miles of the way would be through a very rocky and uneven channel. The largest vessel that had ever before ventured that way, drew only thirteen and a half, or fourteen feet. The whole distance from the anchorage of the Medusa to the Swin, was about eleven miles. Mr. Spence, however, declared he was ready to run the risk. At the proper time of tide, he accordingly got the Medusa under sail, and ran her out over the Naze or back Channel into the Swin, without any accident whatever. This Channel was afterwards named, by Lord Nelson’s desire, after the Medusa frigate in preference to his own name, which Mr. Spence had requested.

In continuation to Earl St. Vincent, Sheerness, August 11, 1801. ‘I came here last night, and found not one of the River barges... Our active force is perfect, and possesses so much Zeal, that I only wish to catch that Buonaparte on the water, either with the Amazon or Medusa ; but himself he will never trust. He would say, *Allez vous en*, and not *Allons mes amis!* I hope these French, if they come this year, mean to do it before the 14th of September, beyond which I fear the season will be too much for me. I know not, my Lord, at this moment where I had best strike a blow which I wish to be a very hard one : you have well guessed the place Flushing, but I must be careful and not cripple our gun brigs. At Ostend we cannot get at them, therefore I am anxious for our howitzer boats ; but they will not keep pace with my wishes. No person knows of my ideas except Captain Owen, who has been long stationed there under Admiral Lutwidge, and Captains Bedford and Parker.

August 13, Downs. I send you the reports of the Sea Fencible Captains in Sussex and lower Kent, that you may give them, if you please, to Nepean, but I thought it as well not to lay them before the Board ; for the clerks in all the public offices chatter so much, that nothing is a secret. I have reports from our ships off Boulogne by a neutral just arrived : the account of troops given by the French scoundrels in our pay, is as false as they are. I am certain that in the towns of Boulogne and on the surrounding hills, the total number could not exceed 2000 men. The Galgo arrived in the night from off Ostend ; Captain Hawkins assures me, that the boats collected at Ostend and Blackenburgh, may amount to sixty or seventy, that he is sure they could not carry more than fifty or sixty men each ; he understood that the poor devils of fishermen are sent off for Brest. Where, my dear Lord, is our Invasion to come from ? The *time* is gone ; owing to the precautions of Government, it cannot happen at this moment, and I hope that we shall always be as much on the alert, as our Enemies. We must constantly guard our Coasts and the flats ; for Malden River and the flats of Whitstable should always be ready for service. I now

come, my Lord, to consider of an Attack—Flushing is my grand object ; but so many obstacles are in the way, and the risk is so great of the loss of some vessels, that, under all circumstances, I could hardly venture without a consultation with you, and an arranged Plan with the Board's Orders. Might not a grand Consultation be held for getting at the Dutch ships at Helvoet, or to take possession of Flushing ; but this must be a week's expedition for 4 or 5000 troops. To crush the Enemy at home was the favourite plan of Lord Chatham, and I am sure you think it the wisest measure to carry the War from our own doors. I purpose, if to be done, to take all the gun vessels outside the Pier of Boulogne—I should like your approbation. I own, my dear Lord, that this boat warfare is not exactly congenial to my feelings, and I find I get laughed at for my puny mode of attack. I shall be happy to lead the way into Helvoet or Flushing, if Government will turn their thoughts to it: whilst I serve, I will do it actively and to the very best of my abilities. I have all night had a fever, which is very little abated this morning ; my mind carries me beyond my strength, and will do me up, but such is my nature. I have serious doubts whether I shall be able, from my present feelings, to go to the Mediterranean ; but I will do what I can—I require nursing like a child. Pray God we may have Peace and with Honour, and then let us start fair with the rest of Europe. *August 13, Downs.*—'Thanks, joy, and congratulation on our success in Egypt ; it makes me better, but I am very sick. Your letter of yesterday is just read. I shall be gone, God willing, to-morrow ; but no attack for probably two nights, to throw them off their guard.'

On the 16th of August, he sent the following account of the Attack on Boulogne, dated from on board the *Medusa*, off that Port: 'My dear Lord: I am sorry to tell you that I have not succeeded in bringing out or destroying the Enemy's Flotilla, moored in the mouth of the harbour of Boulogne. The most astonishing Bravery was evinced by many of our officers and men, and Captains "Somerville, Cotgrave, and Parker exerted themselves to the utmost." (Captain Jones owing to the rapidity of the tide was driven to the westward of the line.) "Conn in the command of the Howitzer Boats did every thing which was possible: indeed all behaved well, and it was their misfortune to be sent on a Service

"The Senior Commander on the service, belonging to the *Eugenie*, who led the First Division of 13 Boats destined to attack the eastern end of the Enemy's Flotilla. The Second Division of 15 Boats was led by Captain E. T. Parker, and its subdivision, which advanced by the northward of Captain Parker's point of attack, was led by Lieutenant Williams, Senior of the *Medusa*. Captain Parker was nobly seconded in his attack by Lieutenant Langford in the *Medusa's* barge. The Third Division of 15 Boats was headed by Captain Cotgrave of the *Gannet*. The Fourth, destined to attack the westernmost of the Enemy's Vessels, was led by Captain Jones of the *Isis*. The Fifth Division of four Howitzer Boats advanced to support Captain Parker, under Captain Conn of the *Discovery*. These Divisions had assembled under the stern of the *Medusa*, Captain Gore, who with Captain Bedford of the *Leyden* volunteered their service, under the above Commanders, which was handsomely declined by Lord Nelson ; and at half past eleven at night the Boats advanced in the best order possible. The firing began before one.

in which the precautions of the Enemy had rendered it impossible to succeed. We have lost many brave officers and men, 172 killed and wounded. My gallant, dear friend Captain Parker, who was my Aid-de-Camp, had his thigh very much shattered; I have my fears for his life. Lieutenant Frederick Langford, my Flag Lieutenant, who has served with me many years, was shot through the leg in attempting, with Parker, to board the French Commodore. The loss has been heavy, and the object was great. The Flotilla, Brigs and Flats were moored by the bottom to the shore, and to each other with chains; therefore although several of them were carried, yet the very heavy fire of musquetry from the shore which overlooked the Flotilla, forced our people to desist, without being able, as I am told, to set them on fire. No person can be blamed for sending them to the attack, but myself. I knew the difficulty of the undertaking, therefore I ventured to ask your opinion. Your kind letter I received half an hour before the Attack.—But, my dear Lord, although I disapprove of unnecessary Consultations as much as any man; yet, close to the Admiralty, I should not feel myself justified in risking our ships through the channels of Flushing, no Buoys and bad Pilots, without a Consultation of such men as yourself, and also, I believe, you would think an Order absolutely necessary; but that must stand fast, for both Leyden and Medusa have lost all their best men, none else of course being sent. Captain Somerville, whom I never saw until a few days ago, shewed all possible courage and good conduct, and succeeded completely in the fighting part of the business. With all this sorrow for me, my health is not improved; my fever is very severe this morning. Young Cathcart behaved most exceedingly well, he saved Parker from either being killed or a prisoner; for every man in Parker's Flat Boat being killed or wounded, his Boat drifted from the Brig alongside a Flat full of them, when Cathcart took her in tow and carried her off.'—Lord Nelson in his public letter added, 'Owing to the darkness of the Night, with the tide and half tide, which must always make attacks in the Night, on the Coasts of the Channel, very uncertain, the Divisions separated; and from all not arriving at the same happy moment with Captain Parker, is to be attributed the want of success. But I beg to be perfectly understood, that not the smallest blame attaches itself any where: for although the Divisions did not arrive altogether, yet each, except the Fourth which could not be got up before day, made a successful attack on that part of the enemy they fell in with, and actually took possession of many Brigs and Flats, particularly the Commodore. The moment the Battle ceased on board, such volleys upon volleys of musquetry were fired directly on the decks, the Enemy being perfectly regardless of their own men, that it was impossible even to remain on board to burn them. Allow me, who have seen much service this War, to say, That more determined, persevering Courage, I never witnessed; and that nothing but the impossibility of being successful,

from the Causes^a I have mentioned, could have prevented my having to congratulate their Lordships on bringing off the Enemy's Flotilla.

The Officers who particularly distinguished themselves in the Five Divisions, under Captains Somerville, Parker, Cotgrave, Jones, and Conn, were, Mr. Kirby, Master of the Medusa, Mr. Gore, Midshipman, Lieutenant Paley, who commanded the Medusa's launch, Hon. Mr. Maitland, Midshipman, who was severely wounded, Mr. W. Bristow, Master's Mate in the Medusa cutter, under Lieutenant Steward, who was killed; and Captain Broome and Lieutenant Beem of the Royal Artillery, who were in the Howitzer Boats.'

To Earl St. Vincent, most secret, August 17th, 1801. 'My dear Lord: I have real thoughts of attacking the Enemy at Flushing, if it be possible to be done, the moment Leyden and Medusa are manned. In that event I must run great risk, and only beg to be supported in case of failure. P. M. I find by Captain Owen's letters off Flushing three days ago, that all the Dutch vessels have moved lower down the Doorlog^b Channel, evidently to defend it: I will go and look at them; but attack I cannot without Pilots, nor without Sanction. I own I shall never bring myself again to allow any Attack to go forward, where I am not personally concerned; my mind suffers much more than if I had a leg shot off in this late business. I am writing between poor Parker and Langford; therefore I must beg great indulgencies, only believe that I will do my utmost: I am ready to assist the Good Cause, and have no other view in my mind. Had our force arrived, as I intended, 'twas not all the Chains in France that could have prevented our folks from bringing off the whole of the vessels. Aug. 18. To night seven Howitzer Boats will be at work on them, and if we can get the Commodore's Brig (M. Précoreau) at the harbour's mouth on fire, many of them will be burnt. Captain Conn, whom you got promoted, has, under Captain Ferrier, the entire direction of this business; and a more zealous, deserving Officer never was brought forward. Captain Ferrier you do not know; therefore it becomes me to tell you, that his ship is in the very first order, and that he is a man of sense, and as steady as old Time himself: I am much pleased with his regularity and punctuality. Every one speaks of Captain Somerville's Coolness and gallant Conduct; I would not for the world have even my dear Parker promoted at the expense of Captain Somerville, who was an entire stranger to me—believe me, my dear Lord, I have no interest but for the Public Service. I am fixed to look at Flushing and prepared to attack it, if the Pilots

^a Rear Admiral Latouche Treville, afterwards better known to Lord Nelson, who commanded the Naval Force at Boulogne, stated in his Official Account that he had foreseen the Attack, and had prepared for it, by getting on board the Flotilla battalions of the 45, 57, and 108 Régiments; and that he had been apprized of the approach of the English by boats stationed for that purpose.

^b One of the four passages for great ships between the Island of Walcheren and the Flemish Coast.

can be persuaded to take Leyden up: if it be within the pale of possibility, it shall be attempted.—My dear Parker is, I fear, in a very bad way. *August 19.* I believe Calais could be bombarded, but do you think it is an object? I should not like the bombs to go without me.—Heavy sea, sick to death—this sea sickness I shall never get over.

Aug. 24, 1801, at Sea. I weighed from the Downs: sending after we were under sail for old Yawkins, a knowing one. I examined him and some others separately respecting Flushing, and I find that it is a very difficult thing to take any ship of sixteen feet draught of water up there, and without the Marks almost impossible... The French have expected me at Flushing every day; therefore I look upon the attempt to be out of the question. I shall have a stout Squadron under Dungeness, which is a station far preferable to the Downs; both for watching the Enemy and as a safe anchorage, and perfectly sure of getting at them, if they approach that part of the Kingdom. It appears that the Enemy, whether they lie below Flushing or abreast of it, can quit their anchorage any moment and go up inside the Dog Sand, where we cannot follow them. I am convinced, from what I hear, that the thing is not to be done; but if the weather be favourable to morrow, I will look at them in a cutter. Captain Owen is an Officer of great zeal, and wished to have removed all obstacles to get at the Enemy.—I never heard of more firmness than was shewn by the good and gallant Captain Somerville. I felt much in sending an Officer who has a wife and eight children all dependant on his life: although he has not reported himself injured, yet I fear he has suffered in his head, by the bow gun of a Brig that was fired over him. Your handsome letter will confirm to the Officers and the Men, when sent on necessary yet dangerous Duty, that at least the first Lord of the Admiralty values their exertions, although success may not crown their endeavours. *September 6.* Many thanks for your high opinion of me, expressed in your letter of this day. Worn out I shall soon be; and, if here, why then I shall be totally unfit for the Mediterranean Command. Parker suffers very much to day, and I am very low. *Sept. 15.* Captain Campbell's spirit we are all acquainted with: the plan (for Greece) is fixed in my mind, and at least the attempt is worthy of an English Admiral. It is one of those judicious enterprises in which we hazard only a few boats, and may destroy an Enemy's squadron. *Sept. 19.* I have given out this day the strictest Orders relative to the Discipline of the ships (in particular meant for the gun brigs) and to have them always ready for service. The new Gun Brigs are certainly very fine vessels, and if the Commanders of them will keep the sea, I should think they might prevent much smuggling; but many of them will require changing; and a proper boat must be given to each for that service. In short, Officers must be found fit for the command, and the command not be, merely as a sinecure, fit for them: Much reformation has been adopted, and, my dear Lord, much, very much is necessary. The history of the bomb Tenders will make you stare—but you know it all. *Sept. 20.* I am full of grief for

the fate of poor Parker; our only consolation is, that every thing has been done which was possible: the breath is not yet gone, but, I dare say, he cannot last until night. Dr. Baird's kindness and ability will make a lasting impression on me."—Captain Parker's strength rallied after this, and for a time Lord Nelson indulged a delusive hope of recovery. In writing on the same day to Dr. Baird, he said, "Dear Parker is my child, for I found him in distress. I am prepared for the worst, although I still hope.—I would come on shore and nurse him, could I be useful. Say every thing that is kind for me to his Father; and if my Parker has still his recollection, say—God bless him."—After his death, Lord Nelson added to Dr. Baird, "You will judge of my feelings: God's will be done. I beg that his hair may be cut off and given to me—It shall be buried in my grave. Poor Mr. Parker, what a Son has he lost. If I were to say I was content, I should lie; but I shall endeavour to submit with all the Fortitude in my power. Speak every thing that is kind to the poor Father."—In writing to Earl St. Vincent, his Lordship dwelt with affectionate sorrow on this subject. 'The scene, my Lord, with our dear Parker is closed for ever, and I am sure your good heart will participate in our grief, both as a public and private loss: not a creature living was ever more deserving of our affections. Every action of his life, from Sir John Orde to the moment of his death, shewed Innocence joined to a firm mind in keeping the road of Honour, however it might appear incompatible with his interest: his conduct in Orde's business won my regard. When he was abandoned by the world, your heart had begun to yearn towards him—how well he has deserved my love and affection, his actions have shewn. His Father, in his advanced age, looked forward for assistance to this good son. Pensions, I know, have sometimes been granted to the parents of those who have lost their lives in the service of their King and Country. All will agree none fell more nobly than dear Parker, and none ever resigned their life into the hands of their Creator, with more resignation to the Divine Will than our Parker. I trust much to your friendship to recommend his Father's case to the kind consideration of the King. I fear his loss has made a wound in my heart which time will scarcely heal; but God is good, and we must all die.'

'*Amazon, September 1801.* I send Nepean another Pilots' letter. I have experienced in the Sound the misery of having the honour of our Country intrusted to a Pilot, who have no other thought than to keep the ship clear of danger, and their own silly heads clear of shot. At eight in the morning of the 2d of April, not one Pilot would take charge of a ship. Bryerley, who was Davidge Gould's Master in the Audacious, placed boats for me and fixed my order, saying, "My Lord, if you will command each ship to steer with the small red house open with a mill, until such a church is on with a wood, the King's Chamel will be open." Every body knows what I must have suffered; and if any merit attaches itself to me, it was in combating the dangers of the Shallows in defiance of the Pilots. The busi-

ness of Pilots brings all this fresh to my memory, and I long to have the Medal, which I would not give up to be made an English Duke.—You know, my dear Lord, with what cheerfulness I came here, and the Country, as your Lordship and Mr. Addington thought, attached a confidence to my Name which I submitted to, although I was conscious that many more able Officers could be found every day in London; but my Zeal I will never give up to any man breathing. This Boat business must be over; it may be a part of a great plan of Invasion, but can never be the only one: therefore, as our ships cannot act any more in lying off the French coast, I own I do not think it is now a Command for a Vice Admiral. Turn it in your mind.—It is not that I want to get a more lucrative situation, far from it: I do not know, if the Mediterranean were vacant to morrow, that I am equal to undertake it. You will forgive me if I have said too much; they are my feelings, which for several years you have allowed me to throw before you; not in an impertinent manner, but with all the respect due to your great Character and exalted Situation. I have answered Hawkins about the Pilots exactly as you see it, That he was to go where he was ordered, without consulting Pilots, and that when the ship was standing into danger, they were to point it out; but that it was not allowable for them to dictate where it was proper for a ship to be stationed in the Channel. From my heart I wish the Enemy would try and come over and finish the War; although, without great care, I see the misery of Peace. *Dungeness, Oct. 3, 1801.* Nepean's public letter has a little staggered me, whether it would be right, under our present circumstances with France, to do a violent thing? I am prepared to run a fire Brig into Boulogne Harbour the first fresh wind, at from W. N. W. to N. But I shall stop until the assent or dissent comes by telegraph to morrow. I intended not to have mentioned this matter to any one, even to you, until the trial had been made. However, if we are on the eve of Peace, which is Dungeness news, it would be a bad reconciliation. If I fail in this plan, I purpose to make an Infernal of one of the Bombs, and to have fire boats, &c. &c. to keep them for ever in hot water. My mind is always at work; but I assure you I am seriously indisposed and low spirited from private considerations. My public Duty is nothing, I could get over five times as much were I in good health; and I find every creature kind, good, and affectionate towards me, and you amongst the first.'

On the 10th of October, 1801, General Lauriston, first Aid de Camp to Buonaparte, arrived in London with the ratification of the Preliminaries of Peace. The manner in which the Mob complimented this French Officer gave great offence to Nelson; and in writing to Dr. Baird the next day, he said, 'Can you cure Madness? for I am mad to read that Englishmen dragged a Frenchman's carriage. I am ashamed for my Country.' In a letter to Mr. Davison, his Lordship afterwards observed, 'England called loudly for Peace, and now I see it is to be abused; but Englishmen never are satisfied full nor fasting.—Again,

in a letter to Earl St. Vincent, "Most heartily do I congratulate you on being a member of that Administration, which has been able to comply with the almost unanimous wishes of the Country. All hands must now try to keep French Men and French Principles out of our happy Country."

Lord Nelson soon afterwards returned to England, and went to the Villa he had purchased at Merton. One of the first steps which he appears to have taken afterwards, was addressing a letter to the Lord Mayor, respecting the silence in which the Victory of Copenhagen had been passed over by the City of London. The Admiral notices this remonstrance when writing to Earl St. Vincent from Merton, Nov. 20, 1801: 'I hope that you will approve of my letter to the Lord Mayor: I owe it as a debt of gratitude to the brave Officers and men under my command on the 2d of April. You know, my dear Lord, the arduousness of the Enterprise, and also the full effects of the glorious termination of it: your mind must see the necessity of my stepping forth, or I should ill deserve to be again so supported on any future occasion.'

Admiral Lord Nelson, Duke of Bronte, to the Lord Mayor, Merton, Nov. 20, 1801.

'My Lord: I have seen in this day's newspapers, that the Court of Common Council of the City of London have voted their thanks to the brave Army and Navy, who have so happily brought the Campaign in Egypt to a glorious conclusion, and no Thanks were certainly ever better deserved. From my own experience I have never failed seeing, that the smallest services rendered by either Army or Navy to the Country, have been always noticed by the great City of London, with one exception; I mean, my Lord, the glorious second of April; a day when the greatest dangers of navigation were overcome, and the Danish Force, which they thought impregnable, totally taken or destroyed by the consummate skill of our Commanders and by the undaunted bravery of as gallant a Band as ever defended the rights of this Country. For myself, I can assure you that if I were only personally concerned, I should bear the stigma, attempted to be now first placed upon my brow, with humility. But, my Lord, I am the natural guardian of the fame of the Officers of the Navy, Army, and Marines, who fought and so profusely bled under my command on that day: in no Sea Action this War has so much British blood flowed for their King and Country. Again, my Lord—I beg leave to disclaim for myself more merit than naturally falls to a successful Commander; but when I am called upon to speak of the merits of the Captains of H. M. ships, and of the Officers and Men, whether Seamen, Marines, or Soldiers, I that day had the happiness to command; I then say, that never was the Glory of this Country upheld with more determined bravery than on that occasion: and, if I may be allowed to give an opinion as a Briton, then I say, that more important service was never rendered to our King and Country. It is my duty, my Lord, to prove to the brave fellows my Companions in danger, that I have not failed at every proper place to represent,

as well as I am able, their Bravery and meritorious Conduct. When I am honoured with your Lordship's answer, I shall communicate it to all the Officers who served under my command on the second of April: and I also beg leave to inform your Lordship, that Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Graves, K. B. and the Honourable Colonel Stewart, performed the most important service on that day."—Lord Nelson, afterwards, thus expressed himself on this subject to Mr. Davison: 'The City of London has never yet failed noticing Sea Victories, and I trust, as the first commercial City in the World, it never will. I remember a few years back, on my observing to a Lord Mayor, that if the City continued its generosity, we should ruin them by their Gifts, his Lordship put his hand on my shoulder and said '*Do you find Victories, and we will find Rewards.*' I have kept my word, and have since found two complete Victories—I have a fair and honourable claim; my part of the contract has been now doubly fulfilled.'

During the short interval of Peace that ensued, Lord Nelson had an opportunity of displaying his abilities, as a Senator, in the House of Peers. Whenever he spoke, the house was always particularly attentive to the information, and integrity which appeared in his observations. In the debate on the Preliminaries of Peace, Nov. 3, 1801, he supported the opinion of his friend Earl St. Vincent, that the Terms were equally honourable and advantageous to this Country, and he defended the Preliminaries against the imputation of too extensive 'cessions.—In writing, afterwards, to Sir Brooke Boothby, his Lordship again delivered his sentiments respecting the Peace:—"We are now at peace with all the World. I am the friend of Peace, without fearing War: for my Politics are, to let France know that we will give no insult to her Government, nor will we receive the smallest. If France takes unfair means to prevent our trading with other Powers under her influence, that I should consider as the greatest act of hostility she can shew us. I think our Peace is strong, if we act as we ought with firmness, and allow France to put no false constructions on the words, or on omissions in the Treaty."—On the preceding 30th of October, his Lordship had thus nobly seconded the motion of Earl St. Vincent, that the thanks of the House be given to Rear Admiral Sir J. Saumarez, K. B. for his spirited conduct in the Action with the United Fleets of France and Spain off Algeziras:—"I have the honour, my Lords, to be the friend of Sir J. Saumarez; and I will assert, that a greater Action was never fought. Before that Action, Sir James undertook an Enterprise which none but the most gallant Officer and the bravest Seaman would have attempted: He had failed through the falling of the wind; for I will venture to say, if that had not failed him, he would have captured the French fleet. The promptness with which Sir James refitted, the

"It is observed by Montesquieu, who had particularly studied the English Character, in his *L'Esprit des Loix*, "These People, of whom I treat, would scarcely endure the slow pace, the details, the phlegmatic, cool proceeding of Negotiation: they would often lose by their Treaties what they had gained by their Arms."

spirit with which he attacked a superior force, after his recent disaster, and the masterly conduct of the whole Action, I do not think were ever surpassed."—On the 12th of November ensuing, his Lordship seconded, in terms of general eulogium, Lord Hobart's motion for thanks to the Deliverers of Egypt from the French: And during the next year, March 30, he expressed his opinion, when writing to Mr. Davison, respecting the Debate, March 29, on the arrears in his Majesty's Civil List, at which his Lordship had attended—"I was in the House last night and voted for the payment of the Civil List. Lord Moira's sentiments I admired most exceedingly, and hope that the public will be made to understand the Civil List better, and not to fancy that all goes into the King's pocket. Lord Moira said enough to suggest a Plan that would be very simple. So far from the King having given away too much, I think he has been by far too parsimonious."

On the 26th of April, 1802, he lost his excellent Father, who expired at Bath in the 79th year of his age; and during the winter of 1800 his Lordship had been afflicted by the death of his early friend and patron Lieutenant Governor Locker, December 26, at Greenwich Hospital. Lord Nelson, to recruit his health and spirits, in the month of July made a tour into Wales, with Sir W. and Lady Hamilton, and passed through Oxford, Gloucester, Monmouth, Brecon, and Milford. He afterwards visited Swansea, Hereford, Ludlow, Worcester, Birmingham, Warwick, and Coventry. The Freedom of the cities of Monmouth, Hereford, and Worcester was presented to his Lordship in the most complimentary manner; and the gratitude of his countrymen was publicly displayed throughout the whole excursion. On returning to Merton his time was principally occupied in his little farm, and in directing the alterations he had projected. "I am really," said he in writing to Mr. Davison in October, "so very little in the world, that I know of nothing beyond a newspaper. I own myself selfish enough to wish you in St. James' Square; for at your breakfast I heard all that was going on in the great world, and it was a central place where any one could meet me. I have seen Mr. Addington and Lord St. Vincent several times; but our conversations were like Swift's and Lord Oxford's. Yet it was not difficult to discover, that we felt our importance in the scale of Europe degraded, if Buonaparte were allowed to act as he has lately done; and that it was necessary for us to speak a dignified language."

On the 12th of December, 1802, on the bill for a Naval Inquiry into certain abuses that prevailed, Lord Nelson spoke at greater length than he had done before: thinking it,

* On the 6th of February 1802, Lord Nelson was informed that he had been created a Knight of the Order of St. Joachim, in Franconia.

"It would be well worth while, said this great Military Officer, to have the nature of the appropriation of the Sum voted for the Civil List explained to the Public, that Men might see how very small a portion of it was attached to defray the King's personal expenses; and how much greater a part was necessarily expended in support of the Salaries of the High Officers and Judges of the Land, in support of the due Administration of Equity, Justice and Law, and how much more went again to the Public Services of the State."

as he declared, to be his duty to say a few words in regard to a bill, of which the objects had an express reference to the interests of his Profession. After mentioning the confidence that might be placed in the authoritative Inquiry of the Commissioners, he thus proceeded: "And truly, my Lords, if the bill be thus superior to all objection, I can affirm, that the necessities, the wrongs of those who are employed in the Naval Service of their Country, most loudly call for the redress which it proposes. From the highest Admiral in the Service, to the poorest cabin boy that walks the street, there is not a man but may be in distress with large sums of money due to him, of which he shall, by no diligence of request, be able to obtain payment; there is not a man, whose entreaties would be answered with aught but insults at the proper places for his application, if he came not with particular recommendations to a preference . . . Are these things to be tolerated? Is it not for the interest, is it not for the honour of the Country, that they should as speedily as possible be redressed?" His Lordship also on the third reading of the Bill, on the following day, expressed his desire, that the necessary inquiries into the flagrant abuses by Prize Agents, might be made the subject of a separate Act; observing at the same time, that there might be instances in which the delay of payment resulted from unavoidable accidents.

During the ensuing winter he drew up the following Remarks on manning the Navy, in a more efficacious and popular manner than that which had been so long adopted; which he presented on the 13th of February, 1803, to Earl St. Vincent: "At a time when the Seamen, as I have been repeatedly told, notwithstanding their good pay and abundance of the very best provisions, manifest a reluctance to enter into the Naval Service; it becomes, in my humble opinion, a duty for people conversant with the manners and disposition of Seamen, to turn our thoughts on the mode of inducing them to be fond, and even desirous of serving in the Navy, in preference to the Merchant Service. Their pay and provisions cannot possibly be improved from what they are at present; but, I think, a Plan should be brought forward to register the Certificates given to Seamen; and a form of Certificate, to be general and filled according to Regulations issued by the Admiralty under the authority of an Act of Parliament. The greatest good would result from such a Regulation, to the Seamen, who are by hundreds in distress in London, for want of Certificates authenticating their persons; in default of which so many wrong Seamen have been paid, that neither the Pay Office, nor any Prize Agent will venture to pay the Seaman his just due; and the benefit to those Seamen producing good Characters, having never been concerned in Mutinies, or deserted, &c., &c., would much benefit them in getting good births in the Merchant Service.

‘When we calculate by figures on the expense of raising Seamen at, I think it is said, 20l. per man, and that 42,000 Seamen deserted during the late War, the loss in money in

that point alone, amounts to 840,000*l*; without taking into consideration the greater expense of raising more men, and certainly not so good as those who have been used to the King's Naval Service. I shall therefore propose, that every Seaman who has served faithfully five years in War, and by his certificates has never been concerned in Mutinies, nor deserted, shall receive every New Year's Day, or on the King's Birth Day, the sum of two guineas; and if he serves eight years shall have four guineas, exclusive of any pension for wounds. It may at first sight appear to be an enormous sum for the State to pay; but when it is considered that the average life of a Seaman is from hard service finished at forty five years, he cannot many years enjoy the Annuity; to assist in paying which, the interest of the money saved by their not deserting would go very far. And perhaps, as the Merchants give large wages in War, a tax might be imposed when wages are above such a sum: this would answer one of these two purposes, either making the increase of wages, in the Merchants Service, beneficial to those who serve their King and Country in the Navy; or, by keeping down the Merchants wages, render desertion less tempting. Much, very much can be said, and is necessary to be considered on this subject; but the more I think of it, the easier it appears to me to be put in practice. Prize Money to be as regularly paid in London, Portsmouth, Plymouth, &c. as Seamen's Wages: this is so easy and simple, that a very few days would, in my opinion, complete such a plan.

But the great thing necessary to guard against is Desertion; for notwithstanding all I have proposed to induce Seamen to serve faithfully, yet a sum of money, and liquor, held out to a Seaman, are too much for him: he first allows himself to be seduced, he then becomes fearful of apprehension, and afterwards wishes and exerts himself to get out of the Country, in the Merchants employ. It will be found, if necessary to be inquired into at the Navy Office, and I know it—That whenever a large Convoy is assembled at Portsmouth, and our Fleet is in Port, not less than 1000 men desert from the Navy; and I am sure that one third of this number from want of clothes, drinking, and other debaucheries, are lost by death to this Kingdom. I shall only relate one fact, out of a thousand which could be brought forward: A Ship, from London, clears at Gravesend for her Voyage to India. Amongst other papers, the names of her Crew and number are necessary; the names, qualities, &c, are properly filled up, and the ship to a common observer is fully manned; but the fact is this, the ship is navigated to Portsmouth by ticket men (men who are protected from the Impress for some cause or other), the Owner or Captain sends to Portsmouth, and crimps, I have been told in one instance as far as fifty men—twenty-five able seamen, fifteen ordinary, and ten landsmen, the bounty being of course different according to their qualifications; the Ticket Men leave the ship, the Deserters take up the names, and away they go.

Knowing the case, an Act of Parliament would, if not entirely, very nearly prevent

this infamous conduct ; the Regulation I think would be very easy and simple. I am sensible that no Plan for these very important purposes can be matured by any one head, much less by mine ; but as these ideas^a flow from a pure source, and a sincere desire to benefit our King and Country, I submit them, with deference, to much wiser and abler men, than NELSON AND BRONTE.'

At the beginning of this year, he had appeared on being subpoenaed at Colonel Despard's Trial, to bear testimony to the former conduct of that deluded Officer. The Admiral accordingly declared, that they had honourably served together in 1780, on the Spanish Main, at the attack on Fort San Juan. Lord Ellenborough, in noticing the testimony of NELSON, observed, *That it had been given by a Man, on whom to pronounce an Eulogy were to waste words.*

On the first of April, 1803, his Lordship was examined before the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, with regard to such abuses respecting Prize Agency, as had come under his knowledge; and on the 14th he sent an account of it^b to His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, adding, 'I am ready, Sir, to combat all objections.'

After the Battle of Copenhagen his Majesty had created the noble Admiral a Viscount, and during the month of August, 1801, the Patent of Entail of his Lordship's rank was announced, in which the Dukedom of Bronte was first mentioned: The Patent was thus prefaced—"His Majesty is graciously pleased, in consideration of the great and important services that RENOWNED MAN, HORATIO VISCOUNT NELSON, hath rendered to his King and Country; and in order to perpetuate to the latest posterity the remembrance of his Glorious Actions, and to incite others to imitate his example, to grant the dignity of a Baron of his United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the said HORATIO VISCOUNT NELSON, K. B. and Vice Admiral of the Blue Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet, &c. &c. &c. by the name, style, and title of Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Hilborough, in his County of Norfolk."—These Honours were entailed on his Lordship's Father, and after his death on the Rev. Dr. William Nelson, his only surviving Son: and in case of default of heirs male from that branch, they were also entailed, first on the heirs male of his Lordship's sister SUSANNAH, who had married Mr. Bolton, and secondly on the heirs male of his Lordship's sister CATHARINE, who had married Mr. Matcham.

^a A Plan that in some degree resembled these ideas of Lord Nelson, may be found in the Bill brought into the Parliament about the middle of the last century, after the Register Bill had been disapproved, in consequence of the difficulties that were then found in manning our Fleet, which had been alluded to in the King's Speech. The twenty-three Resolutions that were agreed to, are given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1740, (Vol. X. Page 516.)

^b Vol. I. Appendix. The New Prize Act has regulated many of these Abuses.

BOOK THE THIRD.

SECTION IV.

From the appointment of Vice Admiral Lord Nelson to the Command in the Mediterranean, to the Battle of Trafalgar.

WHILST SERVING ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS AMPHION AND VICTORY.

From 1803 to 1805.

Anno
Ætatis. 43. THE fallacy of the Peace of Amiens soon became apparent, notwithstanding all the sacrifices which Great Britain had so nobly made, to satisfy the military despotism and to arrest the insidious designs of the government of France. As Lord Nelson observed in the debate on the Preliminaries, "The King had often assured his Parliament, that he would be ready to accede to terms of Peace, as soon as the government of France should wear an appearance of permanency." The experiment had been tried, and the British Nation, fully aware of its inefficacy to answer the intended objects, entered into the present eventful contest with a greater degree of unanimity, and a more general conviction of its necessity. The decision and spirit which marked the operations of our Government, irritated and astonished Buonaparte; who endeavoured by his conduct to our Ambassador, Lord Whitworth, at the Court held at the Tuilleries, March 13, 1803, to asperse the humanity and integrity of the British Character; *Nous avons, said he, déjà fait la guerre pendant quinze ans: As he appeared to wait for a reply, Lord Whitworth observed, C'en est déjà trop. Buonaparte answered, mais vous voulez la faire encore quinze années, et vous m'y forcez. After some time he added, vous pourrez peut-être tuer la France, mais jamais l'intimider. Lord Whitworth, unaffected by the total want of dignity as well as decency which had been manifested throughout, contented himself by thus delivering the real sentiments of his government—On ne voudroit ni l'un ni l'autre: on voudroit vivre en bonne intelligence avec elle.*

The Command in the Mediterranean had been long destined by the Admiralty for Lord Nelson, as has appeared by some letters addressed to Earl St. Vincent from the Admiral. On that station a considerable part of his professional life had been already spent; he had even for a short period acted there already as Commander in Chief, and had before acquired a perfect knowledge of the political interests and complicated duties which it embraced. The Correspondence which his Lordship afterwards carried on with the Ministers at home, with the different States in the Mediterranean, and with various eminent Officers in the Navy and Army with whom he was associated, has been carefully preserved. As the Commentaries of a great Warrior and Statesman, written at the moment when the different events which

they describe took place, they possess considerable value, and must impart an additional interest. Some letters have necessarily been reserved, as containing hints for the public benefit of his Country; which may possibly have escaped the watchful attention and well regulated system of secret intelligence, in which the French are so decidedly our superiors. The subsequent Narrative principally consists of a selection from this extensive Correspondence, occasionally illustrated by such collateral information, as has been furnished from the most respectable sources.

At the beginning of April, Lord Nelson sent the earliest intelligence of his appointment to the Mediterranean Fleet to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence:—*April 6, 1803.* Your Royal Highness knows that you have a right to command me; and it was my full intention when the thing was fixed for my going, to have offered my services to you. All that I know officially is, that the Cabinet, through the mouth of the First Lord of the Admiralty, have named me for the command in the Mediterranean—that it might be necessary for me to go out in a frigate, and that the *Victory* should follow. I am truly impressed with all your goodness to me. I assure you, I shall endeavour to merit the continuance of that friendship, which you have been pleased to honour me with for upwards of twenty-three years.—My dear friend Sir William Hamilton^b died this morning: the world never lost a more upright and accomplished gentleman.—*April 17.* I agree with your Royal Highness most entirely, that the son of a *RODNEY* ought to be the protégé of every person in the kingdom, and particularly of the sea officers: had I known that there had been this claimant, some of my own Lieutenants must have given way to such a name, and he should have been placed in the *Victory*—she is full, and I have twenty on my list; but whatever numbers I have, the name of *RODNEY* must cut many of them out.—I am well aware that, in my Prize plan, lawyers must remove all the difficulties that will occur in the completion. Much, very much is necessary to be considered on every part of it, but I think many objections would be overcome by a temperate and serious discussion. I was told the difficulties were insurmountable, or nearly so: My answer was, “as the thing is necessary to be done, the more difficulties the more necessary to try to remove them.”

Lord Nelson finally received his appointment as Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean, May 16, 1803; and in answer to the official letter from the Board, said, “Their Lordships may always rely on my strict obedience to their orders, and I rely with confidence on their liberal construction of my actions.”—On the 18th he left London very early, and arriving about noon at Portsmouth, hoisted his flag on board the *Victory*, Captain S. Sutton, Captain George Murray first Captain; and sailed on the 20th, in company with

^b At Sir William's death his pension of 1200*l.* a year ceased. Lord Nelson during the ensuing month, May 17, settled the same on Lady Hamilton; desiring Mr. Davison to pay, on the first day of each succeeding month, the sum of one hundred pounds, until further orders.

the *Amphion*; Captain T. M. Hardy. On the 22d, they went to the black Rocks off Brest to meet Admiral Cornwallis, who had been blown off his station; and it blowing strong all day on the 23d, his Lordship, in obedience to his orders, shifted his flag on board the *Amphion*, and proceeded to the Mediterranean. — On the 26th of May, when off Cape Finisterre, he wrote to the Duke of Clarence: ‘Your Royal Highness will have heard that I sailed in the *Victory* to join Admiral Cornwallis off Brest; but as I could not find him on his rendezvous, or near Brest, and having a fair wind, I determined on embarking in the *Amphion* and proceeding to the Mediterranean; leaving the *Victory* to follow if Admiral Cornwallis did not want her assistance: I now wish I had not persevered so long in looking for him, for I have lost the fair wind. I never could fancy that our assistance would be wanted. *June 3.* Having buffeted with a foul wind and nasty sea, we are now entering the Straits, and I hope to anchor at Gibraltar before dark. As they knew nothing of the War being absolutely begun here, I am much hurried, being very anxious to join the Fleet as soon as possible; this must apologize for the shortness of my letter. Buonaparte’s brother Jerome passed from Martinique a few days ago in a ship of the line.—*In continuation, off Monaco, July 5.* I arrived at Gibraltar on the 3d in the night, and sailed on the 4th of June. On the 15th I reached Malta, and left it at three o’clock on the morning of the 17th. It was the 25th before I got off Naples, where I was glad to find that Sir R. Bickerton had on the 4th of June steered for Toulon. Owing to the frequent calms at this season in the Mediterranean, we have not yet joined Sir Richard, but I hope to see them to morrow: reports say that the Fleet is in very good order as to discipline, but miserably off in respect to numbers; we have only to hope that the French will soon give us an opportunity of trying our strength with them. —It is perhaps very difficult for any one to say, what are the plans of Buonaparte: he is assembling a very large Army in Italy, and has already placed 13,000 men in the kingdom of Naples: I think it can only be with a view to conquer it, when it may on some pretence or other suit his convenience; the Morea and ultimately Egypt,¹ are in his view: therefore his assembling so many troops in Italy, they say full 80,000, can only be for the purpose of removing them across the Adriatic. With this idea, I fully expect that the French Fleet from Brest will assuredly come into the Mediterranean, to protect this Army across the water and along shore from Genoa, Leghorn, &c. which are full of troops. We must keep a

¹ In his Diary, under June 16, whilst at Malta, Lord Nelson observes, “Received a deputation on shore of the inhabitants, and had a conference with the Bey from Egypt. N. B. In my opinion, if we do not manage well, the French will still get a footing in Egypt; for if we do not support the Mameloucs against the Turks, they will certainly join the French; and if we take a decided part against the Turks, they will probably, finding Egypt is lost, give it to the French. It is a nice point to manage, but by a happy medium making the Turks do what is just, and making the Mameloucs content with what is just, I think we might settle the matter to the satisfaction of all parties.”

good look out both here and off Brest; and if I have the means, I shall try and fight one party or the other before they form a junction. *July 9.* I joined the Fleet yesterday, and it was with much sorrow that I saw your Royal Highness's friend Captain Keats looking so very ill; but he says he is recovering: I have such a high respect for his character, that I should be happy in doing all in my power to promote it. He is too valuable an Officer for the King's service to lose. The French Fleet is seven or nine sail of the line nearly ready for sea, five frigates and some corvettes: we have only to wish for their coming out, it would remove most of our fancied wants: we have few real ones—except the sight of the French Fleet, which would give much pleasure to your Royal Highness's attached and devoted servant, NELSON AND BRONTE.'

(1803.) On his first arrival in the Mediterranean, he had immediately directed his attention to the security of his Sicilian Majesty; and when writing to Sir John Acton, *June 10*, had said . . . 'As I bring Mr. Elliot,* it is not for me to enter very deeply into political subjects, yet it is right as far as the purport of my orders go to touch upon them. The words of my Orders are, "To be very attentive in observing if the French have any design of attacking the kingdoms of Naples or Sicily, and to afford his Sicilian Majesty and his subjects, all the protection and assistance which may be in your power, consistently with a due attention to the other important objects intrusted to your care." No Orders, my dear Sir John, can be fuller or clearer, and I do assure you that the last words of Mr. Addington to me were, *Take every possible care of their Sicilian Majesties, for the King considers them as the most faithful Allies that he has ever had*: there was not in the Ministry a difference of opinion on this point. You will readily believe how desirous I am to pay my duty to the King and Queen, the Royal Family, and your Excellency, and I am using force upon myself to keep away; for I think it likely were I to fly to Naples, that the French might turn it to some plea against those good Sovereigns.'—On the same day, Lord Nelson also wrote to their Sicilian Majesties; and sent the news of his arrival in the Mediterranean to the King of Sardinia, through our Minister, Mr. Jackson: the Admiral desired his Excellency to assure their Sardinian Majesties of an equal devotion to their interests; and "As far as I can consistently with my duty to our own King," added he, "I will take care that no unpleasant circumstances shall happen to make the French be insolent to those good Sovereigns. You, Sir, will be so good as to tell me your opinion of the situation of Sardinia. If the King wished it and the People would support their Sovereign, I should feel bound to afford them not only every assistance in my power, but to recommend a body of troops, say 3000, to aid so just a cause. My movements, you know, must materially depend on the sentiments and exertions of other Powers: my naval line of duty is perfectly simple; but I should feel happy in a more extended sense of duty.

* Brother to Lord Minto.

to aid and assist his Majesty's faithful Allies."—On the 16th of June, he sent the following letter from Malta to his Highness the Capitan Pasha, at Constantinople. 'Sir: The restless ambition of the person who, for the misfortune of mankind, still rules in the Government of France, has called me forth from my repose once more to arms; and the King, my Master, has judged it proper to appoint me Commander in Chief of his Fleet in the Mediterranean. I trust that the Ottoman Empire will be allowed to remain tranquil and not again be unjustly invaded; but should any attempt be made by the French to carry such an object into execution, I have the honour to inform your Highness, that I am directed to use every means to prevent it, and to afford to the Sublime Porte and its subjects all the assistance in my power. This is a part of my instructions which I should feel real pleasure in obeying, as it would not only enable me to evince my gratitude to his Imperial Majesty, but also afford me the pleasure I have so long desired of being personally known to your Highness.'—In writing at the same time to Mr. Drummond, the British Minister at Constantinople, he added, "I have only to be informed how I can render the Ottoman Empire most service, to make that a cheerful part of my duty. I have taken the liberty of writing to the Grand Vizier and Capitan Pasha, to assure them of the same, which considering my personal close connection with the Sublime Porte, I hope your Excellency will not disapprove of. I shall be glad to be informed of the state of Albania, and whether the Government of Constantinople think there is any probability of the French trying to realize one of their schemes, of making the Morea a Greek Republic." In a letter at the same time to Mr. Spiridion Foresti at Corfu, he inquired minutely into the state of the infant Republic of the Seven Islands, whether they were able to maintain their independence, and whether any disaffection or wish to give themselves up to France had appeared? 'Your accurate knowledge of those islands,' added the Admiral, 'and of every individual on them, will enable you to give me such answers as will assist me to regulate my conduct; and you will believe that I must have every inclination to render them service, when I recollect the very elegant compliment made me by the island of Zante.'

(1803.) In writing to Mr. Elliot, respecting the Two Sicilies, June 25, he thus begins the second of three admirable letters which he sent on that subject: 'I have given my opinion to the best of my judgment under all the circumstances. Had I only to consider, is Sicily safe at this moment? I should say no; yet let it be recollected, that I am called upon not entirely to lose Naples by my opinion, but to try with that important object in view to save Sicily. I have arranged with General Villettes to have 2000 men ready for service, and I shall write secretly to have them in momentary preparation. If Sir John Acton, without choosing to run too great a risk for Sicily, chose to send to me off Toulon, I would attend myself if possible this very important service. I am

extremely anxious to join the Fleet, for I must place a squadron between Elba and Genoa to prevent that Expedition from moving, and must also send some ships to the Straits Mouth, and keep enough to watch the ships in Toulon; of whose force or readiness for service I am totally ignorant. These are all important objects, but nothing when compared with the security of the Sicilies.'

(1803.) In the second of two letters sent to Sir John Acton, dated *June 25, off Capri*, the Admiral thus discussed the difficult subject of Sicily.—'My dear Sir John: If I know myself, it is to feel, that the more my friends are in distress, the more I am anxious to serve them. A Mouse once assisted a Lion, which is the only comparison I can make in arrogating to myself the power of assisting a King of the House of Bourbon, and I am sorry to say the only one who has strictly preserved his honour, dignity and fidelity to his Allies. I shall feel proud in aiding you, my dear Sir John, to save these two fine kingdoms, and Mr. Elliot will join us most cordially in this good work. All we must take care of is not to run the risk of losing Sicily beyond the line of prudence; on that point we rely, as the seaman's phrase is, *on your Excellency's look-out*; you must be aware of our distance, and be in time. I will, if you send to me off Toulon, either attend myself or send Sir Richard Bickerton. Declarations are to come from our Officers that the authority of his Majesty is in no one respect to be abridged, and if my counsel can have weight I should recommend, at the risk of a war with all the Barbary States, to liberate the Sicilian Flag from their insolence: I assure you I would only ask for three months war to put them in order; not by attacking Algiers, but taking all their cruisers. I am going off Toulon, and thence shall send a vessel direct to England. It has been my plan to have 10,000 disposable troops in the Mediterranean, this is also Lord Minto's and his Excellency Mr. Elliot's."—Lord Nelson had also suggested that a sufficient quantity of provisioned Transports should be kept in the Mediterranean, to attend on these Troops and convey them from one part of the enemy's coast to the other, so as might best harass and perplex the French Armies. They had at that time taken possession of Pescara, Brindisi, Otranto, and Tarento, on a pretence that we were to evacuate Malta, as they had Naples, and on our not doing so, they resumed their former position in that kingdom. Lord Nelson, in sending this information to Major General Villettes at Malta, *June 26*, said, 'The King of Sicily is fully sensible of the injustice of the French; their force consists of 13,000 men, who are spread over 200 miles of country...I assure you under all the circumstances which have been laid before me, I have had a difficult task to form my opinion: If Sicily be lost, so is Naples; but Naples being lost, is more likely to be regained by securing Sicily.'

On the *28th of June*, he sent the following View of the Mediterranean States to Mr. Addington, dated Amphion, between Sardinia and Naples. After touching on the conduct of the Dey of Algiers to our Consul, Mr. Falcon, his Lordship proceeded to notice

‘MALTA: The Maltese are in the highest spirits, and sincerely hope that they will now be never separated from England. My opinion of Malta as a naval Station for watching the French in Toulon, is well known; and my present experience of what will be a three weeks passage, most fully confirms me in it. The Fleet will never go there, if I can find any other corner: but having said this, I now declare that I consider Malta as a most important outwork to India, that it will ever give us great influence in the Levant and indeed throughout all the southern parts of Italy; in this view, I hope we shall never give it up. I carried out orders from Lord Hobart, that General Villettes was to hold 2000 men at my requisition, if they could be spared from the defence of Malta, for the service of Sicily. The language of General Villettes was natural, “the Garrison appointed for Malta is not more than at the most economical number of men was judged sufficient; however, that he should not hesitate in providing 1200 men and a corps of artillery, to be under the Command of General Oakes, a most excellent Officer, for the service of Messina, whenever I might call for them:” and the General wished that I should mention this conversation, when I had any opportunity of communicating with Ministers. Sir Alexander Ball thinks, that if half the troops was sent on other services, particularly to Sicily, that the Maltese would defend the Island against any force the French could send, supported by our Fleet. Truth probably lies between; but, my dear Sir, these sort of Orders should never be left discretionary. You make an Officer responsible for the safety of the place, yet tell him in the same breath, *send away so many men if you can spare them without evident risk*. The conduct of the Officer must be naturally to secure himself, from the very great responsibility thrown upon him by such an order.

‘The state of SICILY is almost as bad as a civilised country can be. There are no Troops fit to be called such, with a scarcity of corn never known before, and of course bread so dear that the lower Class is discontented. The Nobles are oppressors, and those of the Middle Rank wish for a change; and although they would prefer us to the French, yet I believe they would receive the French, rather than not change from the Oppression of the Nobles. The Citadel of Messina is strong and in good order, but with a few miserable Troops badly paid, if paid at all; therefore what can be expected from them? A French Frigate has been there lately, with a French Aid de Camp to the Grand Master, and lastly General Vial: they have good eyes and many at Messina are seduced; and if the Neapolitan Troops at Malta were removed there, I fear we should find more Enemies and the French more Friends. On the 17th of June at day light I left Malta, on the 20th I passed the Faro of Messina. The lower class of boat people came on board with Fruit, &c.—their expressions were strong and ought to be received with caution, yet with their hearts in their hands, you may gather sentiments to form a pretty accurate opinion. *Viva il Rè! Viva Inglese! When will the English come back to Messina?* On asking them

if they had any Jacobins in the City, *Yes, the Gentry who wear their Hats so—on one side of the head, Vide Bond Street Loungers.* On the 25th of June I was at the entrance of the Bay of Naples, where I had appointed the Frigate which carried Mr. Elliot there to join me; I send you copies of my letters to Lord St. Vincent for him to lay them before the Cabinet; and here it is necessary to observe to you, that a Sea Officer cannot hold any Official Correspondence but with the Secretary of the Admiralty, without an order for that purpose which is often given: therefore I have certainly irregularly sent them to Lord St. Vincent as a Cabinet Minister, conceiving they are on subjects which the Board of Admiralty can have nothing to do with, much less the Clerks of that office, through whose hands they must pass. When you, my dear Sir, take into your consideration all the letters sent me, with the liberal conduct towards my judgment; I trust you will agree with me, that under all the circumstances at this moment, I did right to give the opinion which I have done: but I stand open to the correction of the Cabinet. I felt that it was our wish to make Naples feel, that we were her true friends and sincerely wished to preserve as much as possible for her, and not to hasten the loss of any part of the kingdom of Naples.

‘**SARDINIA** is declared neutral, but that no foreign Troops would be allowed to land. I wish they may keep off the French. We have no Troops to assist them, if they wanted our assistance. This reminds me of a hint about more Troops for Naples: should the King of Naples, which is most probable, be obliged to quit his capital and retire to Palermo, the possession of Gaeta would be attended with the happiest consequences; a very strong fortified frontier Town, with a fine Bay and Port, the country People hostile to inveteracy against the French: 1500 British would secure this Post, and always give us an entry into the Country. I am not military man sufficient to say, how long our Troops could hold St. Elmo and the other Castles at Naples, but they would give that energy to the People, which might, and probably would be attended with the happiest effects. I regret the necessity of withdrawing the last part of that fine Egyptian Army, and am aware of the influence it will have on the timid Council of Naples.

‘**TUSCANY**: It is difficult to know how to consider this State: they are not our Friends, and it would perhaps be hard to consider them as Enemies. Yet why should France use them against us, and we suffer Leghorn to enjoy its Commerce for the advantage ultimately of the French? for it is they who receive the fruits of the Tuscan labour and Commerce: And as the French have declared Leghorn in a state of Siege, I can see no impropriety in considering it so likewise, and for our Government to place it in a state of blockade whilst the French remain in it. This is for the wise and grave consideration of our Government.

‘**GENOA or LIGURIA**: The same as the Italian Republic, it is France as much as Toulon, it has not even the name of Independence. I shall, therefore, as far as I see at

this present moment, have no hesitation in considering all Genoese Vessels as French. Every thing at Genoa is French; therefore I hope that not a moment will be lost in declaring Genoa so considered. The blockade of Genoa ought to be declared instantly; if not, it will be what it always has been, the granary of the South of France, and the Northern part of Italy. The Imperial and Greek flag are filling it with corn.

‘MOREA: It is perfectly clear that the French are at work in that Country; either to prepare for their own reception, or to induce the Greeks to revolt against the Porte, and either way it is a chain for their getting again to Egypt. If the French or their friends conquer the Morea, Egypt would be the price of returning it, unless by an alliance with the Mameloucs they can possess both. This brings to my mind the Bey who is going to England, to solicit our Justice against Turkish Oppression. It appears very clear that the Territory assigned them in upper Egypt, will not maintain them and their Flocks. Government will know how to steer between the Turks and Mameloucs.—*July 2d.* To this long letter, I shall only beg to call your attention, to what purpose the French are collecting such an Army in Italy, where at present there can be no prospect of an army able to face them: 13,000 are in the kingdom of Naples, 8,000 are at this moment in Leghorn, 6,000 marched in on the 28th June, and the other parts of Italy are filling with Troops, even drawing them from Switzerland. Their object must be the conquest of Naples (perhaps Sicily) and certainly getting over to the Morea; therefore I regret the removal of the Egyptian Army, which in any one of these Enterprizes would have kept the French in check: for I am sure they are afraid of that Army, and the Italians have the greatest confidence in it, and would make a struggle in their Mountains; and time gained to us would be very desirable.’

In a letter to Lord Moira, on the *2d of July 1803*, when close to Elba, the Admiral after retracing his proceedings and the general State of Affairs in the Mediterranean, thus continued: ‘Another great plan of Buonaparte’s is now perfectly clear: he will attempt the Morea, either by assisting the Greeks in an Insurrection against the Porte, or this may be done in concert with Russia. On this important subject we are both agreed, that it is very probable those two powers may have in view, by concert, the downfall of the Turkish Empire in Europe. Candia and Egypt would of course, if this plan is followed, be given to

‘Those Naval Officers who were in the confidence of Lord Nelson, well know his accurate ideas respecting Egypt, which cannot be too much impressed on the public mind. This great Statesman was fully aware of the views which the French had, in endeavouring to make themselves masters of the fertile Territory of the Nile. He knew that every article of West Indian produce would grow there; that they could, therefore, supply Europe with Sugar at a very low rate, and by thus having an immense number of ships employed in the carrying trade, they could man a Fleet with able Sailors in a very short time, which would be at Sea long before we could send any force to far. Tea and Cotton he also knew would grow in Egypt. In addition to all which, their well known intention of thus reaching our possessions in India, should never be omitted.

the French, when sooner or later farewell India. But even supposing Russia has nothing to do with this plan ; it would equally answer Buonaparte's purpose of alarming the Porte, to do it by the Greeks, or by assisting Ali Vizier in throwing off his dependence on the Porte : he would be equally ready to suppress or support even Rebellion, provided the reward, EGYPT, were the same. That is his great object at present, and for it he would sacrifice either Greeks, Russians, or Turks. We know he is not very scrupulous in the honourable means of accomplishing his darling object. Every State in Italy except Naples, is, at this moment as much France, as France itself, and in all things is obedient to his nod. And for fear that the Spanish Family, in *his* Kingdom of Etruria, should appear to the world not sufficiently degraded, he has ordered, and they fly on the same flag staff, both French and Tuscan colours to be hoisted. At Genoa, they literally obey the order of his Minister ; a few days ago he desired of the Government 5,000 Troops—they answered that they had only 2,000, but that they were very much at his service. My firm opinion is, that the Mediterranean will again be an active scene ; and if Ministers do not look out, I shall have the Brest Fleet to pay me a visit : for as the Army can only be moved by the protection of a superior Fleet, that Fleet they will try to have, and a month's start of us would do all the mischief.'

To Mr. Addington, dated off Toulon, July 16, 1809.—'I send you some papers relative to and some letters from Odessa, a Russian port in the Black Sea, of which the Duke de Richelieu is Governor. You will know much better than I can tell you, how this emigrant Duke has been courted by Buonaparte through his Minister in Russia. We must recollect that he is a Frenchman, and his ultimate views probably turn to getting back some of his estates in France. It appears odd it should so happen, that a Frenchman should be appointed Governor of a place, where the French are to have so much intercourse : from all I have heard before I left England, I cannot help thinking that Russia and France understand each other about the Turkish Dominions. If so, Egypt will be the price ; this Mr. Bourgoïn is a very clever fellow and knows his business, I take him to be Nephew to the Minister who was in Denmark. The French Trade in the Levant did not answer in the peace, all the letters I have say so (more than 100) and many houses in Marseilles have stopped payment. Forgive my suggestions, but they will naturally obtrude themselves, I meant merely to send the papers. *July 27.* Europe seems so degraded, that I declare I would rather die with my sword in my hand resisting, than hold any Territory by means of a degenerate guarantee. Can a Kingdom be said to be free, which pays contributions at the order of a foreign Power ? No ; yet such is the state of Naples, Tuscany, and Génoa. General Murat demanded at Genoa a contribution of five millions of livres on the 7th, the Government said they could only raise three ; the rest must be paid in men for the Army : 1600 men marched into Genoa

on the 17th of July. Yesterday, and to day, three corvettes have been trying to proceed to the eastward : I am confident they want to get to the heel of Italy and the Adriatic, and it is very difficult to prevent their passing along shore. At Marseilles they are fitting, as reports say, eighty or ninety gun boats, and intend sending them by the Canal of Languedoc to Bourdeaux ; but I am sure this is not true. They are to go along shore, to the heel of Italy, and to embark and protect their Army either to Sicily or the Morea, or to both ; and the Navy of Europe can hardly prevent these along shore voyages. However I am placing an addition to the Squadron I have already stationed upon that coast ; but from Cape St. Vincent, where it is absolutely necessary I should have a look out for the ships of war coming from the Mediterranean, to the head of the Adriatic, I have only eight Frigates ; which, with the service of watching Toulon and the necessary Frigates with the Fleet, are absolutely not one half enough. I mean this as no complaint, for I am confident the Admiralty are hard pressed, and will send me more when the Service will admit it.'

On the 30th of July, 1803, the Victory joined the Fleet, and in the evening Lord Nelson shifted his flag on board from the Amphion. On the first of August the following note appears in his Diary : *I have had the pleasure of rewarding Merit in the person of Mr. Hindmans, Gunner's Son of the Bellerophon, for his conduct this day five years.*

The following letters to Mr. Addington, continue his Lordship's view of the Mediterranean States. 'August 24, off Toulon : With respect to Sicily, I have no doubt from what is passing at Naples, and in that Island, but that the French will have it. My former reasons for inducing General Villettes to keep the Neapolitan troops in Malta, were to prevent what has happened ; but in a month after my back was turned Villettes obeyed his Orders, and now the Governor of Messina says, *We can defend it and want no assistance.* The whole conduct of the Governor, I am bold to say, is unfavourable to the poor King of Naples. Every exertion should be used to put the fortifications in repair, when a foreign Army is in one part of the Kingdom : the sixteen gun boats are rotting at Messina without a man, when they ought to be exercising in the Straits every day—I see clearly if we have not a little Army to take it, the French will. I am sorry to say, that the mass of Sicilians wish for a change of Government ; they desire us, but if we will not go there they would gladly I fear receive the French, the middle and lower class would be relieved from the oppressions of the Nobles. They love their King and the English, but hate the Nobles and the French.—I had a ship from SARDINIA yesterday—The King fancies that he can point out his Neutrality ; alas, he can do nothing but what the French please. You may rely that 5000 French, or rather Corsicans, are preparing for the Invasion, say Conquest of Sardinia. They are forced to enlist from particular districts, five districts 1000 men each. All their Camp equipage consists of a light linen jacket, trowsers, red cap, and a pair of

shoes: a musquet, accoutrements such as our gentlemen go a shooting with, and a short sword. The plunder of the Sardinian Anglo Sardes is held out as the reward, and not all our Navy can prevent it, Sardinia will be lost without a struggle; and yet the majority of the Sardinians would fly to receive us: but if we will not, then the French in preference to remaining as they are oppressed with taxes, and no protection from the Barbary States. Corsica is so much oppressed by requisitions of men from it, that I am told they would gladly again shake off the French yoke; and this last order for 5000 men for the conquest of Sardinia, has made them outrageous. But Buonaparte cares for nothing; he sets all his engines to work, if they succeed it is well, and if not, he is no worse than he was. I am looking for the French Squadron, perhaps you may think impatiently; but I have made up my mind never to go into port until after the Battle, even if they should make me wait a year; provided the Admiralty change the ships which cannot keep the Sea in winter, except Victory, Canopus, Donegal, and Belleisle. This day only six men are confined to their beds in the whole Squadron. With every good wish for your brilliant success, and for getting us an honourable and a permanent Peace, believe me, my dear Sir, with the truest esteem, &c. *August 25, 1803:* It was with real sorrow I read his Majesty's Message of July 28th, on the occasion of the horrid murder of Lord Kilwarden in Dublin. The unanimity of all good subjects will I trust soon bring the rebels to Justice; and certainly the more danger, the more necessary it is for us all to put ourselves forward. I assure you, that I wish I only knew how I could serve my Country more effectually than in my present Command. I attach no value to the high rank I at present hold; and if any, even the lowest situation is thought to be fittest for me in these times, I should feel prouder to be so placed, than in any elevation of rank. All I ask, is to be allowed to be one of the men placed in the breach to defend my King and Country. I have but one arm it is true, but believe me my heart is in the right trim—only consider how I can be best employed. However I trust, my dear Sir, that you know me; therefore I will not say more, for fear it should be suspected that I arrogate to myself greater merit, than I believe will be found in 999 of every 1000 in the United Kingdoms. These lines have almost involuntarily flowed from my pen, as they have done from my heart; pardon me, I sat down to write on a different subject.—I yesterday told you of the intention of the French to invade Sardinia, where no steps are taken against them. At Marseilles the troops are now ready to sail on board a frigate, corvette, and two armed transports, with 1000 or 1500 men under a General Cervoni or Veroni: I believe they are bound to Corsica to go over with the 5000 Corsicans, if they get to Sardinia it is gone. I am sending two frigates, the only ones I have with me, to cruise off Ajaccio in Corsica and try to intercept them. But what I mention this circumstance for is, that it may be necessary to notice it to the Russian Minister, or we may be accused of a breach of Neutrality in Sardinia; for

being satisfied of the intention of the French invading that Island, I have directed the frigates to pursue them even should they chase into Sardinia, and to take or destroy them, and also the Corsican Troops; were I to wait until the Island was taken, I should feel deserving of reprobation. Of course they will say that we broke the Neutrality, if we attack them in the ports of Sardinia before their conquest: and, if we do not, I shall be laughed at for a fool—*Prevention is better than Cure*. Many French vessels have been chased into Sardinia, and of course the Neutrality respected; C'Alecyon man of war brig as an instance. I mention my intention, that idle reports may not be attended to. If Russia be the guarantee of the King of Sardinia's dominions, let Russia look out. My station to the westward of Toulon, an unusual one, has been taken upon an idea that the French Fleet is bound out of the Straits, and probably to Ireland. It is said, 10,000 men are collecting at Toulon. I shall follow them to the Antipodes: you may rely, my dear Sir, on the zeal of your most faithful friend.'

To Sir R. Strachan, August 26. 'I wish to call your serious attention to what I am going to mention. The French Fleet being perfectly ready for sea, seven of the line, six frigates, and some corvettes—two sail of the line are now rigging in the Arsenal; I think it more than probable that they are bound to the westward out of the Mediterranean. Therefore as I am determined to follow them, go where they may, I wish you in case they escape me, to send a frigate or sloop after them to find out their route, giving her a station where I may find her, and keep yourself either at the mouth of the Straits or off Europa Point; for I certainly shall not anchor at Gibraltar. You will of course keep this to yourself, and I rely, my dear Sir Richard, with full confidence in your Experience, Judgment, and that ardent Zeal which has ever distinguished your public services.'—In writing to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence the Admiral added—'I am happy, Sir, to inform you that Captain Keats is much recovered. I sent him to Naples for a fortnight; but having stayed only nine days, he was so anxious, knowing my inferiority in numbers to the Enemy, that he came back and joined me. I need not tell your Royal Highness that he is amongst the very best Officers in our Service. I have the highest respect and esteem for him.'—Again, when writing to his Excellency, Mr. Drummond, at Constantinople, *August 27*, 'According to the reports of vessels spoken from Marseilles and Genoa, the war is very unpopular, and I hope it will end in the destruction of that Man of Tyranny Buonaparte; but I detest Europe for being so mean spirited as to submit to the mandates of this Corsican—I blush for their meanness. In Ireland, the Militia have vied with the Regulars who should act best. If we are but true to ourselves, a fig for the great Buonaparte.'

(1803.) On the same day, *August 27*, he also addressed the following public letter to Mr. Drummond, respecting the undoubted right of searching Neutral vessels: "I have

the honour to address your Excellency on a subject, which calls loudly for redress and prevention in future. It is the acknowledged right of all lawful Cruisers to examine the papers of vessels hoisting neutral colours, in order to ascertain whether the property of enemies, not contraband articles, be carried on board them ; and it is the acknowledged Law of Nations, that resistance to such search is confiscation of ship and cargo, on the principle that such act of hostility makes the ship and crew enemies. It has, I am sorry to say, been invariably the practice of the Greeks, whenever they fancied themselves superior, for their vessels or boats to fire on the English flag ; and to endeavour to kill the English, who were only executing their bounden duty in examining all ships and vessels. When I had the command of the *Agamemnon*, I had sixteen men killed by these Greeks. . . I have earnestly to request that your Excellency will obtain an order to the Greek Islands that their vessels do not fire on the English flag ; for certainly the smaller the vessel coming, the less cause for firing."

' To Mr. Gibert, Consul at Barcelona, Sept. 13, 1803. " You will have the goodness to present my respectful compliments to the Captain General, and assure him, that the return of Deserters shall be reciprocal on my part, and that I have forgiven them at his request. You will also inform his Excellency, that I have read with no small surprise a paper, purporting to have been given in during the year 1771, and now ordered to be put in force. I am ready to admit, that the King of Spain may order us to be refused admittance into his ports, may refuse us even when there the rights of hospitality, as his Excellency has done those of civility in not even asking Captain Whithy to sit down, although there were others in his presence seated—His Sovereign may certainly, if he pleases, go to war with us—I deny none of these rights : but I claim every indulgence which is shewn to the ships of our Enemies : The French Squadron at Corunna are acting almost as they please ; the *Aigle* French ship of war is not turned out of Cadiz, the French frigate *Revenge* is permitted to go out of that port, cruise, and return with Prizes, and sell them : I will not state, that every Spanish port is a home for French privateers, for this is well known, and I am informed that even at Barcelona, English vessels captured by the French have been sold there. You will acquaint his Excellency, that I claim for every British Ship, or Squadron, the right of lying as long as I please in the ports of Spain, whilst it is allowed to other Powers ; that I claim the rights of Hospitality and Civility, and every other right which the harmony subsisting between our Sovereigns entitles us to. You will acquaint his Excellency, that I can mean no disrespect personally to himself ; but that it is a British Admiral returning an answer to a Spanish Captain General, through the same channel which conveyed the message."—In transmitting the Captain General's State Paper, with this letter, to Mr. Frere our Ambassador at Madrid, the Admiral added, " This conduct, I suppose, indicates a War with us : I have therefore earnestly to request, that you will send

me immediate notice of such an event, that I may send to the West Indies and act upon it myself. If your news of War passes through England, it will be two or three months before I shall know it officially, and the same in the West Indies. I would recommend to your Excellency, sending an express to Barcelona with an order to hire a vessel, another to the Bay of Rosas where our ships of war often are, and another to Gibraltar to the Governor and Commanding Sea Officer; and I only hope that your letter may be clear, whether it will be or is War.'

(1803.) *To Sir R. J. Strachan, Sept. 26.* 'The occurrences which pass every day in Spain forebode, I fancy, a speedy War with England; therefore it becomes proper for me to put you upon your guard, and advise you how to act under particular circumstances. By looking at the former line of conduct on the part of Spain, which she followed just before the commencement of the last War, we may naturally expect the same events to happen: The French Admiral Richery was in Cadiz blocked up by Admiral Man, on August 22d they came to sea, attended by the Spanish Fleet, which saw the French safe beyond St. Vincent and returned into Cadiz; Admiral Man very properly did not choose to attack Admiral Richery under such an escort. This is a prelude to what I must request your strict attention to; at the same time I am fully aware that you must be guided, in some measure, by actual circumstances. I think it very probable, even before Spain breaks with us, that they may send a ship or two of the line to see l'Aigle round Cape St. Vincent; and that if you attack her in their presence, they may attack you--and giving them possession of the Donnégall, would be more than either you or I should wish, therefore I am certain it must be very comfortable for you to know my sentiments. From what you hear of in Cadiz, you will judge how far you may venture yourself in company with a Spanish Squadron: but if you are of opinion that you may trust yourself near them, keeping certainly out of gunshot, send your boat with a letter to the Spanish Commodore, and desire to know whether he means to defend the French Ships? and get his answer in writing, and have it as plain as possible. If it be "yes, that he will fire at you if you attack the French under his protection," then, if you have force enough, make your attack on the whole body and take them all if you can; for I should consider such an answer as a perfect declaration of War. If you are too weak for such an attack, you must desist; but you certainly are fully authorised to take the ships of Spain whenever you meet them: should the answer be ambiguous, you must then act as your judgment may direct you, and I am sure that will be very proper. Only recollect, that it would be much better to let the French ships escape, than to run too great a risk of losing the Donnégall, yourself, and ship's company.'

To Mr. Addington, September 27.—'The French are not yet out, although about a fortnight ago they made an appearance of doing so; indeed some of their ships were out-

side of the harbour, but I rather think it was to get some exercise. However *they took it in their Anger and returned again*. The Spaniards are now so very uncivil to our ships, that I suppose we shall not be much longer friends. I have written to Mr. Frere at Madrid, to entreat that he would take every possible means to give me the earliest information of hostilities; and have pointed out to him the length of time which would elapse, before I could know it through England, and the very great importance of my knowing it. I sent a few days ago to Minorca, but the Spaniards would not give our ship *pratique*. Captain Donnelly, however, was informed, that there were three Frenchmen taking an account of the Revenue and how it is raised, and making very minute inquiries. Does this portend a cession of that Island? I fear it does, and the Minorquins think so—I should be very sorry to see that happen. Since May 18th, the day the Squadron sailed from Malta, notwithstanding every attempt has been made, as the Victualling Board will know but too well, not one morsel of fresh beef or any vegetables have we been able to get from Malta; therefore if we had only Malta to trust to, our Fleet must go there and leave this station for two months together, and allow the French to do as they please. Minorca may have its inconveniences; but its conveniences are so great, that I trust at the moment when a Spanish war is certain, we shall be able to enjoy them: not but I am fully aware you want all your troops, yet I ought not to pass by what my humble opinion is. I still hope that our great plan against Spain will be able to be carried into effect, and that my mortar rafts will be used with great success: I can find no one objection to them; their effect is certain, and little or no expense. I had more to say on other subjects, but I am fearful of intruding: therefore I only beg you to be assured, that every exertion of mine shall be used to bring this just War to an honourable and successful termination. Oct. 6. The French Admiral mounted yesterday morning his Sea Vane, which a landsman would not notice; but it gives a certainty to my mind that they wish to put to sea, and never was a Squadron of British Ships more anxious to meet them. I can have no excuse, nor do I want my Country to make any for me: if I see the Enemy, my exertions shall be used to lay the Squadron well in, and the event, with the blessing of Providence on a just Cause, we have no reason to fear. Till the Battle is over I hope to write to you no more; whether I survive it or not, my name shall never bring a blush on my friends. May God bless you, my King and Country, and believe me ever your most attached and faithful Friend.'

(1803.) *To Sir A. Ball, Oct. 6.*—'Your friendly council and advice are always most acceptable; the wisdom of the measures you propose are undoubted, and should be followed had I the means. The State of Egypt is deplorable, and I have no doubt that the French have made a Treaty with the Mameloucs, or will with the Turks. I have not only wrote, but have impressed upon Mr. Addington's mind the necessity of steering such a

course, as would neither throw the Mameloues or 'Turks into the hands of the French. I hope the Capitan Pasha is long before this in Egypt; not that I believe the 'Turks will ever be what they call masters of that Country again. The wish I have of sending a small Ship now and then to Egypt is frustrated, for I have them not. I want to place a good sloop to guard our currant ships, and to look after the Republic of the Seven Islands. • I want also to place a ship above Ancona; how far Captain Craycraft will be able to accomplish these things with his small Squadron, I am not sure, but he shall have a letter to attend to your wants for convoy to both the Morea and Adriatic, for which purpose I shall add for the present the Arrow to his Squadron. I had intended sending Sir Richard Bickerton to manage these and other matters, and amongst others to look' at the place for the Naval Hospital, and to get an estimate of the expense of fitting it up; but I believe from appearances the French Fleet are so near putting to sea, that it would be cruel in me to send away so excellent an officer and friend, at a moment when we may expect so glorious a harvest—I would give a good deal for a copy of the French Admiral's Orders. Report says it is Decrès, as he fought the Guillaume Tell so well; if he is a fighting man so much the better, I hope he will not run away—we may want heels to catch them, that is the only fear I have. I find they think Sicily quite safe, and Naples almost fit to bid defiance to all Buonaparte's power; I laugh at what I read, I know them well and so do you. This beating of the 'Tunisians will have a very good effect, and dispose them to resist other invaders. Again, and again, only tell me your wants and wishes, and they shall be complied with as fast as means will allow, being ever, my dear Ball, your faithful Friend.'

In writing to Captain Schomberg, on *October 7*, when off 'Toulon, his Lordship said, "At this distance it is impossible for me to regulate every thing with exactness; therefore I can only repeat to you, Captain Craycraft, and any other your seniors, that it is my earnest desire to give every possible expedition in getting our Trade safe to and from the Adriatic and Levant, and affording Sir A. Ball and General Villettes convoys for bullocks and corn... We must all in our several stations exert ourselves to the utmost, and not be nonsensical in saying, *I have an Order for this, that, or the other*, if the King's service clearly marks what ought to be done: I am well convinced of your Zeal."

(1803.) *To Mr. Elliot at Naples, Oct. 8.* 'Your Excellency's letters by the Monmouth came to me on the 4th at night, and I feel truly sensible of your kindness and the trouble you have taken, in detailing to me all the means of precaution which his Excellency Sir John Acton has adopted respecting Sicily; and I fully rely that those means will be continued, and that neither Sicily nor Naples will want our assistance. God knows we have occasion enough for our Troops, without begging them to be received; and nothing but the strong orders I brought out, would have induced General Villettes to part with a man

from Malta. The information of Captain Durban relative to the Tunisians, by wise precautions, has led to such a happy result that I trust my Countrymen in Sicily will soon cruise against the Barbary States. I have been so pleased with Captain Durban for this and other wise conduct on several occasions, that I have made him a Post Captain, and given him the Command of the Ambuscade frigate. Sir A. J. Ball has, I believe, the highest opinion of Sir John Acton, and that his loss to Naples would, at this moment, be the ruin of the Country; but he has thought that Sir John has had difficulties to struggle with, in giving his opinion that sometimes thwarted his wishes: Dear Sir William, who was Sir John's firm friend against all opposition to the day of his death, had often told me that it was so. I sincerely hope he has no opposition either in public or private. The impudence of Buonaparte I am not surprised at. The crowned heads of Europe have to thank themselves: our Country will ever resist, and the King of Naples is the only King who has shewn any spirit. He has felt like a King, would to God he had been as powerful as I wish him. By the Childers Brig I have had a full and entire approbation of my conduct both public and private; but, at the same time I am desired to guard and to caution Sir John Acton and yourself, that we are not lulled into a fatal security... In short, my dear Sir, you may rely whatever man can do for the safety and comfort of the Two Sicilies, none can have more desire to do it than myself. I should be very happy to receive authentic intelligence of the destination of the French squadron, their route and time of sailing—any thing short of this is useless: and I assure your Excellency that I would not upon any consideration have a Frenchman in the Fleet, except as a Prisoner. I put no confidence in them. You think yours good, the Queen thinks the same, I believe they are all alike. Whatever information you can get me, I shall be very thankful for; but not a Frenchman comes here—forgive me, but my Mother hated the French. This will be presented to you by my nephew Sir William Bolton; you will be so good as to introduce him to Sir John Acton, he was Lieutenant of both Vanguard and Foudroyant. Never was health equal to this Squadron, which has now been within ten days, five months at Sea.'

(1803.) *To Mr. Davison.* "I wish you would get me the opinion of some learned men in the Commons, on the Bills of lading. I maintain, that under the description of the Bill of lading, the Goods are risked by the shippers until they are received, and are therefore French Property, and I should be glad to have this opinion as soon as possible; as not less than 40,000*l.* worth of goods has passed by in one day from Smyrna, but the Captains were afraid to touch them; I cannot blame them, our rules of Admiralty have been so undecided. We have a report, through Italy, of Negotiations for Peace: we cannot have one, but on degrading and dishonourable terms; sooner than accept which, we had better spend the last shilling in resisting like men. The Italian

papers mention Mr. Yorke as First Lord of the Admiralty : I care not who is in or out, I shall endeavour to do my duty to my Country. I believe I attend more to the French Fleet than making captures : but of what I have, I can say as old Haddock did, *It never cost a Sailor a tear, nor the Nation a farthing*—that Thought is far better than Prize Money ; not that I despise Prize Money, quite the contrary—I wish I had one hundred thousand pounds this moment, and I will do every thing consistent with my good name to obtain it. I believe we are in the right fighting trim, let them come as soon as they please. I never saw a Fleet altogether so well officered and manned, would to God the ships were half as good. We ought to be amply repaid some day for all our toil. My crazy ships are getting into a very indifferent state, and others will soon follow ; the finest ones in the service would soon be destroyed by such terrible weather. I know well enough that if I were to go into Malta, I should save the ships during this bad season ; but if I am to watch the French, I must be at sea, and if at sea must have bad weather ; and if the ships are not fit to stand bad weather, they are useless : unfortunately in bad weather I am always sea sick. But, my dear friend, my eye sight fails me most dreadfully, I firmly believe that in a few years I shall be stone blind ; it is this only of all my maladies, that makes me unhappy, but God's Will be done.

(1803.) ‘ I am glad you are known to Mr. Addington, he is a good man. I began a Correspondence, or rather ventured an opinion on the State of Affairs in this Country ; but he had not time to answer me and referred me over to Lord Hobart, to whom I now write occasionally ; but in fact I have nothing to write about. That the French are rascals every one knows ; and that they want Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and Turkey, and Egypt and Malta, by the way to write this is no news, nor that I long most ardently to meet the French Fleet.—Whenever you write to Lord Moira, you will not fail to remember me most kindly ; whether he is in or out of office, my opinion of him is formed for Ability, Honour, and strict Integrity which nothing can shake. I hope he will be a firm supporter of Mr. Addington's Administration. Sir Andrew Hamond well knows, that nothing would give me more sincere pleasure, than to have not merely the Plantagenet, but Captain Hamond, it must be desirable to have our friends around us ; I am with perfect strangers, although very good men : upon every occasion I shall be happy to meet Sir Andrew's wishes upon every subject.—Have nothing to do, my dear Davison, with other peoples concerns, let them look out who have got the Watch.”—In a letter to Mr. Jackson, October 8, his Lordship said, “ I will write to Mr. Drake the moment the Battle is over ; caution him not to believe reports : the French have taken, I suppose, an *invisible* English

“ Sir Richard Haddock commanded the Royal James, with the Flag of the Earl of Sandwich, in the Battle of Solebay, 1672, and was Comptroller of the Navy under King William ; died in 1714-15, aged 85.

Frigate in the Adriatic or the Levant, or off the coast of Genoa ; but unfortunately for their News makers, I have lost none."

On hearing, about this time, that the brother of his friend Captain Foley was dead, Nelson thus marked the sincerity and warmth of his attachment : " How little, my dear Foley, do we know who is to go first : Gracious God, I am sure to all appearance he was more likely to see us pass away, than we him. My dear Foley, I only desire that you will always charge yourself in reminding me of your nephew, in whatever station I may be ; I should be most ungrateful, if I could for a moment forget your public support of me in the day of Battle, or your private Friendship which I esteem most highly ; therefore, as far as relates to you, your nephew, and myself, let this letter stand against me. I was glad to see that Fremantle had got his old ship again. If you are employed, I think the Mediterranean would suit you better than the Black Rocks, North Seas, or West Indies ; and I shall be truly happy to have you near me, and to have frequent opportunities of personally assuring you how much I am, my dear Foley, your faithful and affectionate Friend, NELSON AND BRONTE."

To Adm. Sir Peter Parker, Oct. 14. " Your Grandson came to me with your kind letter of August 20, on October 6, nothing could be more grateful to my feelings than receiving him. I have kept him as Lieutenant of the Victory, and shall not part with him until I can make him a Post Captain ; which you may be assured I shall lose no time in doing. It is the only opportunity ever offered me, of shewing that my feelings of Gratitude to you are as warm and alive as when you first took me by the hand : I owe all my Honours to you, and I am proud to acknowledge it to all the world. Lord St. Vincent has most strongly and kindly desired your Grandson's promotion ; therefore I can only be the instrument of expediting it. Believe me ever, my dear Sir Peter, your most grateful and sincerely attached Friend, NELSON AND BRONTE."

In writing on the same day to an old acquaintance, Mr. Palmer, Lord Nelson, in thanking him for the Correspondence of the Prince of Wales, which had been then printed respecting H. R. H.'s wish to be employed in the Army, thus delivered his opinion—" I suppose there must be some strong reasons for not complying with his Royal Highness's gallant wishes. I think I see, that the King intends to have the Prince and his Regiment attached to his Majesty's person. As a Man and as a Soldier, there can be no reason why H. R. H. should not be promoted, if he wishes it ; but, I believe, we are now so well prepared that the French will not venture the attempt at landing in England. Ireland is their object and Egypt."

(1803.) *To H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, off Toulon, Oct. 15.* " I am absolutely, Sir,

" Captain Peter Parker was detached up the Mediterranean in the Weazel Brig previous to the Battle of Trafalgar, and was made Post into the Melpomene by Lord Collingwood.

beginning this letter in a fever of the mind : It is thick as butter milk, and blowing a Levanter, and the *Narcissus* has just spoke me to say, “she boarded a Vessel, and they understood that the men had seen, a few days before, twelve Sail of Ships of War off Minorca. It was in the dusk, and he did not know which way they were steering.” This is the whole Story and a lame one. On the 8th the French Fleet, as counted by Captain Boyle, was eight Sail of the Line, four Frigates, and some Corvettes. On the 9th it blew a tremendous Storm at N. W. which lasted till the 12th, since which time, although *Seahorse* and *Renown* are endeavouring to reconnoitre, it is so thick that I do not think they can either see into Toulon, or find me if they do. Your Royal Highness will readily imagine my feelings, although I cannot bring my mind to believe they are actually out ; but to miss them—God forbid ! They are my Superior in numbers, but in every thing else, I believe, I have the happiness of commanding the finest Squadron in the World, *Victory*, *Kent*, *Superb*, *Triumph*, *Belleisle*, and *Renown* ! Admiral Campbell is gone to *Sardinia*, and I have been anxiously expecting him these ten days. If I should miss these Fellows, my heart will break : I am actually only now recovering the shock of missing them in 1798, when they were going to Egypt. If I miss them, I will give up the cudgels to some more fortunate Commander ; God knows I only serve to fight those Scoundrels, and if I cannot do that, I should be better on Shore. Oct. 16. The *Seahorse* (Captain C. Boyle) spoke me in the Night ; and made known that the Enemy were in the same state as when last reconnoitred on the 8th : I believe this was the only time in my Life, that I was glad to hear the French were in Port. I think Captain Keats is very much better in his health ; he is a most valuable Officer and does honour to your Friendship. Every day increases my esteem for him both as an °Officer and a Man.”

(1803.) *To Lord Hawkesbury, Oct. 16, off Toulon.* “On the arrival of the Childers on the 6th, the Blockade of Genoa and Port Especia immediately took place, and the southern parts of France and the Ligurian and Italian Republics will, I trust, severely feel the effects of it. There was certainly a difference between the situation of the poor Tuscans and those other powers ; the former will always be ready to assist us against the French, whenever they can do it with safety to themselves. By letters from Mr. Elliot, and Sir John Acton, I am glad to find that some active measures are taking for the security of Sicily, and putting Messina into such a state of defence that it cannot be taken by surprise. I have told them some Truths ; but I am sure they are fully sensible that I have no further views

° In the memorable attack made by Admiral Sir James Saumarez, on the Combined Fleet, July 12, 1801, as already noticed and commended by Lord Nelson, Captain Keats in the *Superb* being sent ahead by the Admiral, singly opened his fire on the rear of the Combined Fleet, and caused the destruction of the *Real Carlos* and *San Hermenegildo* of 112 guns each ; after which he chased, fought, and captured *le Saint Antoine* of equal force with himself.—(*Extract from a private letter, Naval Chron: Vol. XV. Page 203.*)

in doing so, than to urge them to do what is right for the security of the Royal Family and Sicily. I will not touch on Mr. Elliot's mission. He believes he is fully acquainted with the whole machinery that governs Naples: I own I doubt if he knows more than they wish him; but if they do what is right for their own security I am content, and I have always *kept a Ship at Naples for the personal security of the Royal Family*; and I have strengthened the Squadron which watches the French army in the heel of Italy, in case they should wish to cross to the Morea. I have given directions for the reception of the Swiss recruits on board his Majesty's ships.

'I have sent for Mr. Falcon to come to me, that I may consult with him on the properest mode of proceeding, in order to make the Dey of Algiers conduct himself with becoming respect for his Majesty's Government and all under its protection. Your Lordship may rest assured, that I will not suffer, in the reparation I may demand, either the Dignity of his Majesty to be insulted with impunity, or those under his protection to be captured. At the same time it will become my duty to take care, that I do not rashly plunge our Country into a War with such a power; and which, notwithstanding all that has been said, I have good reason to believe is friendly disposed towards us and hates the French. On the subject of Mr. Falcon, your Lordship will forgive the freedom of my remarks: He was Secretary to the former Consul at Algiers; and such persons, however elevated their rank with us, are held very low in estimation with the Moors: therefore he was never really well received, nor looked upon by the Dey. I can readily believe, he did not think the turning away Mr. Falcon in the ignominious manner he did, the same as if he had turned away any other Consul. Reports have reached me that just before the vessels sailed with Mr. Falcon, reflection came over the Dey and that he sent for Mr. Falcon to return. Although this would not have done away the whole of the insult, yet it would have opened a door for immediate reparation. But as Mr. Falcon has not mentioned this circumstance, certainly very important, it may not be true. With respect to the reported taking of Maltese vessels with passports, notwithstanding the circumstances are so accurately detailed even to the number of the passports, I have still very great doubt. To this day I have never heard from Sir Alexander Ball of the capture of any Maltese. I have now sent to him to demand from the Senate, who I understand regulate these matters, the names of the vessels, to whom belonging, Master's name, and the name of every man composing the crew, &c. &c. &c. that I may proceed upon strong grounds. The Orders from your Lordship signifying the King's Commands, are so perfectly clear, that if I cannot procure all the satisfaction which Mr. Falcon's case and these captures demand, Hostilities will be the consequence: but if it be necessary to resort to that measure, I shall certainly not give the Dey the advantage of securing his Cruisers, which at this season are all in port. They usually begin to fit out in February, and sail the begin-

ning of April, returning for the winter in September. Therefore I shall, if possible, not resort to actual hostilities, until I can strike a blow the same day on all his vessels from one end of the Mediterranean to the other."

(1803.) In writing to Count Woronzow, Oct. 19, on the subject of Neutral Frauds committed by Russian vessels, Lord Nelson thus prefaced his remarks: "The Count Mocenigo has sent me a complaint that three vessels, one under Russian Colours, and two under those of the Republic of the Seven Islands, have been taken by some English ships and carried into Malta; and that the only answer the Consul of Malta has obtained, was, *The Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court is not yet arrived*. Without entering into the merits of the case, of which I can know nothing but from the reports sent me of ships detained or captured, whereof I send you a copy, your Excellency may rely there was great cause of suspicion that the vessels or cargoes, or both, were belonging to Enemies, and were merely covered with Neutral Papers; and it even strikes me as odd in the complaint, they are stated as only bound to Messina, and that the other optional destination, Genoa, should be omitted: what occasion was there for concealing any thing in an upright transaction? And there is another curious circumstance lately come to light, which is, I believe, that on board the ship carrying Russian colours, the whole set of French Papers have been found; however your Excellency knows, that under such suspicious circumstances none but a Judge can decide. My orders are positive for the respect due to the Neutral Flag; and with regard to Russia, I have repeated the orders for the strict observance of the seventh Article of the Treaty signed at St. Petersburg, the 5th (17) of June, 1801. I shall only lastly observe, that 170 French vessels were in the Black Sea at the commencement of hostilities, and that by a *magic touch of Merchants*, they became in a moment *Russians, Imperials, Ionians, Ragusans*, and not one French vessel remained—Bravo! but allow me to assure your Excellency, that I ever am, with the highest respect, your most obedient and faithful humble servant NELSON AND BRONTE."

To Lord Hawkesbury, Oct. 20. "I am happy in having anticipated your Lordship's wishes, by corresponding with Constantinople. The French Fleet from Toulon has as many destinations as there are countries; for it is certainly by no means sure that Buonaparte always makes war upon his Enemies. It is more to his advantage sometimes to attack his Friends, especially if they are weak and wish to defend themselves. I have lately added to our force destined principally to watch the French Army in the heel of Italy, and it is under a very intelligent Officer, Captain Craycraft, Anson, 44, Juno, 32, Arrow, 20, Bittern, 18, Morgiana, 18. With this force I think we have done all that is possible to save the Morea and the Seven Islands, and to prevent that Army passing to Egypt.—In writing about the same time to his Excellency Mr. Frere at Madrid, the Admiral expressed his sentiments respecting a War with the Spaniards: "I trust that

Spain will be too wise to go to war with us. We ought by mutual consent to be the very best friends, and both to be ever hostile to France. . . . As probably this letter will be read before it gets to you, I can only tell the Reader, *That a British Fleet never was in higher Order, Health and Good Humour, than the one I have the happiness to command ; and if the French do not rue the day when we get alongside of them, it will not be the fault of the Captains, Officers, or Men, but must be of your Excellency's most obedient servant, NELSON AND BRONTE.*

(1803.) *To Count 'Mocenigo, Oct. 22.* "I have been honoured with your Excellency's letters respecting the detention of three Vessels, belonging, as was reported to your Excellency, to the Republic of the Seven Isles, with cargoes the property of subjects of other Powers, the vessels being chartered ; and that the papers were not delivered to the Consul of the Republic of the Seven Isles at Malta. I have been positively ordered to give directions for observing, not only the Neutrality of the Seven Isles, but in case of need to assist them against the French. These orders I notified on my first arrival ; and your Excellency will believe, that I did not fail to give the very strictest directions to his Majesty's Fleet for their being observed. Admitting the statement of your Excellency to be just, as to the mode of procedure of the Captain of the frigate, in not delivering the Papers to the Consul of the Seven Isles at Malta, your Excellency will I am sure agree with me, that it has been in that respect perfectly correct ; for the Captor is obliged to make Oath, that he has delivered every Paper found, to the Commissioners appointed by the High Court of Admiralty, and has allowed no person to have them in his possession : This law is so just that not a word can be said, and all Nations must approve of such a regulation ; for without it Papers might be kept back, or altered for purposes contrary to justice.

"With respect to the original detention of the Vessels, that must be deferred on the belief that the Vessels and cargoes are Enemy's property, or that either the Vessel or cargo is Enemy's property ; in either case the necessity of carrying the Vessel into port is obvious—this is a tax which Neutrals are subject to ; but if it should turn out that there was no just cause for detention, the Vessels are liberated by the Judge of the Admiralty Court after a trial, and such damage awarded as the case may require. This Tribunal being acknowledged by all Nations, and more particularly by our august Sovereigns in the late Treaty of St. Petersburg, nothing can be more regular than bringing the cause before it as soon as possible. I am aware it may be said, why was not this done immediately ? To which I can only answer, that I am very sorry the Judge of the Admiralty appointed by his Majesty for the Island of Malta, from some cause unknown to me was not arrived ; it is to this circumstance that both the Neutral Power and the Captors have equally to

regret the not being able to obtain an earlier decision. But wherever the fault or accident of his non-arrival may lie, your Excellency will agree with me, that it does not rest with the Captors; and we can neither of us say, that any one has done wrong in bringing these Vessels to adjudication, until it is proved so. I have every inducement both of a public and private nature, to wish much prosperity to the commerce of the rising Republic, fostered under the special protection of your august Sovereign; between whom and my Royal Master, so happily subsists such a perfect good understanding and harmony. I send your Excellency the Report of the Captain making the Seizure, on which only I can form my judgment: It appears, if that be correct, that there was great cause to suspect at least the cargoes being Enemy's property."

(1803.) *To Mr. Spiridion Foresti, Oct. 22.* "Although I have answered Count Morenigo fully on the detention of some Vessels belonging to the Republic of the Seven Isles, yet I shall do the same to you, in order that it may come regularly before his Excellency the Prince President. You communicated to the government of the Republic, that I was instructed to aid and assist them to the utmost of my power, in case of an attack from the French; and I gave the very strictest order to the whole of his Majesty's Fleet under my command, to respect their Neutrality: therefore in those respects, as far as related to me, I have done all which the Republic could possibly wish or desire. The detention of the Vessels alluded to, I am confident must have been made from an impression on the Captors, that the Vessels and cargoes belonged to our Enemies, or that either the one or the other did so; for certainly no Captain would knowingly risk his Commission by disobedience of orders, or ruin himself by being obliged to pay for making an illegal Seizure. From the report transmitted to me, of which I send you a copy, it appears that the Partinope and St. George belonged, either Vessels, or cargoes, or both, to our Enemies; and, although under Ionian colours and passes, were lawful objects of Seizure; and the cargoes being admitted by the President not to belong to subjects of the Republic, I cannot conceive under what pretence he interferes for the cargoes, whatever he may for the Vessels; of them, by his own account, he can know nothing but what he is told. Captain Richardson supposes them to belong to the Genoese; and, on that belief, he was not only justifiable in sending them into port, but seems to have conducted himself, by the President's account and no other has reached me, in strict conformity to the laws and regulations of the High Court of Admiralty, in refusing the Ionian Consul the papers: for it is Justice and the Law of Nations that must finally decide these matters, and not the pleasure of any individual however high his rank. Justice presides in the British Tribunals, and even the Monarch is not suffered to interfere. If the Vessels were proved to belong *bona fide* to subjects of the Republic, and were not covered for purposes contrary to Neutrality, I sincerely wish they had been liberated. I trust the President will be satisfied with this

information respecting our Laws ; and I can only re-assure him and the Republic, that as far as my situation will allow me to interfere in any manner beneficial for them, it will never be omitted."

In writing during this month to an old acquaintance and most valuable officer, Rear Admiral Macnamara Russel, Lord Nelson thus addressed him in the style that was most congenial with the bluntness of his character : " Here I am, waiting the pleasure of these fellows at Toulon, and we only long to get fairly alongside of them. I dare say, there would be some spare *hats*, by the time we had done. You are a pleasant fellow at all times ; and, as Commodore Johnstone said of General Meadows, *I have no doubt but your Company would be delightful on the day of Battle to your Friends, but damned bad for your Enemies*. I desire, my dear Russel, you will always consider me as one of the sincerest of the former."

(1803.) On the 24th of October, his Fleet being very short of water, and not finding either the Renown or Canopus which had been detached join, the Admiral determined to go to the Anchorage amongst the Madelena¹ Islands to the north of Sardinia, where Sir R. Bickerton had been previously sent by an Admiralty order from Sir Thomas Troubridge. Capt. Ross Donnelly was accordingly left with the Narcissus and Sea Horse, Hon. C. Boyle, to watch the French Fleet. The entrance to this Anchorage through the Straits of Bonifaccio was at all times perilous, owing to sunken rocks over which the passage lay ; and these dangers were then increased by heavy gales with dark and squally weather. Some of the ships passed in so extraordinary a manner, that their Captains could only consider it as a providential interposition in favour of the great Officer who commanded the Fleet. His Lordship's Diary gives the following concise account :—" Oct. 25, saw Corsica and Cape Longo Sardo ; from noon to day light next morning, we had a heavy swell with

¹ In 1788, the Hon. Captain Seymour Finch, of his Majesty's ship the Pearl, surveyed the Madelena Islands, and transmitted a Chart of them to the Admiralty, which was sent out to Sir R. Bickerton. A second Survey was afterwards made of the Madelena and Barelino Islands, by Captain Ryves of his Majesty's ship Agincourt, and two Charts drawn ; one of which bore the date of 1802, and the other of 1803. In the first were introduced the Soundings that had been taken by the Victory, Raven, and Camelion ; but a great difference being observed between the two, they were both sent out to Lord Nelson, in order to ascertain which was the most correct. From the observations that were made by his Lordship, the Chart in the Hydrographer's Office, Captain Hurd, at the Admiralty has been engraved, which is dated Feb. 20, 1804 ; and another with considerable additions is now about to be made under the very able direction of Captain Hurd. That of 1804 marks the anchorage in Agincourt Sound which was used by Lord Nelson. It consists of an indented Bay on the Northern Coast of Sardinia, defended to the Northward by the Islands of St. Esteven, Spargioton, Magdalena, and Cabrera. But the best anchorage for a large Fleet in point of room is in Arsaikena Sound. Captain Ryves says, " that the N. W. winds blow in Madelena Harbour with great violence, and that the currents guided by the winds, run nearly two and a half knots when it blows hard. There is plenty of good wood, and of good water in winter at the two rocks in Agincourt Sound. The Rivers are said to run in summer. Coming from the South, there are many islands along the Coast, which make the entrance to strangers difficult."

squally weather. During the whole of the 26th lost ground all day. The next day we had strong breezes at E.S.E. directly through the Straits, and found we had gained two points to the eastward in the night. Throughout the ensuing night we had strong gales, and were under reefed courses. At six o'clock the next evening, having split many sails, we found ourselves abreast of Isle Rosso. All night strong gales. Saturday, Oct. 29, found ourselves about five leagues directly to leeward of the place we left last night. At day light made sail under close reefed topsails and reefed courses, with a very strong current against us; but the Fleet being absolutely in distress for water, *I am determined to persevere notwithstanding all the difficulties.* At one P.M. fetched Castel Sardo, a small town in Sardinia, rounded in stays three miles from the shore; beating along shore all night about three miles from the coast. October 31. Not being able to clear the Levisena Islands stood towards Shark's Mouth, tacked and fetched the northernmost of Martha Islands. N. B. The Straits of Bonifaccio lie between the Martha and Levisena Islands, the last of which belong to Corsica. When near the southernmost Martha Island, we opened the little one to the westward of the Island Spanioti, close to the ledge of rocks, and weathered them about one mile; we then tacked under Sardinia and stood into a beautiful little bay or rather harbour. After various tacks and being close to the two rocks in Captain Ryves' chart, and abreast of the rocks where he was, the whole Squadron anchored by six o'clock in the evening, without any accident, in Agincourt Sound under the Sardinian shore."

(1803.) *To Captain Ryves, Nov. 1:* 'We anchored in Agincourt Sound yesterday evening, and I assure you that I individually feel all the obligation due to you, for your most correct chart and directions for these Islands. We worked the Victory every foot of the way from Asinaria to this anchorage, blowing hard from 'Longo Sardo, under doubled reefed topsails. I shall inform the Admiralty how much they ought to be obliged to your very great skill and attention in making this survey. This is absolutely one of the finest Harbours I have ever seen.'

The morning after the arrival of our Fleet, the Governor of Madelena came on board, and Lord Nelson despatched the following letter to the Marquis de St. André, Viceroy of Sardinia. "I have the honour to inform your Excellency of the arrival of part of his Britannic Majesty's Fleet under my command, at this place, for the purpose of getting refreshments for the Crews; and, I trust, from the friendship which so happily subsists between our Royal Masters, that I shall find no real difficulty in obtaining them, although

'Cape Longo Sardo, according to the Admiralty Chart, when first seen, appears perpendicular with a Tower on the top. *Shark's Mouth* is a point of Rocks so named by Captain Ryves, that run out a quarter of a mile into the sea, with one rock at some little distance from the point. Half way between Longo Sardo and Shark's Mouth is the Harbour of Longo Sardo.

there appear some obstacles relative to the quantity of cattle. His Sardinian Majesty had the goodness to send me a message, through Mr. Jackson, that I should be received and supplied in his ports of Sardinia. I need scarcely apprise your Excellency that in case of this Island being attacked by the French, I am instructed to give your Excellency 'all the assistance in my power, and which I shall most certainly zealously perform.'—In writing at the same time to Mr. Jackson, his Lordship thus expressed his opinion of the anchorage: "What a noble harbour is formed by these islands, the world cannot produce a finer. The generality of our crews have been upwards of five months at sea. This is not a very plentiful place, but still I hope we shall be allowed to purchase what we can obtain for our money; for the stated supplies of thirty bullocks for each ship might do very well, if they each weighed 700lb, but what we get are only from 150 to 200lb: and although the King of Sardinia may not be at war with the French, yet if for want of refreshments this Fleet be laid up, I believe the French would not scruple to take Sardinia and Sicily. Therefore all parties are or ought to be warmly interested in our welfare, and in keeping us in good health. The Sardinians generally speaking are attached to us; but there are French intriguers amongst them, and I understand they hope to bring about a revolt.'

(1803.) *To Mr. Drummond, at Constantinople.* 'The particular situation of our Country at this moment, prevents the Admiralty from furnishing me with Frigates and smaller vessels; therefore I must equally regret with your Excellency the not being able to send any directly to Constantinople. I feel very happy that my conduct is still satisfactory to the Sublime Porte, my Zeal and Activity they may fully rely upon; but it may be possible, that, notwithstanding all my care and attention, the French Fleet will escape me and get to Egypt, or the Morea, before I can come up with them: that they are bound there I have very little doubt. Therefore I would strongly recommend the Turkish Government to be upon its guard; being at peace with so treacherous a people as the French, is no security against an attack. The last report was Oct. 26, eight sail of the line ready for sea, six frigates, and five or six corvettes: they had been pressing in every part to get men, and 5000 troops are ready for embarkation. Every hour I expect to hear of their sailing.'

During Lord Nelson's continuance at the Madelena Islands, the following note was entered in his Diary: Nov. 7. *I had the comfort of making an old Agamemnon, George Jones, a Gunner into the Camelion brig.*—The Fleet soon afterwards unmoored and proceeded to its station off Toulon. On the 7th, he had sent the following letter to General Villettes, respecting a war with Spain. 'My dear General: I certainly think that the Navy ought to have had a regular Hospital at Malta, and not to have thrown the trouble of attending our seamen on the medical skill of the Army; and whenever Sir Richard

Bickerton and Dr. Snipe go to Malta, I intend they should examine the large house on the opposite side to you, which will be a very fit place for a Marine Hospital. I am very much obliged to you for the 100 shells, I have no doubt we shall have occasion to use them; if the Enemy run into port, I shall not be very delicate where the place is. Your kindness, my dear General, I have experienced on every occasion, and your readiness to serve us is acknowledged by all the Fleet... I agree with you, that unless Buonaparte is absolutely mad and that the people about him are so likewise, he will not wish to throw Sicily entirely into our hands, in order to revenge himself of the King of Naples, much less force Spain into a war which must so much injure the French Cause: to us it matters not being at war with Spain. We may be forced to go to war with her for her complaisance to the French; but I never can believe, that Buonaparte's counsellors are such fools as to force Spain to begin, and of course give us all her riches and commerce. The war would not cost us one farthing more than at present. I intend to leave this anchorage on Wednesday, and get *home* again: Although I have two good frigates watching them, yet I like to be at hand in case of need." — In writing on the same day to Captain Ball, he adds, "What! does Buonaparte begin to find Excuses necessary? I thought he would invade England in the face of the Sun, now he wants a three days Fog: that never yet happened, and, if it should, how are his Craft to be kept together? He will find more Excuses. I expect the Enemy every hour to put to sea and with Troops; the event, with God's blessing on our exertions, we ought not to doubt. — I really believe that we are *the strong pull and pull altogether!*"

(1803.) The Character of this renowned Admiral appears still more interesting, when it occasionally descends from the elevation of a Commander in Chief, and of a great Statesman watching the progress of French influence throughout the Mediterranean, to sooth the feelings, and to assist the judgment of subordinate officers in his Fleet by parental advice. During the month of November, a Lieutenant on board of one of the frigates had ventured to write to his Admiral, and to express dissatisfaction against the Captain of that frigate. The reply of Lord Nelson displays a thorough knowledge of the human heart, and that subduing tenderness by which he won the affection of all who served under him—"I have just received your letter, and I am truly sorry that any difference should arise between your Captain, who has the reputation of being one of the bright Officers of the Service, and yourself, a very young man and a very young officer, who must naturally have much to learn; therefore the chance is that you are perfectly wrong in the disagreement. However, as your present situation must be very disagreeable, I will certainly take an early opportunity of removing you, provided your conduct to your present Captain be such, that another may not refuse to receive you."

To Sir John Acton, Nov. 24, off Toulon. "On the 9th I sailed from the Madelena

Islands. We have had a very bad passage and much blowing weather, but our ships have not suffered any material damage. The French Fleet yesterday, at two o'clock, was in appearance in high feather, and as fine as paint could make them; eight sail of the line, eight frigates, and several corvettes were ready for sea. One ship of the line was fitting in the Arsenal, her top masts an end; this is their state, but when they may sail or where they will go, I am very sorry to say is a secret I am not acquainted with. Our weather beaten ships, I have no fears, will make their sides like a plumb pudding. Lord Hobart says, as they increase in force at home which is doing rapidly, that they will not forget an additional one for the Mediterranean. The general Orders to support the King of Naples are repeated, and I shall only assure your Excellency, that the defence of their Majesties and their Kingdoms is always nearest my heart. The Excellent, 74, Captain Sotheron, has joined me from England."

(1803.) *To Mr. Spiridion Foresti, Nov. 25, off Toulon.* 'I should wish to know whether * * * has the power to grant us any particular privileges in trade, and if so, what they are. I am told he has the finest Forests for building Ships of the line, and that vast quantities of Hemp may be grown in his government; and I should be glad to know what of our Manufactures he could take, and to what amount. I have desired Captain * * * to look at the Port, and ascertain whether it be capable of holding the Fleet under my Command and of supplying all our wants. I am really much interested for *, he has always been a staunch friend to the English, and most particularly kind to me; and if I should ever go to Corfu, I shall certainly, if he be within a few days reach, go to see him. As I have done before, so I have again written to Mr. Hammond, and desired him a second time to speak to Lord Hawkesbury on the subject of at least making good your losses, and that in my opinion you ought to be rewarded for considerable sufferings, and for your unshaken attachment to Great Britain. Your attention to every part of your duty, leaves me nothing to recommend.'

To Mr. Frere, at Madrid, Nov. 28. "I have the honour to enclose for your Excellency's information, two letters which will mark the conduct of the Spaniards towards us, and of which I doubt not but you will seriously complain. I trust that we shall be received in the Spanish Ports in the same manner as the French. I am ready to make large allowances for the miserable situation Spain has placed herself in; but there is a certain line beyond which I cannot submit to be treated with disrespect. We have given up French vessels taken within gun shot of the Spanish shore, and yet French vessels are permitted to attack our ships from the Spanish shore. Your Excellency may assure the Spanish Government, that in whatever place the Spaniards allow the French to attack us, in that place I shall order the French to be attacked. The old order of 1771, now put in force against us, is infamous; and I trust your Excellency will take proper steps, that the

• present mode of enforcing it be done away—It is gross Partiality, and not Neutrality.”—Notwithstanding these aggressions on the part of Spain, the conduct of the British Government was worthy of its national character, and the regard which the two Kingdoms had always possessed for each other: Even so late as the month of November in the ensuing year, Lord Nelson continued to receive these Instructions from the Admiralty. “You are not to detain, in the first instance, any ship belonging to his Catholic Majesty, sailing from a Port of Spain; but you are to require the Commander of such ship to return directly to the Port whence she came; and only in the event of his refusing to comply with such requisition, you are to detain and send her to Gibraltar, or to England. I am further commanded to signify their Lordships direction to you, not to detain any Spanish homeward bound ship of war, unless she shall have treasure on board, nor Merchant ships on any account whatever.”

(1803.) *To H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, off Toulon, Dec. 7.* “... The French Fleet keep us waiting for them during a long and severe winter's cruise; and such a place as all the Gulf of Lyons, for gales of wind from the N. W. to N. E. I never saw; but by always going away large, we generally lose much of their force and the heavy sea of the Gulf. However by the great care and attention of every Captain, we have suffered much less than could have been expected. I hope now to be allowed to call Keats my Friend. He is very much recovered and cheerful; he is a treasure to the Service. By the French Papers which we have to Nov. 19th, we are in momentary expectation of Buonaparte's descent upon England: And although I can have no fears for the event, yet there is, I hope, a natural anxiety to hear what is passing at so critical a moment, when every thing we hold dear in this world is at stake. I trust in God Buonaparte will be destroyed, and that then the French may be brought, if the Powers of Europe have either spirit or honour, to reasonable terms of Peace: that this may be soon, and with honour to our Country, is my fervent prayer, and shall ever be my most ardent endeavour.”

To Earl St. Vincent, off Palma, Dec. 12. “I have received your kind letters by the Excellent, which joined me on the 24th of November. The Station I chose to the westward of Sicie, was to answer two important purposes; one, to prevent the junction of a Spanish Fleet to the westward, and the other, to be to windward so as to enable me, if the north easterly gale came on to the N. N. W. or N. N. E. to take shelter in a few hours either under the Hieres Islands or Cape St. Sebastian; and I have hitherto found the advantage of that position. Spain having settled her Neutrality, I am taking my winter's station under St. Sebastian to avoid the heavy seas in the Gulf, and shall keep frigates off

• His Diary, under Dec. 9, notices the severe weather:—“The whole of this day it blew from the N. N. W. harder than I ever knew it, with constant hail and rain; in the evening stood into St. Pierre's, but could not get the Fleet to an anchor—Stood to sea all night in a very heavy gale of wind.”

Toulon. From September, we have experienced such a series of bad weather as is rarely met with ; and I am sorry to say, that all the ships which have been from England in the late war have severely felt it. I had ordered the transports, with provisions, to meet me at St. Pierres, but as yet they have not made their appearance ; and although this day we average three months provisions, yet I wish to keep them complete to near five months. The passage from Malta is hardly to be made with any ship, the Amazon, which I have not seen but heard of, was three weeks from Malta as far as Minorca : In short, my dear Lord, if I were to allow this Fleet to get into such a Port as Malta, they had better be at Spithead.* I know no way of watching the Enemy but to be at sea, and therefore good ships are necessary. The Superb is in a very weak state ; but Keats is so superior to any difficulties, that I hear but little from her. You may rely that all which can be done by ships and men shall be done ; whilst it pleases God to give me the strength of health all will do well, and when that fails I shall give the cudgels up to some stouter man ; but I wish to last till the Battle is over, and if I do that, it is all I can hope for, or in reason expect. Sir Richard Bickerton is a very steady good Officer, and fully to be relied upon. George Campbell you know.'

(1803.) One great excellency in Lord Nelson throughout the whole of his bright Career, was the talent he so eminently possessed, of inspiring others with a portion of his own enterprising spirit. The attention which he paid in this respect, to some of the youngest Officers who had the honour of serving under him, may be seen from the following letters. The first is addressed to Mr. J. Dalton, on board the *Renown*, Dec. 14.—“ As Mrs. Lutwidge sends me word, that you have admired some of my Naval Battles, I think that you will like to receive from me a Medal, which was struck by the partiality of my friends in remembrance of one of those Actions : at least it will serve to remind you, that on the 13th Dec. 1803, I had first the pleasure of being known to you. A wish to imitate successful Battles, is the sure road, by Exertion, to surpass them, which that you may do for your own honour and the advantage of your Country, is my sincere wish.”—In another to Mr. Charles Connor, on his being rated Midshipman on board the *Niger*, he wrote as follows. “ Dear Charles : As Captain Hillyer has been so good as to say he would rate you Mid, I sincerely hope that your conduct will ever continue to deserve his kind notice and protection, by a strict and very active attention to your Duty. If you deserve well, you are sure of my assistance. Mr. Scott will furnish you with money to begin your Mess, and I shall allow you thirty pounds a year, if it be necessary, which Captain Hillyer will supply you with. And as you from this day start in the world as a Man, I trust that your future conduct in life will prove you both an Officer and a Gentleman : Recollect that you must be a Seaman to be an Officer, and also that you cannot be a good Officer without being a Gentleman. I am always with most sincere good wishes, your true Friend, NELSON AND BRONTE.”

(1803.) *To Sir T. Troubridge, Dec. 21, off Corsica.* 'Were I, my dear Troubridge, to begin describing *all* the complaints and wants of this Fleet, it would be exactly the same, I dare say, as you receive from all other stations; but as it can be attended with no good effect, I shall save myself the trouble of writing, and you of reading them. The storekeeper has sent two ships to the Adriatic to land hemp, and therefore I hope that we shall in time get rope to supply our wants.' Every bit of twice-laid stuff belonging to the *Canopus* is condemned, and all the running rigging in the Fleet, except the *Victory's*. We have fitted the *Excellent* with new main and mizen rigging; it was shameful for the dock-yard to send a ship to sea with such rigging. The *Kent* is gone to Malta, fit only for a summer's passage. They are still under such alarm at Naples, that I cannot withdraw the *Gibraltar*. I have submitted to Sir Richard Strachan, whether the state of the French ships at Cadiz would allow of his coming to me for six weeks? for although I have no fears of the event of a Battle with six to their eight, yet if I can have eight to their eight I shall not despise the equality. We are not stoutly, or in any manner well manned in the *Victory*; but she is in very excellent order, thanks to Hardy, and I think woe be to the Frenchman she gets alongside of. I have just been to the Southern end of Sardinia, having ordered the transports with provisions to meet me at St. Pierre's; but it blew such a tremendous storm, that we could not get in. It however turned out fortunate, for after the gale we got into the Gulf of Palma, which is without exception the finest open roadstead I ever saw. I shall send you the plan of it and soundings, taken by the Master of the *Victory*, an *elève* of Hallowell's; I have him here to make him a Lieutenant. Lemon juice we are getting, and much better than we procure from England; but the difficulty is coming at the price; and at this distance it is not all our letters that can rectify incorrectness. I have directed Sir Richard Bickerton, who is gone in the *Kent*, to make inquiries into this department: there is no such thing as stopping the baking of bread, although I have accounts of abundance coming from England; but they like to buy, and so they may, I will however give no order. You will see the reports respecting a naval Hospital at Malta. It is curious that in a place taken by the close blockade of the Navy, and when the only reason for keeping it was to have a naval Station, that no spot has been allotted for a naval Hospital; and we are upon sufferance from day to day. Beguy is certainly the only proper place, as it stands insulated with grounds and has every means of comfort; but to complete it for 150 men would cost, besides the purchase of house and grounds, 1000*l.*, and 2000*l.* more to put it in order. Ball says 5000*l.* would do the whole; but I say for 5, read 10,000*l.* I

¹ Instructions had been sent out by our Government to Mr. Eton, who had been appointed the superintendant of Quarantine at Malta, to proceed to the Black Sea, and purchase in the Russian dominions a certain proportion of Naval Stores and Provisions for the supply of our Fleet in the Mediterranean.

have six frigates and sloops watching the French Army in the Adriatic and at the mouth of the Archipelago.'

On leaving the Bay of Palma, the Fleet being in want of water, Lord Nelson stood again for Agincourt Sound, Madelena Islands, and on the 21st of December sent Captain Ross Donnelly to ascertain whether the French Fleet was still in Toulon.

(1803.) The following letter to Lord Hobart, dated December 22, is the first of those interesting communications respecting the value of Sardinia to this Country, which the Admiral sedulously, but it is feared ineffectually, endeavoured to impress on the attention of Government. The keen discrimination of the French, and the excellent information which they have gained respecting the Island of Sardinia, render it unnecessary to keep these observations and suggestions of Lord Nelson from the public. They can give no additional information to our implacable Enemy, and may, before it is too late, call the attention of the Nation to facts, which that great Statesman deemed of the utmost importance.

'My dear Lord: In presuming to give my opinion on any subject, I venture not at infallibility, and more particular information may convince me that opinion is wrong. But as my Observations on what I see, are not unacceptable, I shall state them as they strike me at the moment of writing. God knows if we could possess one island, **SARDINIA**, we should want neither Malta nor any other: This, which is the finest island in the Mediterranean, possesses Harbours fit for Arsenals, and of a capacity to hold our Navy within twenty-four hours sail of Toulon—Bays to ride our Fleets in, and to watch both Italy and Toulon, no Fleet could pass to the eastward between Sicily and the coast of Barbary, nor through the Faro of Messina: Malta in point of position is not to be named the same year with Sardinia. All the fine Ports of Sicily are situated on the eastern side of the Island, consequently of no use to watch any thing but the Faro of Messina. *And, my Lord, I venture to predict, that if we do not from delicacy or commiseration of the lot of the unfortunate King of Sardinia, the French will get possession of that Island.* Sardinia is very little known; it was the policy of Piedmont to keep it in the back ground, and whoever it has belonged to, it seems to have been their maxim to rule the inhabitants with severity, in loading its produce with such duties as prevented the growth. I will only mention one circumstance as a proof: half a cheese was seized, because the poor man was selling it to our boats, and it had not paid the duty. Fowls, eggs, beef, and every article are most heavily taxed. The Coast of Sardinia certainly wants every penny to maintain itself; and yet I am told, after the wretched establishment of the Island is paid, that the King does not receive 5000*l.* sterling a year. The Country is fruitful beyond idea, and abounds in cattle and sheep, and would in corn, wine and oil. It has no manufactories. In the hands of a liberal government, and freed from the dread of the Barbary States,

there is no telling what its produce would not amount to. It is worth any money to obtain, and I pledge my existence it could be held for as little as Malta in its establishment, and produce a large revenue—I have done, perhaps you will think it time: I will not venture to give an opinion on the state of the Turkish Empire, although I have a strong one; but that would be too bad . . .”

(1808.) During his stay at the Madelena Islands, he wrote on the 29th of December to our Minister Mr. Jackson:—“I anchored here to clear my transports with provisions and was going to sea this morning, but I am prevented from a heavy gale of westerly wind. By letters from Mr. Elliot, of December 11, received last night, I find apprehensions are renewed of the invasion of Sardinia from Corsica. The King may be assured, that as far as I am able I should be happy in preventing it; but a vessel cruising in the Straits of Bonifaccio would not have the desired effect; for either a calm, a gale of wind, or even a night, would preclude any use from such a Cruiser. I only hope that the King will not be alarmed. The Sardinians, generally speaking, are attached to us; yet there are French intriguers amongst them, and I understand they hope to bring about a revolt before this invasion. In whatever I can be useful to their Majesties, they may command me; but the destroying of the French Fleet is the greatest service I can render to them, to Europe, and our own Country. The chart of Sardinia which you sent me, is a most excellent one.”

To Sir John Acton, December 29. “ . . . I am much obliged for all the news you are so good as to tell me, but the assurances of the present French Government are not to be depended upon: their system is to lull those whom they wish to destroy into a fatal security. In no other light can they wish for the disarming of the Calabrians; they would then have an open road to the coast opposite to Sicily; and as I am touching upon this subject, should unhappily the King find it proper to quit Naples, although the Court and the greater part of the Royal Family should go to Palermo, yet the head-quarters with the King ought to be at Messina, in order to communicate freely with the kingdom of Naples. So much advantage would arise from it, that I am sure it will strike your Excellency; and with Calabrians in arms, what good effects may not be expected. I am fully aware, my dear Sir John, of the delicacy of touching upon this subject, but my heart is with you and I could not resist it. I observe what your Excellency says respecting the European Powers; it was a desire of aggrandisement in some of the great ones that lost them every thing, even much of their own possessions. I have my fears that Russia will not come forward as she ought; but if she and the Emperor were to join, I think Buonaparte would tumble from his station, and Europe get an honourable Peace. That the French should hate you, is the highest compliment they can pay: if you had advised the King to degrade

* The remainder of this letter respecting Porto Ferrajo, and the Island of Elba is well worthy of the attention of Government, and in particular of Lord Grenville. *

himself, they would have despised you and his honour would have been lost, which now, thanks to your Excellency, is preserved entire . . . I shall conclude by merely repeating, that you are sure of me in time of need; and I hope to be more at my ease after the Battle with the French Fleet. I think they cannot much longer remain in port, and it would be a very dangerous experiment to leave them on the presumption that they would not come to sea.'

In writing about the same time to his Excellency Admiral Sir John Warren at Petersburg, the conduct which that Emperor should have adopted is described:—"It would be so much for the honour of Russia to go to war with the Corsican, that I hope the Emperor has decided upon it long before this time. If he does not, his *Protegées*, Naples and Sardinia, will be lost."—The clear political judgment which Lord Nelson, as appears by many of his letters, had formed of the designs of Russia, is an extraordinary proof of his great abilities as a Statesman; nor had he at that time received the following secret intelligence respecting the designs of Petersburg, which arrived in the month of March, 1804: "The wish of this Cabinet is to drive the Turks out of Europe, to make Greece an independent State, and to restore a part of Poland; that is, to erect a small kingdom or principality for the Great Duke Constantine, to whom they *must* give something: these are their wishes, as well as to stop the progress of Buonaparte. But there is both in system and personal character so total a want of energy, so much irresolution and dread of expense, that I cannot take upon me to say what I think they will do. Great armaments are preparing in the Black Sea; and the Minister of Marine has said, that it was the intention of the Emperor to have their maritime force all concentrated in that Sea, and to keep in the Baltic only ships enough to hold the Swedes in check. But while all this is doing, it is to be feared that the French, who have made a strong party amongst the Greeks, may land in Epirus. If they get possession of those ports and the Morea, it will, when the Greeks have declared, be a very difficult matter to drive them out of a country full of narrow passes and inaccessible heights. What was, when I wrote, a matter of speculation, is now become a matter of necessity."

(1803.) Notwithstanding his increased ill state of health at this time, which had been occasioned by the severe service and weather he had experienced, his active and zealous mind continued watchful over the security of every Power, that was on terms of amity with his Country. He strongly suspected the French of having a design on Sardinia, and more particularly, when they were informed of the commodious harbour in the Madelena Islands, and the supplies which our Fleet had been allowed to enjoy. He determined, therefore, in case such an attempt should be made, to have every arrangement previously formed to resist the invasion. On the 31st of December, in an official letter on this subject, which he addressed to General Villettes, his Lordship expressed a wish to know, Whether,

if the French should possess themselves of those Islands, the General could send a number of men, not exceeding 1000, to retake them? which the Admiral was of opinion would be an easy thing, with such assistance as he could give from the Fleet, if it were done before the French had a sufficient length of time to fortify themselves, or to induce the inhabitants to cooperate. And this was supported on the same day by the following private letter: "In the request I have made for more troops, in case the French from Corsica should take possession of these Islands, in order to deprive us of the harbour, I have thought it better to make it entirely official that it may not be misunderstood: If you think you can with propriety spare the troops for such a service, you will of course have them ready for embarkation at the shortest notice; but I hope that the French will remain quiet. They have, however, threatened the Sardinians if they do not shut their ports to us."

(1803.) *To his Excellency Mr. Elliot, Madelena Islands.* "Every part of your intelligence was so interesting, that I read it over and over, and I am sorry that I cannot send you news in return of the sailing of the French Fleet, our meeting, fighting, and beating them. With respect to Sardinia, I have not the smallest doubt but if we do not, the French will possess it before two months; and the invasion of Sicily is not difficult from Sardinia. The Viceroy of Sardinia has no means to prevent a descent, he could not send 100 men here. I have stated my opinion fully to Lord Hobart. If we possessed this Island, it would save Sicily, perhaps Italy, certainly Turkey and Egypt; but we shall never point out to the King of Sardinia that he will lose it, till the French have it. I can be of little use in keeping a vessel cruising in these Straits; it is only ten miles from Bonifaccio, and either a calm or gale of wind would render all our efforts useless We have had the French papers to Dec. 5th, and the King's speech I sent to Malta. Windham spoke violently on the Address, but there was no opposition to it."

In writing towards the close of this year, 1803, to Governor Sir T. Trigge at Gibraltar, Lord Nelson mentioned the relative state of his own force with that of the "Enemy. "I am sorry (added he) to be obliged to take Donnegal from your vicinity for a few weeks, but

* *List of the British and French Fleets in the Mediterranean at the close of 1803, as sent by Lord Nelson.*

FRENCH.		BRITISH.	
(As given in a list found on board a captured French schooner)			
Neptune 80	Intrepide 74	Victory 100	Excellent 74
Formidable 80	Atlas 74	Canopus 80	Triumph 74
Indomptable 80	Hannibal 74	Superb 74	Renown 74
Mont Blanc 74	Swiftsure 74	Belleisle 74	
Scipion 74	Berwick 74		

Early in the ensuing year the *Royal Sovereign* for the flag of Sir R. Bickerton, and the *Leviathan*, were sent to the Mediterranean, as appears by Admiralty letter, Jan. 13, 1804. And it was also the intention of the Board to send out 100 men, and the same number of boys, if they could be raised, to supply the deficiencies in the complements of the Mediterranean Fleet.

the absence of Kent, Stately, and Gibraltar, which are never likely to be of any service again in this Country, renders it absolutely necessary with the present Fleet of the Enemy; they are now ten to our seven, and although I have no fears for the result of a Battle with our present force, yet if I could have more and had not, I should consider myself very reprehensible.—The conduct of the French privateers from Algiers and Tariffe is very blameable, and calls loudly for reformation.”

(1804.) On the 4th of January, the Fleet weighed at day light from the Madelena Islands, and in consequence of information they received, his Lordship sent the following instructions to Captain Parker of the Amazon: “An Invasion of Sardinia is intended immediately on our departure by the French from Corsica; it is therefore my direction that you remain at your present anchorage, and use your utmost endeavours in preventing the Invasion of the French, and give every aid and assistance in your power to the inhabitants should it be attempted. The Camelion will give similar orders to Captain Staines, and direct him to remain on this service till further instructions; and you will get under weigh occasionally, as you may think proper.” In a previous letter on the first of January to Sir R. Bickerton, the Admiral had informed him, that General Colli, an old Piedmontese Officer, or his son, was at Ajaccio to come over with the Expedition, and all the refugee Sardes were ordered to be assembled there, victualled, and to receive pay every day. “I have the Order,” added he, “signed *Berthier*, taken in a packet boat a few days ago by a Gibraltar privateer.”

In consequence of the violent treatment which the British Resident at Algiers, Mr. Falcon, had received from the Dey, and his taking the Maltese subjects of His Britannic Majesty prisoners, Lord Nelson, on the 9th of January, detached Captain Keats in the *Superb* to Algiers, with the following Memoranda for his guidance.—“Should the Dey refuse to receive you unless you return his Salute, *You will not do it*, and acquaint him by letter that you will sail in twenty four hours. And you will not receive any letter from the Dey to me, as that would open a Negotiation that would never end. In your first conversation with the Dey every sorrow is to be expressed, that his Highness should commit such an insult on his Majesty, as sending away his representative and taking his Maltese subjects Prisoners. To whatever the Dey may urge, or to any endeavour to turn the conversation to any complaints of his own, *You are never to reply*; but always to answer by telling him, *that you were come for reparation of an Insult, and not to attend to his Complaints, which he had sent to England and settled*. Although you will never give up the reparation due to his Majesty, yet if the Dey sends off the Maltese, you will receive them; but you will never recede a tittle from your original demands.

‘The Dey will probably, if you leave him with only part of your Mission accomplished,

ask you repeatedly, *well, are we now at Peace?* To which, unless you completely succeed, only reply that you will communicate to me what of our just demand has not been complied with, and that is the only answer you shall give. Never desist on account of what has been granted, but demand what has not; and leave the question of Peace or War entirely open, so that it may hang over his head. If the Consul be not received, I shall never send again to Algiers; and more reparation will be demanded, should he ever wish to accept of the offer now made him. Should the Dey, which I am told is often the case, rise up in a passion and retire; you will signify to him by letter, that you will not submit to be so treated, and that you will never come into his presence again to be insulted, nor unless you receive his word of honour, that all your just demands shall be satisfied and finished if you go again to him, and that you will sail in twenty four hours. The Dey may, to our demand for the Sicilian vessels, reply by asking, *If one of my subjects on my account freights a French ship, will you allow her to pass?* The answer of course would be yes, under similar circumstances. If your Highness were driven out of Algiers and all your vessels destroyed, so that you were with your subjects besieging it, or having obtained it, as was the case with the Maltese and British, and you freighted a vessel with provisions to keep you from perishing;—Great Britain would not take an enemy's vessel under those circumstances: It would be the most cruel thing in nature to attempt starving our Friends on any such pretence, and yet your Highness' cruisers attempted to starve his Britannic Majesty's subjects when in a similar situation."

The letter which his Lordship sent to the Dey by Captain Keats, extends to a considerable length. It preserved, throughout, the same tone of dignified expostulation, endeavouring to make the Dey sensible that any insult shewn to Mr. Falcon, was in fact an insult to his Royal Master; and the Admiral appealed to the good sense of his Highness, and the Amity which had always subsisted between him and the King of Great Britain. "I trust," added Lord Nelson, "that you will find no difficulty in giving his Majesty full and complete reparation; and as it is my intention to mark, by every means in my power, my former regard and respect for your Highness, I annex the Words which are the least exceptionable that you can offer, or I accept, for the insult done his Majesty; and they must be delivered in writing, before Mr. Falcon, his Majesty's Agent and Consul General, can be landed—

'I am most exceedingly sorry, that in an unguarded moment of Anger I should have ordered out of the State of Algiers the Agent and Consul General of my Great Friend, his Britannic Majesty; and I declare upon my Faith and word as a Prince, that I will never offer such an Insult again to his Britannic Majesty, and will with pleasure receive Mr. Falcon.'

For this purpose, continues the Admiral, 'I have sent my Right Trusty Friend Richard Goodwin Keats, Esq. Captain of his Majesty's ship Superb, to your Highness to

settle this matter in a most proper manner; and whatever he shall state in my name, I beg your Highness to consider as coming from me. I sincerely hope that this disagreeable business will be settled in the most amicable way, and it will give me the very highest satisfaction to convey to my Royal Master, sentiments of real friendship from your Highness.'

Respecting the other part of Captain Keats's Mission, the restoration of the Maltese who had been taken prisoners by the Algerines, Lord Nelson sent a separate letter to the Dey, which conveyed the following remonstrance—"It has been with the sincerest sorrow and surprise, that I find the Cruisers of your Highness have taken several Vessels belonging to the Island of Malta, which, with its inhabitants, is under the protection and Sovereignty of his Majesty; and of course every Maltese vessel and inhabitant are as much British, as if belonging to London. The giving up these Vessels, and Crews, and making ample reparation for the damage they may have sustained, is so 'just, that I will not allow myself to suppose your Highness will hesitate one moment."

(1804.) On his arrival off Algiers, Lord Nelson again wrote to Captain Keats: "*Jan. 17.* We just see you, although not near enough to communicate; therefore I put down two or three things as they occur. You will not bring out any person for me to send to England from the Dey, on any account—all must now be settled. You have my confidence; you need only say, *We go on well, or ill—Stay off here, or You may go.* The Dey will not know but every hour we may reappear."—His Highness however remained inflexible, and would not receive Mr. Falcon. Lord Nelson therefore sent word a few hours after the above Note, that he approved of all Captain Keats's conduct; but with respect to Mr. Falcon's not being received, that was a point which, as the Commander in Chief, he would never give up. In another note on the same day, he added, "If not likely to end to your wishes, do not condescend to go to him, but leave Algiers in doubt of the event."—Again at seven o'clock, P. M. "If you think it may be of any use to stand in to morrow morning do so, if not, join me here. I will not give up one iota of my original moderate demand. I should betray my trust if I did."—And when writing to Earl St. Vincent, *Jan. 19,* he adds, "Before the Summer is out, I dare say the Dey of Algiers will be sick of his Insolence, and perhaps have his head cut off. I have recommended Mr. Falcon to go to England, and then he will be able to explain every part of his conduct; it appears to me that it has been spirited, but perfectly correct."—To Sir Evan Nepean, Lord Nelson subjoined the following testimony to the professional character of Captain Keats: "He has conducted himself like himself: he is one of the most sensible men, and best Officers, I almost ever met with."

On the 19th of March, 1801, his Highness Mustapha Dey, *Bashaw and Governor of the Warlike City of Algiers*, had agreed and fully concluded, "That from the 7th of December last, 1800, the Inhabitants of Malta should be treated upon the same footing as the rest of his Britannic Majesty's Servants."

(1804.) *To Lord Hobart, Jan. 20.* "I have had much conversation with Captain Keats, but the whole of the Conference with the Dey, if such a meeting can be called a Conference, was nothing but rage and violence on the part of the Dey, and firmness on the part of Captain Keats; the stamp of whose Character, if it were not so well known by his actions, is correctly marked by his sensible clear letters. I am convinced that Mr. Falcon had committed no impropriety, but that he was disagreeable on account of his spirited conduct. Your Lordship will find him a very sensible clear headed man. I shall be anxious to receive his Majesty's Commands, and I will endeavour to withhold from Hostilities until they arrive."

Lord Hobart, on the 7th of January, had informed the Admiral, that his despatches of the 16th and 20th of October, were laid before the King, and that the vigilant and zealous attention therein manifested for the Public Interests, had afforded much satisfaction to his Majesty, "and I am particularly commanded," said his Lordship, "to express his Majesty's most gracious approbation of the line of conduct, which under the circumstances represented, you have deemed it advisable to pursue towards the Regency of Algiers... It is however without doubt of the greatest consequence at the present moment, to obviate the necessity of resorting to measures of force against the Barbary States, provided forbearance can be maintained without detriment to the dignity of his Majesty's Crown, or to the security of those who are placed under the protection of his Government. The critical situation of the Island of Corfu, and the whole of the Morea, cannot too strongly claim your Lordship's attention; for the defence of which important Countries, you have already made so excellent a disposition of your Cruisers. I entirely concur in the propriety of keeping a vessel at Naples for the personal security of the Royal Family."--In a subsequent letter, Lord Hobart expressed the approbation of the Cabinet, respecting the Discretion and good Sense with which the Admiral's Orders respecting Algiers had been executed by Captain Keats. Lord Hobart also added, "that it had appeared advisable to Ministers, another communication should be made to the Dey of Algiers, in hopes that means might yet be found for procuring due satisfaction for the honour of the Country, without having recourse to measures of decided hostility."--The Admiral in afterwards replying to this letter of Lord Hobart's, expressed the sincere pleasure with which he received his Majesty's Approbation of what had been done: "My line of conduct," added that great Officer, "in obedience to the spirit of his Majesty's Instructions, has been simply this--To conciliate all, to protect all from French Rapacity, and I have the satisfaction to think I have completely succeeded. My attention is constantly fixed upon Toulon, and I have no great reason to believe that the French will escape me, whatever may be their destination; and it is with real pleasure I can state to your Lordship, and request you

would state it to the King, that no Fleet ever was in higher Discipline, and Health, and Good Humour, than the one I have the honour to command."

But to return from these Transactions at Algiers, to the other important objects which the Mediterranean command embraced, and the Admiral's extensive Correspondence detailed. "Short as my force is of the Enemy's Fleet," said his Lordship when writing to Lord Hobart (Jan. 4), "yet receiving from their Sicilian Majesties, from Sir J. Acton and Mr. Elliot, a statement of the very critical situation of that kingdom, in consequence of the insolent threats of Buonaparte, and their declaring that they look up, in their distress, to his Majesty's Fleet, what, my Lord, could I do? I have ordered the Gibraltar to remain. My determination is never to abandon those faithful Allies of our Sovereign, and, sooner than withdraw the Gibraltar from Naples, to fight double our force. My heart, my Lord, is warm, my head is firm, but my body is unequal to my zeal. I am visibly shook, yet as long as I can hold out, I shall never abandon my truly honourable post."

(1804.) *To Earl St. Vincent, Jan. 11.* "I had not, my dear Lord, forgot to notice the son of Lord Duncan. I consider the near relations of Brother Officers, as Legacies to the Service. On the subject of Promotions, I beg leave to say a few words; because I feel now exactly as you have felt in a similar situation to mine; and I rejoice that you, my dear Lord, are not only alive, but in Office to bear witness to the truth of my words, which I should have quoted, even if you had been not in office, *That it was absolutely necessary Merit should be rewarded on the moment; and that the Officers of the Fleet should look up to the Commander in Chief for their reward: for that otherwise the good or bad opinion of the Commander in Chief would be of no consequence.* You always promoted meritorious Officers out of the Victory, and Ville de Paris, and many private ships, for their merit. The good effect was, that whatever was undertaken succeeded. I myself stand in that situation, and Hardy, rewarded by you as Commander in Chief. You know, my dear Lord, there is nothing you can desire me to do, that I shall not do with pleasure; and if I had known the intentions of the Admiralty respecting the Lieutenant mentioned, he would certainly have been appointed; but having appointed a very gallant and meritorious Officer, who had in a most particular manner distinguished himself on board the Isis at Copenhagen, it would have lowered me in the Fleet, that my follower, who had performed gallant services under my eye, should be displaced. I trust you will be so good as to state, what you thought proper for the benefit of the Service, to the Admiralty, and be my friend at the Board. I have said enough for my Friend to act upon, and I rely on your kind support. I shall certainly endeavour to imitate you, when you commanded here with so much advantage to your Country. I shall not trouble you with complaints of Ships, the Board shall be

answered. Thank God the health of the Fleet has been wonderful, and I wish I could add my own, however I hope to hold out to meet the French Fleet, and after that I believe my career will finish. In addition to my other cares Sardinia must be guarded: the French most assuredly mean to invade it; first, I suppose, under a pretext for keeping us out of it, and then they will have it ceded to them. I have written to Lord Hobart on the importance of Sardinia, it is worth a hundred Maltas in position, and has the finest man of war harbour in Europe; they tell me it is superior to Beerhaven—in short it has nothing but advantages; the mode of getting it is to be considered by Ministers, but Money will do any thing in these days. To keep it could not in the first instance cost half so much as Malta. I can have no reserves—I venture my opinion, Ministers are not bound to follow it: I can have no views, but to benefit my Country by telling all I know of situations, and how far they can be useful. My Course is steady, and I hope some day, very soon, to fulfil the warmest wishes of my Country, and the expectations of my Friends; amongst whom in the first rate quality I consider you my old and sincere Friend, and I only hope you will be able at some debate to say,— * * * * * (*Left unfinished by the Admiral.*)

(1804.) In writing at the beginning of this year to the Marquis of Hertford, Lord Nelson bore honourable testimony to the fame of his gallant and lamented brother Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour. “I was honoured with your Lordship’s letter by Mr. Seymour, the son of my oldest Friend; who would at this moment, if it had pleased God to save his life, have most essentially served his King and Country. I am very much pleased with Seymour, and have given him the first Commission which has fallen since his arrival.”—Throughout every station of life, however elevated or occupied, NELSON remembered his early Friends. In a second letter to Admiral Sir Peter Parker, during this year, he thus again expressed the sincerity of his gratitude. “I most sincerely condole with you, on the premature death of my dear friend and contemporary your son. In your grandson Peter, you possess every thing which is amiable, good, and manly—an Officer and a Gentleman. He is sure of my warmest and affectionate interest for his welfare, as long as I live. Never whilst I breathe shall I forget your kindness to me, to which I owe all my present honours. May God bless you, my dear friend, and keep you in health many, many years.”—Again, when writing to another worthy character, Admiral Holloway, he thus cheered the spirits of that Officer on not being then employed. “I think, my dear Holloway, it must come at last; for as you observe your nerves are good, and your head I never heard disputed. Otway also will get a ship, and I hope his Culloden.”—Again, when writing to Captain Brabazon—“Although upwards of thirty years have passed away since we met, yet I can never forget your great kindness; and believe me nothing could give me greater pleasure, than an opportunity of being useful to any friend of yours. The loss of that very fine Sloop the Raven, has consequently sent all the Officers to England, and although it would

not probably have been in my power to promote your nephew at present, yet you may rely that I shall bear him in my mind, and a future occasion may offer. I hope some day, not very far distant, that I shall enjoy the pleasure of having you under my roof at Merton, where you shall have a most hearty welcome from, my dear Brabazon, your very old and much obliged friend, NELSON AND BRONTE."

(1804.) In writing to Captain Fremantle at the beginning of January, he thus devoutly expressed his feelings respecting the threatened Invasion by the French. "I trust, my dear Fremantle, *in God and in English valour*: We are enough in England, if true to ourselves.—He may by chance injure us, but can never conquer a determined People." His Lordship then wisely added, what it would be well if the generality of Englishmen would remember: *They who know the whole Machine, can better keep it going than we who only see a very small part.* "Although I am naturally anxious for the issue of the attempt, yet I cannot doubt of the final event—it will be the ruin of that infamous Buonaparte, and give us an honourable Peace. I should most assuredly rejoice to have you here, but we none of us see the inside of a Port: I have twice taken shelter under the Madelena Islands on the North end of Sardinia, which form a very fine anchorage. The Village I am told, for I have not set my foot out of the Victory, contains forty or fifty small houses. As to Malta, it is a perfectly useless place for Great Britain; and, as a Naval Port to refit in, I would much sooner undertake to answer for the Toulon Fleet from St. Helens, than from Malta, I never dare venture to carry the Fleet there. I know your friends think differently from me, but they talk of what they know nothing about, in that respect, and I know it from dear bought experience. During the winter, generally speaking, I cannot get even a frigate from Malta, the Westerly winds are so prevalent; and as they approach the Gulf of Lyons, they are blown to the South end of Sardinia. Perseverance has done much for us, but flesh and blood can hardly stand it. I have managed to get some fresh provisions from Roses in Spain, which with onions and lemons have kept us remarkably healthy. We are longing for the French Fleet, which is to finish our hard fate."

To Lord Minto, Jan. 11. "My dear Lord: You have allowed the effusions of your heart to go too far, but I own it was grateful to my feelings—now I desire you will never mention any Obligations to me again. I assure you on my word of honour, that George Elliot is at this moment, for his standing, one of the very best Officers in our Service and his ship in high order. I placed him under Sir Richard Strachan's command off Cadiz, and he does nothing but praise him in every letter. I beg you will present my respects to Admiral Elliot; I had the honour of being introduced to him twenty two years ago, but

* Admiral John Elliot, when Captain of the *Æolus* frigate, thirty-two guns, Feb. 28, 1760, having in company with him the *Pallas* and *Brilliant* frigates, commanded by Captains Loggie and Clements, chased and engaged Thurot's squadron of the *Belleisle* 44, and two other frigates, the whole of which was taken. The Commodore, Thurot, died during the Action.

• never had the pleasure of sailing with him. His Action with Thurot will stand the test with any of our modern Victories.

‘ Your Speech, my dear Lord, was yourself, and there is not a tittle but every man who loves his Country must subscribe to. I have not heard very lately from Naples, but I expect a vessel thence every hour. Their situation is very critical: Buonaparte threatens if the King does not disarm his subjects, he will march another Army into that kingdom. The King has positively refused. I have letters both from the King and Queen, reposing the greatest confidence in our Country—of my services they are sure. Sardinia, if we do not take very soon, the French will, and then we lose the most important Island, as a Naval and Military station, in the Mediterranean. It possesses at its Northern extremity the finest Harbour in the world, it equals Trincomale: . . . If I lose Sardinia, I lose a French Fleet. Your partiality has said already, *Nelson has now done more than he had ever before accomplished*—I can assure you it shall be a stimulus to my exertions on the day of Battle: I have seven, the French ten, Spaniards sixteen at Cadiz, and more going there daily from Carthagea.—I am now on my way to settle a little account with the Dey of Algiers; we had better be at open war, than be insulted as we have been. Government has reposed great confidence in me, and I hope my conduct will meet their approbation. But, my dear Friend, after all this almost boasting, what is Man? a Child of the day!—And you will scarcely credit, after all I have written, that the Medical Gentlemen are wanting to survey me, and send me to Bristol for the reestablishment of my health.—Whatever happens, I have run a glorious Race. By the 20th of January I shall have been eight months at Sea. Do not mention my health I beg of you, it is my concern.’

(1804.) That Filial Affection which was always so conspicuous in Lord Nelson’s Character, was never passed unrewarded when he observed it in those who had the happiness of serving under him; and it is the more necessary to cite an instance of his conduct in this respect, since the liberality of his mind induced him to conceal these friendly efforts from the Officers he attempted to benefit. *I wish it*, he would exclaim, *to appear as a God send*.—He had been particularly struck with the conduct of Captain James Hillyer, of the Niger, towards a widowed Mother; and with his generosity towards his brother and sisters. Accordingly, on the 20th of January, when writing to Earl St. Vincent, he thus endeavoured to reward these virtues in the Captain of the Niger: “ Captain Hillyer is most truly deserving of all your Lordship can do for him, and in addition to his public merits has a claim upon us. At twenty four years of age he maintained his Mother and Sisters, and a Brother, until I made him a Lieutenant for his bravery a short time ago. For these reasons he declined the Ambuscade which was offered him; because, although he might thus get his rank, yet if he were put upon half pay, his Family would be the

sufferers. From all these circumstances so honourable to Captain Hillyer, independent of his Services which every one thought would have obtained him promotion in the late War, I beg leave to submit, as an act of the greatest kindness, that as the *Niger* is a very fine fast sailing Frigate, well manned, and in most excellent condition, she may be fitted with the Madras's 32 carronades, which are not so heavy as her present nine pounders, and that your Lordship would recommend her being considered as a Post Ship, either a thirty two or twenty eight. Captain Hillyer's activity would soon complete the additional number of men, and she would be an efficient Frigate. I will not venture to say more, I am sensible of your attention to Merit."—Nor did this affectionate disposition warp his regard for the Rules and Discipline of the Service: for in writing afterwards respecting a young Officer, who had behaved improperly to his Captain and was in consequence to be brought to a Court Martial, NELSON thus answered the intercession that had been made in the young Man's favour, by a friend of Sir John Warren's: "We would all do every thing in our power, to oblige so gallant and good an Officer as our friend Warren, but what would he do if he were here? exactly what I have done, and am still willing to do. The young Man must write such a letter of contrition, as would be an acknowledgement of his great fault; and with a sincere promise, if his Captain will intercede to prevent the impending Court Martial, never to so misbehave again. On his Captain's enclosing me such a letter, with a request to cancel the order for the Trial, I might be induced to do it; but the letters and reprimand will be given in the public Order Book of the Fleet, and read to all the Officers. The young man has pushed himself forward to notice, and he must take the consequence. We must recollect, my dear Admiral, it was upon the Quarter Deck in the face of the Ship's company, that he treated his Captain with contempt, and I am in duty bound to support the Authority and Consequence of every Officer under my command. A poor ignorant Seaman is for ever punished for contempt to *his* Superior."

(1804.) The conduct of Spain towards Great Britain, in refusing to furnish our Fleet with supplies, roused the indignation of NELSON, and, in writing to Mr. Frere, *January 23*, he thus expressed his sentiments. "If this goes on, you may acquaint them that I will anchor in *Roses* with the squadron, and receive our daily supplies, which will offend the French much more than our staying at sea. Refreshments we have a right to, as long as we remain at peace."—In another letter on the same day to Mr. Frere, he added, "I have just received information which leads me to believe, that the French Fleet is either at sea or on the eve of it, and bound to the eastward, towards Naples or Sicily. I am this moment making sail in the direction I think most likely to intercept them."—On the 26th of January, our Fleet accordingly anchored at Madelena, as a central situation which

^a In consequence of this application, a Commission was sent out for Captain Hillyer, and the *Niger* established as a Post Ship.

defended Sardinia, and enabled the Admiral to cover Naples, and to be in the way of meeting the Enemy should they be bound elsewhere. "I am distressed," said he, in writing to Sir John Acton on the 30th, "for frigates, which are the Eyes of a Fleet; for the terrible winter we have had, has obliged me to send three into port to be refitted; however, I trust, we shall fall in with the Enemy and do the business. Your Excellency knows that with all the care and attention possible, it has happened that Fleets have passed each other; therefore I need not apprise you, how necessary it is to keep a good look out for them."—On the same day he wrote to Mr. Elliot at Naples: "The non-appearance of the Gibraltar, tells me what the answer of Buonaparte has been: nothing but Insolence could be expected from him. My movements are regulated as my intelligence and opinion lead me to suppose the French Fleet will act. Sardinia is certainly to be taken by them, and I do not believe I can prevent it."—Again in writing to Captain Ball, *Feb. 6*, "We are, my dear Friend, at the eve of great Events: 12,000 French troops are ready for embarkation at Toulon, and 16,000 at Nice, and as they have not Transports they must naturally expect more ships of war."

(1804.) "The Storm is brewing," added his Lordship, in writing to Mr. Jackson, *Feb. 10*, "and there can be little doubt that Sardinia is one of the first objects of its violence. We have a report, that the visit of Lucien Buonaparte is to effect an amicable exchange of Sardinia, for Parma and Piacenza. This must not take place, or Sicily, Malta, Egypt, &c. &c. &c. are lost sooner or later. What I can do to ward off the blow shall be done, as I have already assured H. R. H. the Viceroy. From Marseilles to Nice, there are not less than 30,000 men ready for embarkation. Should Russia go to war with France, from that moment I consider the mask as being thrown off, with respect to any Neutrality of his Sardinian Majesty: therefore if that should be the case, would the King consent to two or three hundred British Troops taking post upon Madelena? it would be a momentary check against an Invasion from Corsica, and would enable us to assist the northern part of Sardinia. You will touch upon this matter in the way you think most prudent, or entirely omit it; but there is only this choice,—to lose the whole of Sardinia, or allow a small body of friendly troops to hold a part at the northern end of the Island: *We may prevent, but cannot retake...* Sardinia is the most important post in the Mediterranean. The wind which would carry a French Fleet to the westward, is fair from Sardinia; and Madelena is the most important Station in this most important Island. I am told that the Revenue, after paying the expenses of the Island, does not give the King 5000*l.* sterling a year. If it be so, I would give him 500,000*l.* to cede it, which would produce him 25,000*l.* a year for ever. This is only my conversation; but the King cannot long hold Sardinia." In a subsequent letter, his Lordship added, "*Entre nous*, it is not the interest of the

Sardinians to remain as they are: the Peasantry are oppressed with small taxes, and the Nobles are detested."

(1804.) On the 8th of February, Lord Nelson took shelter in Madelena harbour from the blowing and severe weather that prevailed. According to his Diary, "The Fleet ran in under reefed foresails through the Eastern Passage, which looked tremendous from the number of rocks, and the heavy sea breaking over them; but it is perfectly safe when once known. Captain Ryves' mark of the pedestal rock can never be mistaken."—In writing from Madelena to Sir J. Acton, *Feb. 10*, his Lordship endeavoured to buoy up the dejected spirits of the Sicilian Court: "What a most zealous man can do, my dear Sir John, to meet all points of difficulty shall be done. My Squadron is the finest for its numbers in the world, and much may be expected from it; and should superior numbers join, we must look them in the face—*Nil desperandum!* God is good and our Cause is just. I have no doubt Egypt is the favourite and ultimate object of the Corsican Tyrant. I beg you will assure their Majesties, that Nelson is Nelson still, and most zealously attached to their service."—And in writing to General Villettes, he preserved the same firmness: "I expect that the Ferrol Squadron will get to Toulon, if so, they will have fifteen sail of the line; but what a Fleet like this I have the honour to command can do, will be done—*there are nine of us!*" On the 11th, he also sent the following letter to the Grand Vizier: "If the French unite their Fleets outside of the Mediterranean, with that at Toulon, it is not the Sublime Porte's being at peace with Buonaparte, that will prevent an Invasion of both the Morea and Egypt: your Highness knows them too well, to put any confidence in what they say. Buonaparte's tongue is that of a Serpent oiled. Nothing shall be wanting on my part, to frustrate the designs of this common disturber of the human race." On the same day a few lines, with his wonted judgment, were addressed to his Highness the new Capitan Pasha: "My letters inform me that you are appointed, by the Grand Signor, Capitan Pasha, in the room of his late Highness; on which high honour allow an old friend most sincerely to congratulate you; and to wish that you may long live to enjoy it, and increase the splendour of the Ottoman arms. Your Highness will soon have to fight the French; for the perfidious Buonaparte will certainly, if he can, attack some part of the Ottoman Empire. You have my sincere prayers for a complete victory over them."

(1804.) On the memorable St. Valentine's day, *Feb. 14*, he sent the following letter to

^b One of these Nine, *Captain Whitby*, was brought up and patronised by the Hon. W. Cornwallis; and soon afterwards was sent for to serve under that great Officer. Lord Nelson in writing respecting this to Admiral Cornwallis, said, "As my old acquaintance and skipmate, Captain Hargood, is not arrived, I have directed *Whitby* to remain a short time in the *Belleisle*, in order to reap the harvest of all his Toils; he has had uphill work in her, and I should wish him to enjoy the fruit alongside a Frenchman. I assure you I am not singular in regretting the loss of *Whitby* from our little squadron, it is universal."

his old Commander Earl St. Vincent. ‘Most cordially do I hail, and congratulate you on the return of St. Valentine; and may you, my dear Lord, live in health to receive them for many, many years. This morning also your nephew, Captain Parker, has very much pleased me, as indeed he always does. On Sunday, the 12th, I sent him to look into Toulon: as he was reconnoitering when under Cape Sepet, he saw a Frigate rounding Porqueroll, the wind was right out of the harbour at north. At first the Frigate seemed desirous to bring him to action; but the determined approach of the Amazon made her fly with every rag of sail: she ran through the grand pass, and got under Breganson, some of the ships hoisted their yards up. I am rather glad Parker did not bring her to action, for I think they must have come out and taken him; but I admire his spirit and resolution to attack her under all the disadvantages of situation: and such conduct will some happy day meet its reward.’

(1804.) Notwithstanding his intelligence of the Toulon Fleet being ready to put to sea, which the Admiral continued to receive, they were still unwilling to encounter an inferior force, since it was commanded by Nelson, and therefore for the present remained in port. A small squadron of French frigates, however, got along shore into Ville Franche; and under cover of the dark nights, during the northerly gales of wind, crossed over to Corsica with 1000 men. From the number of troops at that time collecting in the south of France and northern parts of Italy, together with the preparation of transports both at Genoa and Leghorn, and intelligence that the French Army had baked a month's bread, the Admiral was of opinion, as he informed Mr. Frere whilst off the Hieres Islands, *March 8*, that an Expedition must be intended. On the 17th, he wrote as follows to Captain Gore. “The Admiralty seem to think that the Spaniards may be hostile to us, and therefore have put me on my guard. Do not let it escape your lips—I am determined to have the first blow; even if they come with their whole 18, they shall not join the French. If they come up the Mediterranean, and you have a mind for a shooting party, come with your Frigates. Every part of your conduct is like yourself, perfect. Your letters will be answered formally.”

To Earl St. Vincent, March 17. ‘My dear Lord: Whilst I have your Support, and the Officers of the Fleet look up to me, I can do any thing which the number of ships can allow the warmest wishes of my friends to anticipate. Take that from me, and I am nothing. I am the child of opinion, and the Admiralty can with their breath destroy it. But I rely with confidence upon you, my dear Lord, and that alone keeps me up. My general health, I think, within this last fortnight is better; but my sight is much fallen off, I have always thought I should be blind. If I can but meet the French Fleet, and do the thing well, I shall certainly ask for rest; it is necessary for me. I have sent your Nephew this morning, to see if he can lay salt upon the tail of a French Frigate: I every day see new

and excellent traits in him. Hardy is his great pattern about his ship, and a' better he could not have. I have only to hope the restless animal Buonaparte will be upset by Frenchmen, and then we may have some quiet.'—*To Sir T. Troubridge, March 17.* 'My dear Troubridge: You must have reading enough, and your letters convey to you only complaints and misery, of ships and men. I have none to make: we are all cheerful and healthy, and our expenditure of Stores has been comparatively speaking nothing. The French want to get out, and we want them out. Yesterday two of their frigates were outside Hierès, peeping to know if we were gone to the devil. Ball is sure they are going to Egypt, the Turks are sure they are going to the Morea, Mr. Elliot at Naples, to Sicily, and the King of Sardinia to his only spot.—Your son cannot be any where so well placed as with Donnelly.'

From the year 1803, a more intimate acquaintance, if it were possible, than ever, had taken place between his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence and Lord Nelson. The conversations they had previously had together, and their concurrence in political opinions, brought on a confidential Correspondence, whence few letters could be selected. At the conclusion of a long and most interesting letter to H. R. H. in which Nelson pointed out how very erroneous the opinions of some of our ablest Ministers, and even of the French themselves had been, respecting a thorough knowledge of the Mediterranean, the Admiral added, "I have often sat and smiled to hear grave and eminent Senators expatiate on the importance of a place, which I well knew was of no importance to us. I think I have told your R. H. enough, to induce you at all times to steer clear of possessing it."

(1804.) *To Sir J. Duckworth, March 19th.* 'There is not a man in the world, that rejoices more at the happy conclusion you have given to the French Expedition to St. Domingo, than myself, and for all your well-earned successes: your perseverance deserves to be amply rewarded. Now you have done with the French, unless you can get hold by agreement with the *sold* Spaniards, of their part of St. Domingo (for I hope in God we shall never attempt to possess any portion of the other part of that island), although I see all the danger of a black republic, yet I trust we shall be very particular in making a Treaty of Commerce with them. It is a nice game to play; but if you are contented, I am sure it is in good and able hands. I hope to hold out, to beat your friend Admiral Latouche Treville, who took the command at Toulon the moment of his arrival there. He was sent for on purpose, as *he beat me* at Boulogne, to beat me again; but he seems very loth to try."—*To Sir R. Bickerton, April 7.* 'As the Enemy's Fleet has been out,* and may still be at sea, and as I should be very sorry to baulk their inclinations of a Battle by your

* The French Fleet came out of Toulon on the 5th of April, and went in again the next morning. Lord Nelson when informing his Excellency Mr. Frere of this, added, "If they go on playing out and in, we shall some day get at them."

- superiority of numbers. You will therefore, whenever I make the signal, haul from us to the southward,¹ furl your topgallant sails so as not to be discovered from the shore, and just keep sight of us from the masthead; and make the signal for your division (except Excellent, who is going towards Toulon) and do you call in Belleisle, unless I should call her by signal to me.

(1804.) In two letters which Lord Nelson sent during the month of March, to Sir John Acton and Mr. Foresti at Corfu, he reverted to the subject of the future conduct of Russia. To Sir John Acton his Lordship put the following question, "Will Russia come forth as she ought, or are her plans only preparative to the taking possession of Greece, and of course Constantinople? This is a subject I have no business at present to enter into, although it is seriously in my mind." To Mr. Foresti he spoke more explicitly: "The ultimate views of Russia become every hour more distinct; how long the mask may be kept on, I cannot say, but sooner or later the Morea will belong by conquest to Russia. What part Great Britain may take, the connections which Russia may form will point out. However we are at present on the most friendly terms with the Emperor, and I hope we shall always continue so. I have said enough to so sensible a man as yourself."

To Mr. Elliot, April 26. "I feel much obliged by your communication of the interesting news from various powers of the continent. If Austria and Russia submit to the invasion of the German territory, the two young Emperors deserve the worst which can happen. You will be sorry to hear of the loss of the Hindostan² with all our stores; however this being an accident which no human precaution could prevent, I must turn my mind how to do without them, and I dare say I shall do tolerably during the summer. But the capture of the Swift cutter of four or six guns and 23 men, with all the despatches, is a loss which ages cannot do away. I hope, but I have great fears, that only the secrets of our own Country are exposed,³ yet those perhaps of Naples, Russia, Sardinia, and Egypt, may have been mentioned. I wish it to be known at Petersburg and Constantinople, in case any plan has been agreed upon between our Courts: we must prepare for the worst, it has made me very uneasy and unwell.—You will find Captain Malcolm a very intelligent good officer." In writing to Sir John Acton on the same day, April 26, he still dwelt on Russia and Austria: "The Emperor of Russia will, I hope, get his troops into Italy. The

¹ In a letter to Earl St. Vincent, April 19, Lord Nelson bore the following testimony to the character of Captain le Gros of the Hindostan. "If his account be correct (he is now on his Trial) he had great merit from the order in which his ship was kept. It must have arisen either from some of the medicine chests breaking, or from wet getting down, which caused things to heat. The preservation of the Crew seems little short of a miracle. I never read such a journal of exertions in my life."

• In a subsequent letter to Sir John Acton, the Admiral reverts to these Despatches. "I have received duplicates of my Despatches taken in the Swift: the reading of them will rather mortify Buonaparte, for they breathe throughout, such a spirit of moderation and consideration for the situation of other Countries, as to do honour to the hearts that dictated them."

insult offered his father in law, cannot, if there is any spirit in a young Emperor, be overlooked, and I should also hope the Austrian Eagle is not humbled. If the Emperor submits, it is not difficult to see that the Imperial diadem will be removed from that family.'

In writing on the first of May, to Admiral Sir E. Pellew, who had expressed an inclination to serve under Lord Nelson, he replied, " You have always, my dear Sir Edward, proved yourself so equal to command a Fleet, that it would be a sin to place you in any other situation, and my services are very nearly at an end; for in addition to other infirmities, I am nearly blind: *However, I hope to fight one more Battle.*"

The preparations which he had made to insure success, in case of such an event taking place, mark the great abilities of this extraordinary Man. With him every thing was always ready, each difficulty forestalled, and throughout his Fleet every Officer, who had the happiness of serving in it, possessed clear ideas of the mode of attack which his Admiral wished to adopt, should circumstances admit of it. A considerable latitude was also uniformly given to the experience and observation of such Officers, as might be placed in situations that would render a change in any preconcerted plan advisable. On the 28th of April, Lord Nelson had issued the following Instructions, which are copied from the order book of the Hon. Captain C. Boyle then of the Seahorse. " As it is my intention to attack the French Fleet, in any place where there is a reasonable prospect of getting fairly alongside of them, and as I think that in Hieres Bay, Gourjean Bay, Port Especia, Leghorn Roads, Ajaccio, and many other places, opportunities may offer of attacking them; I therefore recommend, that every Captain should make himself, by inquiries, as fully acquainted with the above places as is possible . . . In going in to attack an Enemy's Fleet, it is recommended to have the launch out and hawsers and stream anchors in her, and with any other boats, to lie out of gun shot, ready to cut as circumstances may require. Ships in bringing up, will anchor as their Captains may think best from circumstances of winds, weather, and the position of the Enemy: But I strongly recommend having the four large anchors clear for letting go, because I know from experience the great difficulty with crippled masts and yards, of getting an anchor over the side; and it is probable that it may be necessary to remove the ship after an Action, and to leave some of her anchors behind. The ships will anchor in such a manner, as to give each other mutual support for the destruction of the Enemy.'

(1804.) In writing during the month of March to Mr. Stoddard at Genoa, his Lordship thus answered some objections that had been made respecting the Blockade of that port, and the Seizure of vessels, " It is my bounden duty, Sir, to make these Seizures, and they will be continued until the Admiralty order the contrary. Whether the Admiralty be right, or wrong, in giving these Orders, is not my business: *Obedience is my duty* . . . Eleven years experience has taught me how to blockade Genoa, or any other Port in the Mediterranean, and the capture of vessels breaking the Blockade, is I believe a full proof of it."

‘ I have the honour to be, Sir, with great respect, &c.”—In a subsequent letter he added, “ In my humble opinion, Vessels of war never ought to be seen from Genoa; and if I knew of forty sail intending to leave Genoa for Cadiz or Lisbon, for instance, I should order a look out to be kept for them more particularly in the Gut of Gibraltar, than any other place; and from my knowledge of Genoa and its Gulf, I assert without fear of contradiction, that the nearer ships cruise to Genoa, the more certain is the escape of vessels from that port, or their entrance into it insured.”—Again, in another letter, *June 16*: “ I am blockading Genoa, &c. and am continuing it in the way I think most proper. Whether modern law or antient law makes my mode right, I cannot judge; and surely of the mode of disposing of a Fleet, I must, if I am fit for my post, be a better judge than any landsman, however learned he may appear. It would be the act of a fool to tell Europe where I intend to place the ships, for the purpose of effectually obeying my orders; not a Captain can know it, and their positions will vary, according to information I may receive: therefore, if I were so inclined, I can assure you, upon my word, that I cannot at any one moment tell the most likely spot to intercept the commerce of Genoa and Especia. I endeavour as well as I am able to obey my orders, without entering into the nice distinctions of lawyers. I will not further take up your time on a subject which, without being a lawyer, merely as a man could have admitted of no dispute.”

(1804.) The following letter, that was furnished by the Countess Nelson, contains a passage which is very descriptive of the character and feelings of her noble brother in law. It was addressed to Dr. Allot, Dean of Raphoe in Ireland, dated *May 14*. “. . . I remember you, dear Sir, most perfectly at Burnham, and I shall never forget the many little kindnesses I received from your worthy Brother, with whom I was always a great favourite. Most probably I shall never see dear, dear Burnham again; but I have a satisfaction in thinking that my bones will probably be laid with my Father's, in the Village that gave me birth. Pardon this digression—but the thought of former days brings all my Mother into my heart, which shews itself in my eyes. May Heaven, my dear Sir, long preserve you in health, for the sake of your family and friends; and amongst the latter allow me to place the name of your very faithful servant, NELSON AND BRONTE.”

During the spring of this year, some young Artillery Officers serving on board the bomb vessels that were attached to the Channel and Mediterranean Fleets, had refused to allow their artillery men who were embarked, to do any duty but what related to mortars; which in cases of such emergency as ships are constantly liable to when at sea, occasioned endless disputes and cabals, and, in consequence, the Naval Officers loudly complained of the conduct they were obliged to endure. The whole of this had grown out of a circumstance relative to a Court Martial, at which a Soldier had been tried for misbehaviour. Eminent legal men, amongst whom are said to have been Sir W. Scott, and the King's Advocate,

gave their opinion in support of the authority of the Captain of the Ship.¹ A clause was however afterwards discovered, which seemed to support the opinion on which the artillery officers had acted. What had passed being represented to Lord Nelson, he immediately wrote the following letters to Sir T. Troubridge, and Earl St. Vincent.—“ My dear Troubridge: You will see that I have been obliged to write a letter to the Admiralty, on the subject of Soldiers embarked on board Ships of war; and I have written it strong, as I know it must go further than your Board. It is the old history, trying to do away the Act of Parliament; but I trust they will never succeed—for when they do, farewell to our naval superiority. We should be prettily commanded. You may say, “ they are not intended to command the Navy, but that the Navy is not to command Soldiers on board a ship.” Let them once gain the step of being independent of the Navy on board a ship, and they will soon have the other, and command us. It may be said, if the Soldiers behave improperly, they would be tried by a Court Martial on shore: were that possible, of what members would that Court be composed? mostly subalterns, I fancy, who, although we might think the officer had behaved very improperly, might and probably would think that he had behaved very properly to us sea brutes. But thank God, my dear Troubridge, the King himself cannot do away the Act of Parliament. Although my Career is nearly run, yet it would embitter my future days and expiring moments, to hear of our Navy being sacrificed to the Army. I can readily conceive the attempts of the Army at this moment, when they think themselves of such great importance. The Admiralty Order might lead those wrong, who do not know that nothing but an Act of Parliament can do away an Act of Parliament. Ever, my dear Troubridge, yours most faithfully, NELSON AND BRONTE.’

(1804.) In a letter on the preceding day, *May 25*, to Earl St. Vincent, Lord Nelson had expressed himself still more decidedly on a subject that was so near his heart. ‘ There is no real happiness, my dear Lord, in this world: with all content and smiles around me, up start these artillery boys, I understand they are not beyond that age, and set us all at defiance; speaking in the most disrespectful manner of the Navy and its Commanders, &c. I know you, my dear Lord, so well, that with your quickness, the matter would have been settled, and perhaps some of them been broke. I am perhaps more patient, but I do assure you not less resolved, if my plan of conciliation is not attended to. You and I are on the eve of quitting the theatre of our exploits; but we hold it to our successors never, whilst we have a tongue to speak, or a hand to write, to allow the Navy to be in the smallest degree injured in its Discipline by our conduct. If these continued attacks upon the Navy are to be carried on every two or three years, it would be much better for the Navy to have

¹ This subject is discussed more at large in Mr. M‘Arthur’s *Treatise on Naval and Military Courts Martial*, Vol. I. page 206.

its own corps of Artillery: the present case is indeed with lads, but they are set on by men, I can see that very clearly.

"The new Emperor (bravo, Corsican!) will I hope begin his Reign by ordering his Fleet to come out; for if they do not very soon, they will wear us out, and most particularly myself. My health has suffered very much, but I am as happy in the command as man can be."

He again also touched on the same subject, in writing to Admiral Sir Charles Pole: "I am sure Lord St. Vincent ought to feel grateful for your zealous support of his measures; and I hope, my dear Pole, you will stand by the Navy^{*} against all attempts to have Soldiers placed in our ships, independent of the Naval Act of Parliament, from whatever quarter it may be attempted: when that takes place, there is an end of our Navy, there cannot be two Commanders in one ship.—We are all as happy as a set of animals can be, who have been in fact more than a year at sea, or rather without going ashore; for with the exception of anchoring under the northern end of Sardinia, not a ship has been to a naval yard to refit during that time. Hope keeps us up."—Again, when writing to Mr. Foresti at Corfu, the diligence with which our Fleet had watched the French is described. "The only place to guard against a *coup de main* from, was Toulon, where 12,000 troops are ready for embarkation: this I have taken effectual care to prevent, by a perseverance at sea never surpassed in the annals of the world—not a ship in this Fleet has been into any port to refit since the War, and to this moment I never have had my foot out of the ship."[†]

(1804.) When writing on the same day to the Hon. G. Rose, he mentioned another subject, to which he had directed his mind: "Many months ago, I had written a Memoir upon the propriety of a Flotilla: I had that command at the end of last war, and I know the necessity of it even had you, and which you ought to have, thirty or forty sail of the Line in the Downs and North Sea, besides Frigates, &c. But having failed so entirely in submitting my thoughts upon three other points, I was disheartened: they were upon the speedy manning our Navy at the commencement of the War, inducing the Seamen to fly into the naval service, instead of from it, and for the better payment of Prize Money. I have not the vanity to think that any of my plans were perfect; but they were

^{*} Admiral Pole has strictly obeyed the injunction of his friend, and has lost no opportunity that offered to render lasting benefit to the Service. In consequence of what then occurred in the Mediterranean, and also at home, four Companies of Marine Artillery have been established, and a suggestion has lately been thrown out in the House of Commons (1809), and much dwelt on by Sir C. Pole, That it would be expedient to allow a certain number of young gentlemen to be educated at Woolwich Academy, for the Marine Artillery Corps, on a footing with the Cadets.

[†] From the information of his H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, Lord Nelson never went out of the Victory but three times, and then on the King's service, from his leaving England in 1803, to his return in August 1805; and none of these absences from his ship exceeded an hour.

intended to lead others to bring forth better. Nothing has been done, and yet something was and is necessary."

(1804.) In some of his private letters, on subjects not immediately connected with his professional career, occasional marks of Character are introduced: "I am so little versed in business," said Nelson, when writing to his Steward at Bronte,¹ "that I hardly know how to answer your letter. Ungrateful as the Brontese have behaved, yet the Prince * * shall never, upon any consideration, be their Master for an hour. In Sicily, I suppose, they have certain forms and customs as we have in England. The gentry may forget that I am Master. I consider that we deal on the strictest Honour, *Our Words are our Bonds*. You may assure the Brontese, that I shall never consent to any thing which can oppress them. At this moment I can only think of the French Fleet."—In a letter afterwards to a noble Spaniard, his Lordship said, "I can assure you, Sir, that the Word of Honour of every Captain of a British Man of War, is equal not only to mine, but to that of any person in Europe, however elevated his rank."—Upon writing to his brother in law, Mr. Matcham, "I fear my friends think," said his Lordship, "that I neglect those I ought to be attentive to; but be assured, my dear Mr. Matcham, that whether I write or not, my heart always stands in the right place to you, my dear sister, and her family."

On the 24th of May, Monsieur Latouche Treville again stood out of Toulon with a few ships, and nearly brought to action the *Canopus*, *Donnegal*, and *Amazon*, which had been detached to reconnoitre the Enemy. The main body of our Fleet had remained far out of sight of land, and the weather being fair, Rear Admiral Campbell in the *Canopus* had been tempted to stand in close to the Port. On the near approach of our ships it fell almost calm; when the French gun boats stood towards them and began firing, which was returned. A moderate breeze springing up, five of the Enemy's line of battle ships, and three heavy frigates, endeavoured to cut off our ships. Admiral Campbell, well knowing of what importance it was that his squadron should not be crippled by so superior a force, strove only to lead the Enemy towards our Fleet; but they having chased about five leagues from Toulon, during which a partial firing was kept up from our ships, and particularly from Sir R. Strachan in the *Donnegal*, who with difficulty refrained from close action, the Enemy was recalled at three quarters past three P. M. About half past nine the *Canopus*, *Donnegal*, and *Amazon* joined Lord Nelson, who sent the following letter to Admiral Campbell: "I am more obliged to you than I can express, for your not allowing the very superior force of the Enemy to bring you to Action. Whatever credit would

¹ In a letter to Mr. G. Naylor, the York Herald, Lord Nelson informed him, that Bronte had never been a Dukedom until made so in his person. It had formerly been a fief, and had a vote in the Assembly of the Nobles of Sicily. The Arms were simply the Eagle. It had belonged to the great Hospital at Palermo, from whom the King of Sicily purchased it.

have accrued to your own and your gallant companions' exertions, no sound advantages could have arisen to our Country; for so close to their own harbour they could always have returned, and left your ships unfit, probably, to keep the sea. I again, my dear Admiral, thank you for your conduct. Some day very soon, I have no doubt but an opportunity will offer of giving them fair Battle, and that it may arrive very, very soon, is the most sincere wish of, my dear Campbell, your most obliged friend."

It was so extraordinary and rare a circumstance, for the French Admiral to appear even without the port, in which he had been long blockaded by an inferior force, that Latouche Treville could not resist from declaring, *he had chased the whole British Fleet, which had fled before him.* It was some months until Lord Nelson heard of this letter, which was almost too much for his antigallican spirit and love of truth to endure; and being already indignant at the falsehoods which Latouche Treville had circulated at Boulogne, his Lordship thus expressed his feelings, in a letter to Mr. Bulkeley. "You will have read of my running away from Mons. Latouche; but, as I have written to the Admiralty, if my Character is not established by this time for not being apt to run away, it is not worth my while to put the World^s right. I never was more surprised than to see the fellow's letter; but the next French Paper makes a sort of apology." And in writing to Captain Sutton he said, "I have every reason to think, that if this Fleet gets fairly up with Mons. Latouche, his letter by all his ingenuity, must be different from his last. We had fancied that we had chased him into Toulon; for blind as I am, I could see his Water Line when he clued his topsails up, shutting in Sepet: But from the time of his meeting Captain Hawker in the Isis, I never heard of his acting otherwise than as a paltroon and a liar. Contempt is the best mode of treating such a miscreant"—His Lordship afterwards, in writing to his brother William, added, "You will have seen, my dear Brother, Latouche's letter; *how he chased me, and how I ran. I keep it; and if I take him, by God he shall eat it.*"

(1804.) A letter to Dr. Baird, May 30, describes the state of Lord Nelson's health at that time; which such incessant service in the cause of his Country had greatly impaired. "The health of this Fleet cannot be exceeded, and I really believe that my shattered carcase is in the worst plight of the whole of them. I have had a sort of rheumatic fever, they tell me. I have felt the blood gushing up the left side of my head, and the moment it covers the brain, I am fast asleep: I am now better of that, with violent pain in my side, and night sweats, with heat in the evening and feeling quite flushed: the pain in my heart, not spasms, I have not had for some time. Mr. Magrath, whom I admire for his great abilities every day I live, gives me excellent remedies; but we must lose such men from

Lord Nelson felt it incumbent on him for the satisfaction of the Admiralty, to send home a copy of the Victory's Log.

our service, if the Army goes on in encouraging medical men, whilst we do nothing.¹ I am sure much ought to be done for our Naval Surgeons, or how can we expect to keep valuable men? I look to you, not only to propose it, but to enforce it to Lord St. Vincent, who must be anxious to preserve such a valuable set of men to the Navy.'

'(1804.) It appears from a letter sent by Lord Nelson to his Excellency Count Woronzow, *May* 31, that our Government^m had allowed the Emperor of Russia to continue a plan, he had before tried with older Officers, of having some young men of distinction in that country educated in the British Navy. They were accordingly distributed amongst our ships in the Mediterranean Fleet, and are thus mentioned: "These gentlemen being lads, must be treated in a different manner to the grown up Officers we have formerly had. The allowance made them from the Emperor, is I understand 40*l.* a year, which sum is very well after the youngsters are fitted out, and the ship they are in has sailed; but to fit them out and keep them a year, it is by no means a sufficient sum. I would therefore propose, that the twelve lads who came out in the Royal Sovereign, should have all their outfit paid, and passage to Plymouth, and that the 40*l.* a year should not commence until the day the Royal Sovereign sailed from Plymouth. It costs an English lad from 70 to 100*l.* to fit him out, besides his yearly stipend; and these very fine lads must have hats, shoes, &c. and money for their mess. I do not think they will have many opportunities of spending their money ashore. I shall cause inquiries to be made into their little wants, and shall advance the money. They are most exceedingly good boys, and are very much liked in the ships they are placed in."

On hearing that General Buonaparte had at length placed himself on the Throne of the house of Bourbon, and had established a military despotism in France under the august title of Emperor, Lord Nelson thus expressed his sentiments when writing to Mr. Elliot at Naples. *June* 1. "I have read your Excellency's letters with much interest, now and then with sorrow. The politics of Europe will probably so completely turn upon a monarchical government being again formed in France, that I believe no one can guess what the two Emperors of Russia and Germany will do. If they acknowledge Buonaparte as their Brother, there is no great honour in being allied to their Family; but I think, in

¹ Mr. Magrath, so highly spoken of by Lord Nelson, had long been with the Admiral: he was shortly afterwards, on account of his great skill, sent by him to the Naval Hospital at Malta, which prevented his being on board the Victory at the Battle of Trafalgar.

^m It has long appeared to be the liberal desire of Great Britain, to give every assistance to the Improvement of the Russian Navy, the good policy of which is surely questionable. During the reign of CATHERINE, Admiral Sir C. Knowles, father of the present Admiral of that name (who was particularly skilful in the science of building ships), had permission to reside many years in Russia, whence he returned overwhelmed with the ingratitude he had experienced. During the time that the Russian ships were at Spithead with our own Fleet, their Officers acquired considerable quickness and spirit in the management of their ships. The time may come, when the skill they have thus obtained will promote the views of our inveterate Enemy, and be employed against us.

that case, it would give us Peace. If they will not call him *Brother*—Gracious Heaven! thy ways are hid from man, *Jack Corse Brother to two Emperors!*—then I suppose we should have a general War; either way it must benefit both England and Naples . . . You may safely rely that I never trust a Corsican, or a Frenchman; I would give the devil all the good ones, to take the remainder. I am close off Toulon, with Victory, Canopus, Donnegal, Belleisle, and Excellent, in hopes to tempt Mr. Latouche out of port . . . You may be assured his Sardinian Majesty shall want no support in my power to give him. The answer of Russia is unworthy of a great Emperor to a little King, whom he pretends to protect; but such things are. I wonder that General Acton should for one moment believe the professions of General St. Cyr, more especially coming through the mouth of Micheroux, whom I knew of old. Did the French ever appear friendly, but for the purpose of more readily destroying those whom they *cajole*?—this word *is* English, though it writes very bad. I have more fears for Naples and Sicily, than for Malta.’

(1804.) “On the 4th of June, Mons. Latouche,” (as the Admiral wrote to Sir R. Bickerton,) “sent out five sail of the line, but they came not one mile outside Sepet, formed a line, and at dark went in again, since which, added Nelson, he has been very quiet.”—“Do not, my dear Ball,” continued he, in writing to Sir Alexander, *June 7th*, “do not think I am tired of watching Mr. Latouche Treville—I have now taken up a method of making him angry. I have left Sir Richard Bickerton with part of the Fleet twenty leagues from hence, and with five of the line am preventing Latouche from cutting capers. Mr. Latouche has several times hoisted his topsail yards up; and on the 4th of June, we having hoisted the Standard and saluted, he sent some of his ships outside Sepet about one mile. I did not believe him in earnest; however we ran as near as was proper, and brought to. A ship of the line and frigate every morning weigh, and stand between Sepet and La Malue. Some happy day I expect to see him.—Eight sail, which were in the outer road, are come out, and if he will get abreast of Porqueroll, I will try what stuff he is made of; therefore you see, my dear Ball, I have no occasion to be fretful; on the contrary I am full of hopes, and command a Fleet which never gives me an uneasy moment. I do most earnestly desire that you will not fail saying any thing to me that you please. I can never take it amiss.—I cannot write another line. God bless you.”

In a letter to Sir John Acton, Lord Nelson makes some striking reflections on the change of the dynasty in France, and of the consequences it would occasion in Europe. “The following observations,” said the Admiral, “naturally arise from looking at Europe at this moment. The restoration of a Monarchy in France, although it may be of disadvantage to the Bourbons, must be beneficial to Europe—the reign of Republics is over for a century; and in particular, both Great Britain and Naples must feel the immediate consequence. If the two Emperors of Russia, and Germany, do not acknowledge Buonaparte

as Emperor, then, if there be a grain of spirit left in them, they will go to war; and if it be prosecuted with vigour in Italy, I think that all the Italian Republic and Piedmont may be restored. We have both, my dear Sir, lived long enough in the world to know, that Nations are like Individuals, *make it their interest to do what is right, and they will do it*; with very few exceptions of any man, or nation, being so devoid of principle, as to act the part of a Villain, without an interest. Therefore, if the Italian Republic were to be changed and submit to a Monarch, I am sure, if the Emperor of Germany, with a large Army, promises his former subjects more privileges than they have enjoyed under Buonaparte, and also a *quietus* for their purchases of land, &c. they would return to their obedience, and probably behave better than ever. I feel much obliged for all the particulars you have given me, of the honourable reasons that induced you to retire to Palermo. I well know, that upon every occasion you sacrifice your own feelings, for the benefit of our dear good Sovereigns; and that same feeling induces you not to desert them at this critical moment. I beg that your Excellency will say, that I have received the honour of their Majesties' letters; and although in doing my very utmost I only perform my duty, yet that it shall be done with cheerfulness, and to the full extent of my abilities: the more their Majesties may want my exertions to serve them, the more they shall be given to the last drop of my blood. I have only to be told their wants and wishes, and as far as I am able they shall be complied with. I am in hopes to shame Latouche out of his nest; and when I reflect on his insult to my Sovereigns, at Naples in 1793, it will add vigour to my attack. My first object must ever be to keep the French Fleet in check; and if they put to sea, to have force enough with me to *annihilate* them, and that, with God's blessing, I have no fear of not being able to perform. That would keep the Two Sicilies free from any attack from sea. If the French Fleet could carry 12,000 men into the Bay of Naples, whilst their Army was marching by land, the consequences would be fatal to that capital. The 2000 troops are ready at Malta, and it was only on the 7th, that I prayed General Villettes to keep them in readiness; and if your Excellency were to think it proper to write a confidential letter to the General, I am sure he would be much flattered.—I am glad to find Russia thinks properly, and, I trust there will be no jealousies; but that both Countries will try who can best serve and save the Two Sicilies: temporising may be necessary in small States, in large ones it ought not to happen—it is humiliating. Either Peace, or 100,000 Russians and as many Austrians, in Italy; but I cannot help thinking that Buonaparte will wish for Peace rather than a War with two Empires.—Again, and again, my dear Sir John, you may rely upon me.'

(1804.) When writing to his Excellency Adm. Sir John Warren, and Mr. Stratton at Constantinople, he again reverts to Russia, and Austria: 'The Events which are daily happening through the Ambition of Buonaparte, are much better known to you than they

can be to me; who have now been at sea from the first day of the war, and never had my foot outside the ship. I hope Russia and Austria will assist the Good Cause, and Piedmont be restored to the King of Sardinia; but Courts very seldom draw together, and it is the more sincerely to be regretted at this time, when a common interest ought to unite them closely—but I am touching on a subject out of my depth. Mons. Latouche Treville seems inclined to try his hand with us, and by my keeping so great an inferiority close to him, perhaps he may some day be tempted.'

(1804.) Lord Nelson thus proceeds with his political remarks, in writing to the Grand Vizier, June 13th. 'Buonaparte, by whatever name he may choose to call himself, *General, Consul, or Emperor*, is the same man we have always known, and the common disturber of the human race; it is much more dangerous to be his Friend than his Enemy: With the appearance of friendship he deceives; to be on the latter terms, the hand should be always on the sword. May God grant his Imperial Majesty health and length of days, and may your Highness for many, many years guide his Councils with your wisdom. I beg of your Highness to assure his Imperial Majesty, that I am penetrated with his condescension in remembering my former exertions in the execution of my duty: whilst my health remains, they shall never cease. Other Admirals will readily be found of probably more abilities, but none with more Zeal to cement the harmony and perfect good understanding between our two good Sovereigns. The French Fleet is quite safe in Toulon, and for the summer they cannot readily escape without a Battle. May God give the Victory to the just cause!'

Amidst the different naval Officers who during this year received the thanks and approbation of their Admiral, was Captain B. Vincent of the Arrow; who in the ensuing year fought so gallant an Action against a superior force of the Enemy, when in company with another small vessel, the Acheron.—Captain Vincent, on the 3d of June, had made a most spirited attack on a French privateer under the island of Fano. Lord Nelson, in his official reply, expressed the great attention and deference which he always wished to be observed towards neutral vessels. "The destruction of the Enemy's privateers," said he, "becomes an object of serious consideration, and certainly justifies an attack upon these pirates. I therefore feel pleasure at your conduct in the destruction of the privateer before mentioned, and shall write to Mr. Forcetti, his Majesty's Minister at Corfu, if necessary, to remonstrate

* In consequence of a letter from the Underwriters at Lloyd's Coffee House to the Admiralty, May 5, 1804, respecting the Captures made by the Enemy's Privateers in the Adriatic, Lord Nelson's attention had been particularly directed to the protection of our Trade in that quarter; but it required a greater number of small vessels and Brigades under his command, than could at that time be spared. These depredations on our Trade were made by well armed small Privateers, some from Ancona, which lurked amongst the Islands in that sea, until they either saw a favourable opportunity, or that signals were made to them from the shore to attack vessels that were passing without the protection of a convoy.

against the conduct of these unprecedented and sanctioned pirates, as I did in the instance of the *Thisbe*: for certainly the Neutral Territory that does not afford protection, cannot be allowed to give it to the original breaker of the Neutrality; and therefore from the offensive state of the privateer in question, and her firing upon the *Arrow's* boats, I cannot but approve of your having destroyed her. But I must beg to be perfectly understood, that I would on no account have the Neutrality broken or disturbed, by his Majesty's ships or vessels under my command firing upon any of the Enemy's privateers, or endeavouring to destroy them under the protection of a neutral port, unless such privateers shall first use offensive measures, and fire upon his Majesty's subjects; in which case they forfeit the protection of the neutral port, and ought to be destroyed if possible."—In a subsequent letter to Captain Vincent, during this year, Lord Nelson added, "I very highly approve of your complying with Mr. Foresti's request, in conveying his despatches to Venice, and landing the Russian courier at that place. I am much obliged by the information contained in your said letter and enclosures; and am particularly satisfied with the whole of your proceedings, in respect to the line of conduct necessary to be observed in the destruction of the Enemy's privateers. I must beg to remark to you, the same as I have done to Captain Raynsford—"I am clearly of opinion, that on the spot where the breach of Neutrality has been committed by the French, the Enemy has no right to claim the protection of Neutrality, if he should be overpowered. I am sure it is the furthest from the wish of our Government to break the Neutrality of any State, although the French may; but it is no longer a neutral spot, if the French are permitted to commit hostilities against us.'

(1804.) On the change of Ministers which took place during this year, in the month of May, Lord Melville succeeded Earl St. Vincent as First Lord of the Admiralty; the other Members of the Board consisted of Admirals Gambier and Sir J. Colpoys, K. B. Captain Sir H. Burrard Neale, Bart. Captain Philip Patten, and W. Dickenson, Esq.*—On hearing of this event, Lord Nelson sent the following letter, dated June 18, to Sir John Acton; who, at the desire of Buonaparte, had been obliged to resign his situation: "The great change of Ministry cannot, unless it gives us Peace, which I think by no means improbable, make any alterations respecting Russia and the assistance which our Country is in duty and honour bound to give Naples. I trust that Austria will also assist in preventing this new Charlemagne from possessing the old Empire.—Mons. Latouche came out on the 14th. I was off the *Hieres* with five ships; he had eight of the line and six frigates. In the evening he stood under *Sepet* again, and I believe I may call it, *we chased him into Toulon the morning of the 15th*. I am satisfied he meant nothing beyond a gasconade; but am confident when he is ordered for any service, that he will risk falling in with us and the event of a Battle, to try and accomplish his Orders.'

* During the ensuing month of July, Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. succeeded Sir H. Burrard Neale.

• (1804.) *To his Excellency Mr. Elliot, June 18.* ‘By the Maidstone, Hon. G. Elliot, I was favoured with your truly interesting letters respecting the removal of Sir John Acton. The General must, I think, possess more than ever the confidence of both our own and the Russian Ministry, from the very circumstance of his being so much hated by the French. Gallo and Micheroux never can, they have shewn on all occasions too evident a partiality to the French, or, to say no worse, a dislike to us.” –The Admiral’s letters to the King and Queen of Naples, repeated what has been already inserted respecting Sir John Acton’s resignation, and bore liberal testimony to the character of that Minister.

His Lordship again reverted to the subject of Privateers, when writing to his Excellency Mr. Jackson in Sardinia, and dwelt on the impropriety of their conduct. “I have been favoured with your account of what had passed at Civita Vecchia, respecting a Spanish vessel detained by an English privateer. The conduct of all privateers is, as far as I have seen, so near Piracy, that I only wonder any civilised nation can allow them. The lawful as well as unlawful commerce of the Neutral Flag is subject to every violation and spoliation; but I do not believe that any foreign power can make itself a judge, whether the detention be legal or not. The Spanish Consul, if he thought the conduct of the English privateer wrong by an unjust detention, had only to apply to the Court of Vice Admiralty at Gibraltar or Malta. You know, my dear Sir, that no person in our Country can interfere with the Laws. I am always sorry when unpleasant circumstances arise. You will see by the enclosed papers, the supposed improper conduct of the Papal Government at Ancona; but I do not enter into the subject, for I cannot be a judge by only hearing one side. I admit the very unpleasant situation of the Papal Government; for I am well aware if they were just in their neutrality, that Buonaparte would take Rome from his Holiness, as he has done before: I have always directed the Neutrality of the Papal State to be attended to.’

His zealous mind was at that time so much alarmed, lest any new attempt should be made to modify the Act of Parliament respecting Soldiers when embarked, that, on the change of Ministry, he sent the following letter to Lord Melville, on his being appointed to succeed Earl St. Vincent at the Admiralty. *June 21.* ‘My dear Lord: In case Earl St. Vincent, and Sir Thomas Troubridge, should not send you my letters to them, respecting the conduct of Soldiers embarked to serve in his Majesty’s ships, I think it of great consequence to the Naval Service, you should be informed of my sentiments upon that subject. It requires not the gift of prescience to assert, if Soldiers embarked in ships of war are not, as heretofore, left subject to the Act of Parliament for the government of his Majesty’s ships, vessels, and forces by sea, wherein, as our forefathers said, the safety, wealth, and prosperity of the kingdom chiefly depend; that the Navy, which we have all heretofore looked up to, will be ruined. The absolute power must remain; there

cannot be two Commanders in one ship, nor two sets of laws to regulate the conduct of those embarked in the same bottom. I will not, my Lord, take up your time in debating, whether it would be better for the Navy to be subject to the same Articles of War as the Army: but we may take a lesson from the epitaph, *I was well, I would be better, and here I am*: My opinion is, let *well* alone.'

(1804.) In a letter to Lord Hawkesbury, June 22, Lord Nelson reverted to his favourite subject of Sardinia. His Lordship's wish to save that Island from being suddenly surprised by the invasion of French troops from Corsica, had alarmed the King, and awakened the jealousy of some of the Foreign Ministers: "His Majesty," says the Admiral, "was supported by the Russian Minister, and your Lordship's words were quoted to me: the consequence will be the loss of Sardinia, either France, or England, must have it. The loss to us will be great indeed, I do not think that the Fleet can then be kept at sea. From Sardinia we get water and fresh provisions; the loss of it would cut us off from Naples except by a circuitous route, for all the purposes of getting refreshments, even were Naples able to supply us. I have hitherto watched Sardinia; but at this moment, when from the bad condition of many of the ships under my command I can barely keep a sufficient force at sea to attend to the French Fleet, I have not ships to send to Madelena; not less, my Lord, than ten frigates and as many good sloops would enable me to do what I wish, and what of course I think absolutely necessary. But I am aware of the great want of them in England, and that other services must be starved to take care of home. If I were at your Lordship's elbow, I think I could say so much upon the subject of Sardinia, that attempts would be made to obtain it; for this I hold as clear, *that the King of Sardinia cannot keep it, and if he could, that it is of no use to him*. That if France gets it, she commands the Mediterranean, and that by us it would be kept at a much smaller expense than Malta; from its position it is worth fifty Maltas.—Should the war continue, the blockade of Marseilles is a measure absolutely essential, and the points necessary for us to occupy are to be considered, and I think I could satisfy your Lordship of the probability of holding those positions: nothing could distress France so much, and make her wish for peace with us at present. Not less than forty sail a week go into Marseilles . . . I will not trouble your Lordship with a longer letter, on the various objects well worthy of consideration within the Mediterranean, and which the experience of eleven years has made me turn my thoughts to.'

To Lord Melville, June 22. . . . It is to redeem the solemn pledge I have made, never to omit, upon any change of administration, stating the just Claim which I consider the Battle of Copenhagen has to the reward of Medals, such as have been given for other great Naval Victories: I therefore enclose for your Lordship's perusal a statement of facts, and the letters which passed between me and Earl St. Vincent upon that occasion; and when your

• Lordship has leisure time, I request your perusal of them . . . I am aware, my Lord, that his Majesty has the most undisputed right to bestow Medals, or to withhold them, as he pleases. No man admits it more fully than myself; but, my Lord, I turn back to the first of June, 1794; from that moment I have ever considered, that his Majesty, by implication, pronounced these words to his Fleet, holding forth the Medal—*This, my Fleet, is the great Reward which I will bestow for great and important Victories like the present.* Considering this as a solemn pledge, his Majesty gave it as the reward for the battles of St. Vincent, of Camperdown, and the Nile: Then comes the most difficult achievement, the hardest fought Battle, the most glorious result that ever graced the Naval Annals of our Country: The Medal is withheld, for what reason Lord St. Vincent best knows. Could it be said the Danes were not brave? the contrary has always been shewn. Was our force so superior that there was no merit in gaining the Victory? if guns made the superiority, the Danes were very superior. If it be said, aye, but your ships were superior: to that I can answer, that the force placed by the Danes for the preservation of their Arsenal, their Fleet, and the City of Copenhagen, was such and of that description of vessels, which they thought inexpugnable by any force that could be brought against it. I have no more to say, but beg to refer your Lordship to the papers sent herewith; and I hope in the name of those brave Commanders who were under my orders on the glorious 2d of April, 1801, for your recommendation to his Majesty, That he may be pleased to bestow that mark of Honour on the Battle of Copenhagen, which his goodness has given to the battles of St. Vincent, the first of June, of Camperdown, and the Nile.'

(1804.) On Mr. Addington's leaving the helm of State, his friend Lord Nelson sent him the following letter, dated June 30. 'My dear Sir: Friend I may call thee now, without the suspicion of adulation to a Minister; but believe me that my opinion of your abilities as a Minister, and your constant friendship for me as a Man, have ever held the same place in my heart: I feel pride in avowing it now you are a private gentleman. I will not say too much; because when a change takes place, if honourable men are to hold the helm, I am sure amongst the foremost will be placed one HENRY ADDINGTON, whose sincere Friend is ever his attached, and obliged NELSON AND BRONTE.'

In writing to the Queen of Naples, July 10, he thus delivered his judicious opinion respecting the conduct of Russia, and other great powers, as opposed to France. "It would be presumption in me, Madam, to venture by letter on any political subject with your Majesty; but I cannot help wishing Europe to be the Bundle of Sticks against France. If it be good to temporise, let all do it, if to go to war, let all go to war. Upon this principle I have wished that Russia should have avoided a war, unless joined by Austria; then, acting with honour towards each other, much might have been expected from such a coalition. But if Russia only sends men and ships to the Ionian Republic, and the Morea, I am

decidedly of opinion it endangers Naples much more than bowing to the storm for the moment. Not less than 50,000, it ought to be 100,000 Russians, can effectually secure Italy. To say the truth, I do not think that either in the last war, nor according to all appearances in the present, are our plans upon that grand scale which would bid fairest to keep France within due bounds. Little measures can only produce little effects—I dare not let my pen run on; your Majesty's comprehensive mind will readily see what great things could be done in the Mediterranean. It is here that Buonaparte is most vulnerable, it is here much easier, than on the Rhine, to mortify his pride, and to humble him to reasonable terms of peace. I beg your Majesty's pardon for delivering my opinion so freely." In writing to Sir John Acton, he enforced the same ideas. "Admiral Ganteaume, I see, has hoisted his flag at Brest; a sure indication to my mind, that at least a part of that Fleet is destined for the Mediterranean. It is in this Country that Buonaparte wishes to make himself great, and therefore this is the country where large Armies and Fleets should be placed. I trust our Government will take care not to allow a superiority, beyond my power of resistance, to get into the Mediterranean. I calculate upon no joint exertion of the Russian Fleet, even should the Emperor go to war; and if it is only a war of Manifestoes, as Catherine's war, and sending troops to the Morea and Ionian Republic, I do not see any good either to Naples or England from it; indeed I fear such a war would much endanger both Naples and Sardinia."

(1804.) The anxiety with which he at that time watched his gasconading Enemy in Toulon, was much increased by the tempestuous weather which our crazy ships with their exhausted stores had to encounter. Although the spirit of Nelson pervaded the whole squadron and surmounted every difficulty, yet the fatigue of mind which he thus constantly endured with a weak and sickly frame, is hardly to be credited. On the 17th of July, his agitation at the thoughts of having suffered some of the French ships to escape, is thus described in a hurried note which he addressed to Admiral Campbell: "The French ships have either altered their anchorage, or some of them have got to sea in the late gales: the idea has given me half a fever."—In the afternoon Captain Moubray made the signal of the Enemy being all in harbour: this, however, did not quite allay the Admiral's agitation, as expressed in another note, which he sent to Sir R. Bickerton: "I have been in a little alarm at the idea of Mons. Latouche having given me the slip; and it is not quite cleared up. I am sending Active and Thunder off Marseilles for information; for I am sure if that Admiral were to cheat me out of my hopes of meeting him, it would kill me much easier than one of his balls. Since we sat down to dinner, Captain Moubray has made the signal, but I am very far from being easy. I shall place Seahorse and Amazon close in shore, in order to examine Toulon every way to morrow."

Whilst Lord Nelson had been thus vigilantly observing the operations of the French

*Fleet off Toulon, his friend Captain Hallowell had proceeded to Egypt with Elfi Bey, an artful and designing Chief of the Mameloucs; who being obliged to leave Egypt, had endeavoured to impose on the liberality and integrity of the British Nation. Captain Hallowell on returning to Malta, in his letters to Lord Nelson and to Earl St. Vincent, entered at considerable length on the insidious character of this Bey, and transmitted much valuable information respecting the then state of Egypt “ I had strong reason to believe,” said Captain Hallowell to Lord Nelson, “ that Elfi Bey was not so firmly in our interest, as I had a right to expect he would have been from the very great attention he had received from the English Government; and I took every opportunity of sounding him with respect to his disposition towards us and the French, repeatedly asking him, *Whether, if the French landed whilst I was in Alexandria, he would cooperate with me in the defence of the place?* But he would never give any other answer, than “ that he would fight against *any* Enemy who might attempt to possess his Country.” I told him that was not an answer to my question; and from the attention he had received from the English Government, and the professions of Friendship he had made towards the English Nation, I had every reason to expect his cooperation, if the French should attempt a landing in Egypt; and that, if he would promise me the support of his Mameloucs, I would land 200 Englishmen to manage the Artillery, and would answer for the French not getting possession of Alexandria, before a reinforcement of English ships and troops arrived. To this he answered with great warmth, *If any Enemy should attempt to land, I would devour the flesh from their bones;* and he enforced his expressions, by taking hold of his hand between his teeth, saying, *Thus I would treat them.* I then asked him, whether he would consider the French as Enemies or Friends, if they were to land? To which he would only answer, *They have been here once, and are gone away again, nor do I think they will ever return:* and I never could at any time extract a promise from him to oppose them, or to cooperate with me.”—In a letter on the same subject to Earl St. Vincent, Captain Hallowell more clearly developed the real character of this crafty Mamelouc. A messenger had been despatched from two of the Beys with a letter to H. B. Majesty’s Ministers, requesting the assistance of our Government with men and money, and soliciting our interference to prevent the return of Elfi Bey to Egypt: “ Your Lordship,” adds Captain Hallowell to Earl St. Vincent, “ will readily suppose that my astonishment must have been great, as I had always understood that Elfi Bey was the first Character in that Country, and that he had been deputed to negotiate for them with our Government. In the course of my conversation with the messenger, he assured me that the Bey was a troublesome character; that he was disliked by all the Mameloucs, who had explained his turbulent disposition to one of our Generals, and had requested he would take him any where out of the Country, or tranquillity would never be restored in Egypt. The fear of the Capitan Pasha’s arrival with 50 or 60,000

troops, first induced Elfi Bey to think of going to Europe.”—Captain Hallowell concluded his letter to Lord Nelson with the following description of the state of Egypt. “Since the evacuation of Egypt by the English Army, the Country has been involved in warfare. The tyranny and oppression of the Turkish Government have rendered them obnoxious to every description of people; and notwithstanding that the Porte has by a Treaty of Peace with the Mameloucs, ceded to them the possession of Egypt on the same footing on which they held it before the French invasion, yet the Turks have not given directions to their Governor to admit them into the garrisons of Alexandria or Aboukir; both of which they keep in their possession, although the Peace has been confirmed to the Mameloucs by two different firmans from the Porte . . . The English name and character are respected throughout Egypt; and if at any time the people of the Country have been induced to look to any other Christian Power for relief, I firmly believe it has proceeded from an idea, that England had totally abandoned them. Every inhabitant of Alexandria, and all the Arabs with whom I could have any communication, are earnestly praying for the return of the English; but if they cannot succeed in being placed under our protection, they will be happy to receive the French to secure themselves from the invasion of an oppressive and extortionate Turkish Army . . . Such is the general prepossession in favour of the English just now (1804), that I am confident 4000 English troops and a little money, would secure us the cooperation of all ranks against the return of the French. Egypt at present holds out strong temptations, both to the English and French, to send an Army thither: whichever party lands first will be fortunate.’

(1804.) On the 31st of July, Lord Nelson, in order to shelter his Fleet from the prevailing gales of wind, and to unload some Transports which had arrived, made the signal to take shelter in the Gulf of Palma. The boisterous weather continuing the whole of the next day, they kept the anniversary of the first of August in that Bay, which his Lordship notices in writing to Sir A. Ball on the 3d. The mind of the Governor of Malta and his opinions were congenial with those of Nelson, and a similarity of talent gradually cemented a friendship between them, which their first acquaintance had by no means promised. “I have received, my dear Ball,” said his Lordship, “your sketch of the views

» Sir Alexander Ball first became acquainted with Nelson when he visited France in 1782, and resided for a short time at St. Omer's. They parted in some degree prejudiced against each other. After a long interval, they again met when Captain Ball was attached to the squadron which Earl St. Vincent, in 1798, sent up the Mediterranean under Sir Horatio. The prejudice which he had imbibed at St. Omer's still remained, and on his first interview with Captain Ball, Nelson observed, “What do you expect by going with me, do you wish to get your bones broken?”—“*I did not, Sir,*” replied Captain Ball, “*come into the Service to save my bones: I know you are going on a perilous service, and I am therefore happy to go with you.*”—During the subsequent tempest in the Gulf of Lyons, the talents and greatness of mind of Captain Ball (as narrated in the Appendix) won the heart of Sir Horatio; and from that hour the utmost intimacy and mutual regard existed, as has been seen, between both these Officers.

of the French in the Mediterranean, on the whole outline of which I perfectly agree with you; and on the smaller part there are only shades of difference. My opinion of the views of Russia has long been formed, and to this moment I see every thing she does works to the same end—the possession of all European Turkey. I have delivered my opinion when in England, how this plan of Russia might be turned to much advantage for us, and how it would operate against France. I know the importance of Malta; but, my friend, I fancy I also know how far its importance extends: on this point we may differ, but we both agree, that it never must be *even risked* falling into the hands of France . . . Look at the position of Sardinia, I have touched I recollect before upon that subject, and you should be Viceroy. I have *warned* the folks at home, but I fear in vain: Algiers will be French in one year after a peace—you see it, and a man may run and read, that is the plan of Buonaparte. Respecting Egypt I agree with you most perfectly. And now, my dear Ball, I will not plague you with my nonsensical ideas any more; and have only to hope Mons. Latouche, who says in his letter to Paris that I ran away from him on June 14, will give me an opportunity of settling my account before I go home, which cannot be much longer deferred, or I shall never go.”—In a letter to Mr. Davison, his Lordship added, “I may say as the famous De Witt did, *My Life I will freely risk for my Country, but my Health I must take care of*. If the mind be not strong from good health, depend on it, the other faculties are in unison.”

(1804.) When writing to General Villettes, he thus continued his political sentiments without reserve. “I am of no party: I hope and believe that any Administration would ever act to the best of their judgment, for the power and advantage of their Country. I am not one of those who think, that the safety of the State depends on any *one*, or upon one hundred men; let them go off the stage, and others would ably supply their places.”—In a previous letter to Mr. R. Wilbraham, he had said, “The coalition of Parties the most opposite in principles ought not to surprise us. Windham and Fox may again meet at Holkham, and Pitt join the party—Such things are. Politicians are not like other men; and probably all other men would be Politicians, if they had the sense.”—In writing to Mr. Consul Duff, he thus delivered his opinion respecting the Spaniards, and Buonaparte's designs against them: “I live in hopes yet to see Buonaparte humbled, and Spain resuming her natural rank amongst the Nations, which that clever scoundrel prevents: he wants to have her revolutionised, or that he should have more money for preserving the name of the Spanish Monarchy. I sincerely hope England and Spain will long remain at peace.”

As Lord Nelson in the year 1801 had written^a to the Lord Mayor, on not receiving the thanks of the City of London for the Victory of Copenhagen, he now addressed a second

^a See Vol. II. p. 305.

letter to him on receiving thanks that had not been merited. In this admirable remonstrance Nelson declared, that no man set a higher value on the thanks of his Fellow Citizens of London, than he did; but that he should feel as much ashamed to receive thanks for a line of service in which he had not moved, as he should feel hurt at having a great Victory, alluding to that of Copenhagen, passed over without notice. He justly observed, that the Port of Toulon had never been blockaded by him; but on the contrary, that every opportunity had been afforded by his Fleet for the Enemy to put to sea, in order that the hopes and expectations of his Country might be realised. His Lordship then concluded with the following liberal testimony to the talents of his brother Officers. "Your Lordship will judge of my feelings, upon seeing that all the junior Flag Officers of other Fleets, and even some of the Captains, have received the thanks of the Corporation of London, whilst the junior Flag Officers of the Mediterranean Fleet are entirely omitted. I own it has struck me very forcibly: for where the information respecting the junior Flag Officers and Captains of other Fleets was obtained, the same information could have been given of the Flag Officers of this Fleet, and the Captains; and it is my duty to state, that more able and zealous Flag Officers and Captains do not grace the British Navy, than those I have the honour and happiness to command. It likewise appears, my Lord, a most extraordinary circumstance, that Rear Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton should have been, as second in command in the Mediterranean Fleet, twice passed over by the Corporation of London; once after the Egyptian Expedition, when the first and third in command, were thanked, and now again.—Conscious of high desert, instead of neglect, the Rear Admiral had resolved to let the matter rest, until he could have an opportunity personally to call on the Lord Mayor, to account for such an extraordinary omission; but from this second omission I owe it to that excellent Officer not to pass it by. And I do assure your Lordship, that the constant zealous and cordial support I have had in my command from both Rear Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton and Rear Admiral Campbell, has been such as calls forth all my thanks and approbation. We have shared together the constant attention of being more than fourteen months at sea, and are ready to share the dangers and glory of a day of Battle: therefore it is impossible I can allow myself to be separated, in thanks, from such supporters.'

(1804.) On the 4th of August, he informed Mr. Stratton, our Minister at Constantinople, that the Admiralty had ordered a ship of war to the Black Sea, in order to survey it; and wished to be informed whether the Ottoman Court would make any and what objections. The great importance and necessity of this service had long been evident to his Lordship's mind.—On the same day, in writing to his long approved friend Admiral Kingsmill, he touches on his regard for other early friends, and displays the tenderness of his affectionate disposition. "There is nothing, my dear Kingsmill, that you can desire me to do, that I

should not fly to do with the greatest pleasure. Can I forget all your kindness to me? No—Horatio Nelson is (all that is left of him) the same as you formerly knew, nor does he forget any part of Mary's goodness.—Bastard is a very fine young man, and I will remove him out of the bomb, independent of your friendship. Mr. Bastard, Member for Devon, is a character we must all respect for his high worth and principles. I can readily believe the pleasure you must have had, in meeting some of my friends at good Admiral and Mrs. Lutwidge's. I am sorry to tell you that my health or rather constitution is much shaken; but, my dear Kingsmill, when I run over the undermentioned Wounds, Eye in Corsica, Belly off Cape St. Vincent, Arm at Teneriffe, and Head in Egypt, I ought to be thankful that I am what I am. I command, however, for Captains and Crews, such a Fleet as I have never before seen, and it is impossible that any Admiral can be happier situated. God bless you, my dear Kingsmill, and believe me ever your most faithful and affectionate friend, NELSON AND BRONTE.'

(1804.) His anxiety to return home for a short repose from such incessant fatigue, was at times increased by the fear he possessed, of not being able to have sufficient interest, as he modestly thought, to continue in the command of a Fleet, whose conduct he so uniformly approved: "You will, I am sure," said he in writing to Sir E. Nepean, Aug. 4, "see with regret, that my shattered carcass requires rest. The leaving this Fleet where every one wishes to please me, and where I am as happy as it is possible for a man to be in a command, must make me feel; but I owe it to my King and Country, and to myself, not to let the Service suffer upon my account. I have not Interest, nor can I expect to be permitted to return in the spring to this command. Yet is this place, perhaps, more fitted for me than any other, but I submit. All my wishes now rest that I may meet Mons. Latouche before October is over."—In a letter about the same time to Count Mocenigo at Corfu, when speaking of the possibility that Latouche might after all elude his vigilance, Nelson added what it behoves all naval men to remember—*In Sea Affairs, nothing is impossible and nothing improbable.*

To H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, Aug. 15. 'If any thing the least new was to occur here, your Royal Highness is sure that I should have written to you; but we have an uniform sameness day after day, and month after month—gales of wind for ever. In July we had seventeen days very severe weather, the Mediterranean seems altered. However with nursing our ships, we have roughed it out better than could have been expected. I have always made it a rule never to contend with the Gales; and either run to the Southward to escape its violence, or furl all the sails and make the ships as easy as possible. Our friend Keats is quite well; in his own person he is equal in my estimation to an additional seventy-four, his life is a valuable one to the State, and it is impossible that your Royal Highness could ever have a better choice of a Sea Friend, or Counsellor, if you go to the Admiralty. Keats will never give that Council which would not be good for the Service.'

During the preceding month of July, the boats of the *Narcissus*, Capt. Ross Donnelly, of the *Seahorse*, Hon. C. Boyle, and of the *Maidstone*, Hon. George Elliot, had on the 9th made a desperate and most gallant attack on about twelve of the Enemy's vessels at la Vandour in the Bay of Hieres. These boats had been sent in under the orders of Mr. John Thompson, first Lieutenant of the *Narcissus*; who with his gallant companions, as is narrated in Captain Donnelly's official letter, boarded and destroyed almost the whole under a prodigious fire of great guns and musketry, as well from the enemy's vessels, as from a battery and the houses of the town, close to which they had been hauled in and secured. The attack commenced at midnight. The Enemy were fully prepared, and had taken every precaution to secure their vessels, by mooring them head and stern. Lord Nelson in sending an account of this daring enterprise to the Admiralty, August 12, said, "The determined bravery of Lieutenants Thompson, Parker, Lumley, and Moore, and of the petty officers, seamen, and marines employed under them, could not be exceeded. I am concerned to observe, that Lieutenant Lumley has been obliged to suffer amputation at the shoulder joint; but I have much pleasure in saying, that this fine young man is fast recovering: his sufferings, I am sure, will meet their Lordships consideration."

(1804.) At the beginning of the month of August, having heard that there was an excellent fresh water river in a bay in the island of Pulla, Lord Nelson proceeded thither and found the report correct. He describes the Bay in his Diary, as being open to the E. and S. E. winds, but that the bottom was good. On the 16th of the same month, the *Active*, *Phœbe*, *Seahorse*, and *Niger*, joined from reconnoitring Toulon, and reported that sixteen or seventeen large ships, supposed of the line, had been out; and on the same day the *Fisgard* arrived from England. The violent gales which came on and continued for some days, obliged the Admiral to take shelter under Cape St. Sebastian. In writing on the 24th of August to Rear Admiral Sutton, he said, "The *Spencer* joined the 19th,

* The three Midshipmen wounded were Mr. T. W. Bedingfield of the *Narcissus*, Mr. T. A. Watt of the *Seahorse*, and Mr. J. G. Victor of the *Maidstone*.

* This Officer afterwards returned to England with the following letter from his Admiral to Lord Melville. "I am sure that your Lordship will allow me to present to you Lieutenant Lumley of the *Seahorse*, who had almost a miraculous recovery from his severe wounds. The arm is not only taken out of the shoulder joint, but much of the shoulder bones has been extracted. His general conduct as an Officer has, from the report of the Hon. Captain Boyle, been such as always to merit approbation; and his conduct upon the occasion of losing his arm, has been such as to claim all our regard and esteem: and I am sure his good behaviour and sufferings will attract your Lordship's notice."

* In his Diary, during the month of September, mention is made of "A very fine Watering Place found by Captain Hillyer, about five miles to the westward of Porto Torres, with the Springs about two hundred yards from the beach, where forty casks may be filled at the same time." And, in writing afterwards to Mr. Consul Magnon, he said, "I can assure you, that we have found Pulla the most healthy place the Fleet has ever been at. So far from a man being ill from the thousands who went on shore, they have all derived the greatest benefit from the salubrity of the air brought down by that fine river."

from Plymouth. I was very glad to see so fine a ship, and so good a man as Captain Stopford. I have long, my dear friend, made up my mind never to be tired; the longer the happy day is deferred, still every day brings it nearer, and we all feel that the day will arrive, the sooner the better certainly, or I shall not be in at the death; for I have every reason to think if this Fleet gets fairly at Mons. Latouche, that his letter, with all his ingenuity, must be different from his last. I have sent White, who is a treasure, to the good Commissioner.'

(1804.) *To Mr. Elliot, at Naples, Aug. 28.* 'Since I received your Excellency's letters by the Kent, we have had a severe gale of wind, and have been blown under St. Sebastian's, whence I only got back on Saturday the 26th, on which day I examined Toulon myself—20 ships of war are in the outer road; nine certainly and I believe ten, are of the line, the rest frigates and large corvettes, besides brigs, &c. &c. In the inner harbour one ship of the line, and a frigate. Mons. Latouche's flag was not flying on board, but we supposed he was on Cape Sepet with his flag, directing any movements he might think necessary. It is not upon my own account, but that I may be able to answer for my conduct to the Admiralty, that I must ask this question of the King of Naples, *Do you think your situation requires the constant presence of an English ship of the line at Naples?* His Majesty, and the Queen, know that I would sooner fight the Enemy's Fleet with an inferior force, than have them in the least uneasy. But Ministers may not always think as their attached Nelson and Bronte does; therefore, my dear Sir, you will see the necessity I am under of repeatedly asking the same question: and I beg that the answer may be directly to the point, that if I go, and if I do not before next winter I never shall go, to England, my successor may not have the power of taking the ship from Naples, without the King's consent first obtained. I have mentioned to Lord Melville my desire to return to this command in March or April, if I am recovered; but the Administration may have so many other Admirals looking to them, that very possibly I shall be laid upon the shelf.'

Towards the close of this month, of August, Lord Nelson being much hurt at an insinuation which had been thrown out by some mercantile men, of his having favoured some Merchants more than others, sent the following letter to one of their chairmen. "I can imagine no circumstance that could possibly influence me, as a British Admiral, to grant more particular protection to one British merchant, in preference to another; all are equally entitled to the protection of his Majesty's ships, and if my own brother were in your situation, I should scold him most sincerely for venturing to suppose, that any influence would make me unjust."—No ignoble interest, no mean subserviency to either Rank or Power, ever warped the mind of our noble Countryman: His heart, in these respects, was as pure and uncorrupted as that of a child. The Glory of his Profession was always uniformly before him. In a letter to Lord Carysfort, Aug. 24, Lord Nelson had thus spoken of himself,

when making honourable mention of Lieutenant Granville, to whom a commission had been given by the Admiral on the first of that memorable month: "Granville, my dear Lord, is a very fine young man, and now you must try and get him the two next steps, Commander and Post, for until that is done, nothing substantial is effected; then the whole Glory of our Service is open to him. As an Officer I am of no party, and from my heart I believe that all the different parties are composed of honourable men, and men of great abilities.—I do not understand the least of the Defence Bill, further than that it is good to have as large a regular Army as possible, and in the quickest way; and I hope Lord Moira thought so too. I have the very highest opinion of his Honour and Abilities as a Soldier. Mr. Pitt is a Host of strength in himself. The Powers on the Continent are a set of dirty fellows; and I do not believe, if every person of all parties were in administration, that they would be able to move those Powers to either assist us, or support their own honour. If they do ever go to War with France, *I hope it will be for themselves, and not to involve us in their quarrels.*"

(1804.) On the 26th of the same month, August, when replying to the King of Sardinia's brother, H. R. II. the Duke de Genevois, Viceroy of the Island, in answer to a letter which had represented the deplorable State of the Finances in that valuable Kingdom, Lord Nelson informed his Royal Highness, that he had long since communicated to his own Government the impossibility, under the present circumstances, of his Sardinian Majesty's keeping in pay that force which was necessary for the preservation of the Island, and the next day, August 27, he wrote to Lord Hawkesbury on the same subject: "The deplorable state of the Finances in the Island of Sardinia, has been represented to me not only by the Viceroy, but also by all the Governors, &c. &c. &c. Not one of their few soldiers have been paid for years, nor a Governor or Officer. The Ports are going to ruin; there is not a gun carriage fit to bear a gun, and their galleys are to be laid up, from the impossibility of even purchasing provisions for them. In short, my Lord, Sardinia is gone if the French make a landing; not from their regard to the French, for I am sure the greater part hate them, but the Islanders must be released from their present miserable condition. I wrote to Lord Hobart fully upon the necessity of keeping the French out of it; for even should they take a temporary possession, how is Toulon to be watched? and great difficulty would be found in getting a convoy either to or from Malta. I have said enough to your Lordship's intelligent mind; and if it is not lost before I have the honour of seeing you, I think I can satisfy your Lordship of the absolute necessity of having Sardinia open to us."

Towards the end of August, feeling convinced that the French Fleet was on the eve of sailing from Toulon, he on the 28th wrote to Captain Parker of the Amazon, being anxious lest he should miss his share of glory in the Action: "I hope, my dear Parker, you are making haste to join me, for the day of Battle cannot be far off, when I shall want every frigate;

for the French have nearly one for every ship and we may as well have a Battle Royal, line of battle ships opposed to ships of the line, and frigates to frigates. But I am satisfied with your exertions, and be assured that I am ever faithfully yours.” *

(1804.) Whilst Lord Nelson was thus anxiously watching Toulon, and waiting for his vaunting Enemy to give the British Fleet an opportunity of avenging that aspersion which the French Commander in Chief had endeavoured to cast on its renown, Latouche had been suddenly taken ill, and died. This was a complete disappointment to the Admiral, whose whole mind had been intent on annihilating the French force under Latouche, and proving to all Europe how little the boasts of that Officer would have availed him in the day of Battle. *If he had but come out and fought us*, exclaimed Nelson, *it would at least have added ten years to my life.*

The protection which his Lordship had already given to the persecuted members of the Church of Rome, has been previously noticed. On receiving a despatch, in September, from Mr. Hunter at Madrid, which was of importance to the Cardinals, he immediately transmitted it with the following letter to Cardinal Despuig: “Having always paid the greatest attention to your brother Cardinals, and to the Sovereignty of the Pope, particularly in 1798, when I saved them from Naples, and in 1799, when a British Naval Officer under my orders hoisted the Papal Colours, and hauled down the French, upon the Castle of St. Angelo; I therefore send (although I am sure no British Officer requires such an order) an order for every Officer under my command, to pay your Eminence all the respect due to your high rank, and also to give you every facility in their power to forward the successful termination of your voyage: And if I can be useful in sending your Eminence to Italy, only tell me so, and I shall be happy in the opportunity of assuring your Eminence with what respect I am, your most obedient servant, NELSON AND BRONTE.”—The Cardinal replied from Palma: “The very extraordinary compliment your Excellency has favoured me with, so entirely overcomes me that I am unable to find expressions to demonstrate my gratitude; and I remain, my Lord, much mortified that on account of the afflicting circumstances of the fever which prevails in Spain, it has not been in my power to shew the Commander and Officers of the Corvette, under your Excellency’s orders, all that attention and those civilities, which I ought and wished to have done; although the activity of those Officers gave me little opportunity to do it. I shall remind his Holiness of your Excellency’s zeal towards him, and inform my brethren the Cardinals that you still retain them in your memory. I doubt not but their remembrance of you will be as eternal as my gratitude. I should be happy to find any occasion wherein I could give your Excellency a testimony of my regard. In the mean time I pray God to preserve you many years.”

The continual attention which Lord Nelson had now, for so many months, paid to the

Toulon Squadron, and the variety of conjectures he had constantly formed respecting their future destination, had already presented the West Indies as an object well worthy of the enterprise of Buonaparte: and this more particularly appears from his following short-note to Sir R. Bickerton, dated Victory, *Sept. 6*.—"I shall stand inshore with the star-board Division, and I therefore desire you to keep your present position. I shall come back again in the evening, merely wishing to take a look who are out; for I think they will now push to the Westward, and if they should get out of the Straits, I am of opinion they will try for the West Indies, and then, with 7000 troops, farewell our Islands."—Again in a letter to Sir A. Ball, on the same day, "I should imagine, now the Russians are getting so large a naval force into the Mediterranean, that the Toulon fleet would not think of going to the Eastward: I should rather believe the West Indies more likely for them to succeed in. Suppose this Fleet escapes and gets out of the Straits; I am of opinion I should bend my course to the Westward; for if they carry 7000 men, with what they have at Martinique and Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincent, Antigua, and St. Kitts would fall; and in that case England would be so clamorous for Peace, that we should humble ourselves. What do you think? tell me: I have weighed Ireland against the West Indies, with me, the latter throws the beam up to the ceiling; but I may be wrong, it is at best but a guess, and the World attaches wisdom to him that guesses right. I am sensible, my dear Ball, of your partiality for me; yet I cannot bring myself to suppose, but that one half of the Admirals upon the list would perform the duty of the Mediterranean command as well, at least, as myself, and if the other half of the Admirals was to hear of my Vanity, they would think me a fool—but be that as it may: I am very far from well; at the same time if I were to get better, nothing could please me so much as returning to this command; but I have no interest and another will come, and I think very probably Orde, or Curtis. I can solemnly assure you, that I am at present a poorer man than the day I was ordered to the Mediterranean command, by upwards of 1000*l*: but money I despise, except as it is useful, and I expect my Prize money is embarked in the Toulon Fleet. God bless you, my dear Ball, and ever be assured that I am your most faithful Friend, NELSON AND BRONTE."—In a letter on the same day, September 6, to General Vilettes, after repeating these ideas respecting the object of the French Fleet, he added, "Whatever may be their destination I shall certainly follow, be it even to the East Indies: such a Pursuit would do more, perhaps, towards restoring me to health, than all the doctors together. But I fear this is reserved for some happier man. Not that I can complain, I have had a good race of Glory, but We are never satisfied, although I hope I am duly thankful for the past; yet one cannot help, being at Sea, longing for a little more. Latouche has given me the slip, he died of the Cholic, perhaps Buonaparte's, for they say he was a rank Republican. Dumanoir is the Rear Admiral at present in Toulon. God bless you, my dear General, and believe me ever your much obliged Friend."

His following letter, which was addressed through Mr. Marsden to the Board, will shew, that notwithstanding the various other objects which so constantly employed NELSON's mind, he was equally intent on devising the most effectual modes for preserving the health of his Fleet.—“...I am sure their Lordships will see the justness of the case as plain as I do. Each man was formerly allowed a pint of oatmeal on certain days; but as it was found that generally a man could not get a pint of dry oatmeal down his throat, and, I suppose, thinking it no longer necessary to present this saving to the Purser, half a pint of oatmeal was issued instead of a pint, and in lieu of the other half pint, a proportion of molasses: It has sometimes occurred in the Channel fleet, that no molasses was to be procured, nor was there any allowance made for such temporary omissions. In the West Indies Cocoa and Sugar are allowed, in the Channel, I hear, Tea and Sugar. In the Mediterranean we have no Molasses nor any substitute; nor is our want of Molasses temporary but lasting. I beg, therefore, with all due respect to call their Lordships' attention to this Circumstance; and to propose, that when Molasses cannot be obtained, a proportion of Sugar should be allowed to be mixed with the Oatmeal, in lieu of Molasses: and that if Sugar cannot be obtained, the men having no substitute, in lieu, should be paid the saving as in all other species of provisions. It is not necessary to enter more at large upon this subject, their Lordships' wisdom will direct their proceedings.”

(1804.) *To Sir A. Ball, Oct. 4.* ‘Captain Leake, who I believe has letters for you, if not I know he is instructed to correspond and communicate with you, is as you will see, a person perfectly in the confidence of Government; and he is very highly spoken of. From the little I have seen of him in one day, I think he merits their confidence by his good sense. He has begged me to present him to you. I sincerely hope, my dear Ball, that the Russians will not act, so as to have the Austrians united with the French and Turks against them and us; but Russia must be careful how she conducts herself in the Ionian Republic and the Morea. I have great fears; I think I see much too close a connection between France and Austria, and we know the Turks would jump to join such an alliance. The times are big with great events. I wish my health was better. I have mentioned to Lord Melville what you have thought about Sir Richard Bickerton, in case I should be able to return; but I do not expect such a compliance, time will shew. Toulon was safe on Sunday last, as Boyle will tell you. No Admiral has hoisted his flag in the room of Latouche—he is gone, and all his lies with him. The French Papers say he died in consequence of walking so often up to the signal post, upon Sepet, to watch us; I always pronounced that would be his death.”

The following letter to Earl Spencer more fully shews what the Admiral thought of that Statesman, and is equally honourable to both their characters. *Victory, Oct. 10.* ‘I do assure you, my dear Lord, that not one of all your naval friends, and you ought to have many.

loves, honours, and respects you more than myself, or is more grateful for all your kindness. Circumstances may have separated us ; but my sincere respect and attachment can never be shaken by either political or other considerations, and it will always give me pleasure, in shewing my regard for the Father by attentions to the Son. The sight of your letter called forth feelings of which I have reason to be proud, but which cannot be readily expressed : therefore I shall only say for myself, *That Nelson never has nor can change.*

In one of four letters which he addressed on the same day to Lord Melville, the Admiral expressed himself as being satisfied with the arrangements that had been made by the board of Admiralty, as to line of Battle ships, yet lamented the manner in which the Service continued to be cramped for want of frigates. A deficiency of them in the Mediterranean allowed the enemy's privateers to increase, and considerable depredations to be made on our valuable trade in that sea : " But," added he, " I am sure, my Lord, from your wise beginning, that a full crop of credit, and I believe of glory, will accrue to the Board of Admiralty."

(1804.) In writing during October to his Excellency Mr. Elliot at Naples, Lord Nelson reverted to the Politics of that Court : " Your Excellency's summary account of the situation of Naples since the negotiations with Russia, and of your very interesting communication with the King in person, is perfectly clear ; and if I had not known Naples, and the men who move the wheels of Government so well as I do, it would perfectly have explained the situation of affairs in that kingdom to me. I was in hopes Circello would, before this time, have been in the place of the Chevalier Micheroux : neither our Government, nor any English Minister, or Officer, dare place confidence in the latter. I hope he is loyal and true to his King ; but much more is required for a foreign Court to disclose its plans of operations and ultimate views ; *implicit confidence must be placed*—and with the Chevalier Micheroux, so far from *confidence* the greatest *distrust* must prevail. This I assert is my opinion, of which your Excellency will make a proper use. The new Ministry seem to have honoured me with unbounded confidence ; and I understand that your letters relative to all the affairs of Naples, both as to its safety and to pecuniary assistance, are of the same tenor as mine. Their regret at General Acton's leaving the helm at such an important moment, is most strongly expressed : none of us can have equal confidence in any other man. Circello, I believe, is sincerely attached to Acton and the King. The great and good Queen sometimes, I fear, allows herself to be guided by people not possessed of one half of her excellent head and heart : but the times are such that kingdoms must not be played with, for it is not difficult to see that if Austria joins with France, so will the Turks, and then Russia will have her hands full ; and so far from Russia assisting Naples, it may involve her in total ruin, without the greatest care and circumspection.... What I can do shall be done, and perhaps my being in England and conversing with Ministers, if I

am in their confidence, may be of more real use to the kingdom of Naples than my being here during the winter completely done up, and in the spring be obliged to retire for ever. I sincerely hope that your Excellency's news from Berlin is correct, but I have my doubts: it would be too much happiness for Europe which seems bent on destroying itself."

(1804.) One favourite idea of Lord Nelson to avert the impending storm, was the security of **SARDINIA**; and in writing to Lord Harrowby, October 11th, he dwelt on that subject. 'My Lord: You must excuse that want of regularity and method in arranging the various subjects, so easy to Statesmen, but with which a man who has been all his life at sea cannot be supposed to be so well acquainted. I received Captain Leake with that openness, which was necessary to make myself as well acquainted with him in three days, as others might do in as many years. I have given him all the knowledge of the men, their views, &c. &c. as far as I have been able to form a judgment. We know every thing respecting **SARDINIA** which is necessary—that it has no money, no troops, no means of defence. . . I will only mention the state of one town, *Alghiera*, fortified with seventy large cannon, and containing 10 or 12,000 inhabitants. It has forty soldiers and a Governor, not one of whom has been paid any wages for more than three years. They levy a small tax upon what comes in or goes out of the town. Guns honeycombed for want of paint, and only two carriages fit to stand firing; and the Governor shews this, and says, *how long can we go on in this manner?* This place was intended to, and would in our hands, possess the whole of the Coral Fishery; but for want of active commerce grass grows in the streets. I could repeat the same miserable state of the City of Sassari, where there is a regular University established, now in misery. The French mean to make that the seat of Government; it is in a beautiful and fertile plain twelve miles from the sea, to which a river flows."

Notwithstanding the weak state of his health from having been so long at sea, Lord Nelson would never leave his ship: On the 17th of October he carried his Fleet to the **Madlena** Islands for wood, water, and other necessaries; and although the Royal Family of **Sardinia** were at all times ready to shew every attention to their gallant preserver, he refused all indulgence, and persisted in his determination of remaining on board. Before he left **Madlena**, feeling, as he did at that time, that he might not be allowed to return from **England** where he expected shortly to go, he presented a piece of Church Plate to the Superior as a small token of esteem for the inhabitants, and as a remembrance of the hospitable treatment which the Fleet under his Lordship's Command had ever received from them. He also requested H. R. H. the Duke de Genevoise to advance the Governor of **Madlena**, **Millieri**, to the rank of Major, for his correct and strict attention to the edicts of his Royal Highness respecting Neutrality. On the 26th of October the Fleet got under weigh at **Madlena**, consisting of the **Victory**, **Canopus**, **Superb**, **Spencer**, **Tigre**, **Royal Sovereign**,

Leviathan, Excellent, Belleisle, and Conqueror: and, as he added in his Diary, *with not a man sick in the Fleet*. On the 30th of October he looked into Toulon, where Vice Admiral Villeneuve had hoisted his flag, and sent the following account of the Enemy to Lord Melville. "The weather was very thick when I looked into Toulon; but I believe a Vice Admiral has hoisted his flag, his name I have not yet heard. They now amuse themselves with night signals, and by the quantity of rockets and blue lights they shew with every signal, they plainly mark their position. These Gentlemen must soon be so perfect in theory, that they will come to sea to put their knowledge into practice. Could I see that day it would make me happy."

(1804.) During this month, October, Lord Nelson had been puzzled, and before his own despatches arrived rather irritated, respecting the measures that had been taken to counteract the designs of the Spaniards in favour of the French; and this he expressed in letters to Sir Alexander Ball, to Captain Gore, and Mr. Marsden. On the 22d of Sept. the John Bull cutter had sailed from Plymouth with secret despatches for Lord Nelson, and for Admiral Cornwallis, respecting the Spaniards, whose conduct had begun to be rather suspicious. Admiral Cornwallis was instructed to detach two frigates, to proceed with all despatch off Cadiz and the entrance of the Straits, and to unite their endeavours, with any of his Majesty's ships they might find there, to intercept and detain some Spanish frigates expected with treasure from South America. With a liberality inherent in his character, and which corresponded with the integrity of his Government, NELSON anxiously wished, if possible, to avoid a War with Spain: *I still fervently hope*, said he, in writing to Mr. Consul Gibert, *that no War between the two Countries may take place, and that Spain will not any longer be the tool of Buonaparte*: and before he had received his despatches, he had written as follows to Captain Gore, "Unless you receive orders from the Admiralty, it is my most positive directions, that neither you, nor any ship under your command, do molest or interrupt in any manner the lawful Commerce of Spain, with whom we are at

"The despatches for Lord Nelson were dated Sept. 19, and received Dec. 25. He was therein directed, to take only such measures of Precaution as might be necessary for opposing or counteracting any hostile attempts of the Spaniards against the British dominions or their trade. He was, however, not to suffer any act of hostility or aggression (with the exception of detaining Spanish ships with treasure on board) to be committed by his Fleet until he received further orders, or had obtained positive information from unquestionable authority, of Hostilities having been committed by the Spaniards against his Majesty's interest. Additional directions, dated Sept. 25, were also sent for the Captains and Commanders of the Mediterranean Fleet, to keep a vigilant look out, and to detain Spanish ships or vessels laden with military stores. And on the 25th of November, lest any misapprehension might still have been entertained, further instructions were sent out, Not to detain in the first instance any ship belonging to his Catholic Majesty, sailing from a port of Spain, but to require the Commander to return directly to the port whence he came; and only in the event of his refusing to comply with such requisition, was the Admiral to detain and send her to Gibraltar, or to England. He was also further directed not to detain any Spanish homeward bound ship of war, unless she should have treasure on board, nor merchant ships of that nation however laden, on any account whatever.

perfect peace and amity." And he soon afterwards added, " Although I most sincerely hope that it will not be a Spanish War, yet if it be, I shall be glad to hear that you have made a fortune. I expect my successor every hour."

With some transports detached to the Black Sea, Lord Nelson had been directed by the Admiralty to send an intelligent Officer, and Lieutenant Woodman had been fixed on by him for that important service; who, on his return, in addition to his official letter and notes, communicated much interesting information relative to the future views of the Russians. The Admiral informed Lord Melville that he selected Lieutenant Woodman, though a perfect stranger, for that service, on account of the character he bore; and that from the limited sphere he had to move in, he had executed it in a most satisfactory manner. On the 3d of November, he sent the following account of the proceedings of the Sardinian Parliament to Lord Camden: " *SARDINIA*, if it be possible, becomes every day in greater misery. The *Stamenti*, which is formed of proportions of the Nobles, Clergy, and the People, have dismissed themselves. They were summoned to meet in June or July; the two first classes met, but the number of the last class did not arrive until the Viceroy had opened the Session; when, instead of conciliating and promising to assist them in the formation of such regulations as might benefit the Island, he stated at once the distresses of the Government, and asked for one million of dollars. The last Class finding that nothing was wanted of them but money, never filled up the legal numbers. The Clergy and Nobles agreed to the demand; but the meeting not being legal, no money could be raised. Yet as the Clergy and Nobles had consented to the supply, 50 or 60,000 dollars have been squeezed out of them, not one farthing of which has gone to the real wants of the Island. The Clergy and Nobles are now, I hear, very much disgusted at being forced to pay this money, whilst the People pay nothing. This is the present state of Sardinia; it cannot last."—Having soon afterwards received intelligence that the French were assembling an army of 10,000 men at Villettri, and being of opinion that it could be with no other intention, than for Buonaparte to possess himself of Gaicta whenever it might suit his purposes, Lord Nelson sent the *Juno* frigate, Captain H. Richardson, to secure the safety of the King of Sardinia; and having made arrangements with Sir Alexander Ball for his Majesty's reception at Malta, communicated an account of these precautionary measures to the King himself. It was not until the 12th of November that Lord Nelson first heard of the arrival of the Spanish frigates, laden with money, at Spithead;* and on the 17th, in

* On the 5th of October, the *Indefatigable*, Graham Moore; *Medusa*, J. Gore; *Amphion*, Sutton; and *Lively*, G. E. Hamond, when endeavouring to detain four Spanish frigates, *la Medée*, *la Clara*, *la Fama*, and *la Mercedes*, laden with treasure, an Action became inevitable notwithstanding the earnest wish of Captain Moore to execute his orders without bloodshed. The *Mercedes* soon blew up with 800,000 dollars on board; the other three were taken, with their rich cargoes, consisting of 32 chests of platina, 1,859,216 dollars in silver, 1,119,658 gold, reduced into dollars, and 150,011 ingots of gold reduced into dollars.

writing to the Hon. Captain Capel, "the question of Peace or War with Spain is still," said he, "undecided, at least on the 27th of October, when my letters are dated from Madrid."

(1804.) During the night of the 14th of November, intelligence arrived in the Mediterranean, that the Spaniards had declared War, which was officially announced by them on the 12th of the ensuing month. On the 14th of December, the Admiralty sent out word, that Mr. Frere had left Madrid, and that an embargo had been laid on all British ships and vessels in the ports of Spain; but owing to his subsequent proceedings, the Admiral did not receive this until the 14th of March, 1805. By this despatch he was directed, "In case of the detention of any Spanish ships or vessels, in consequence of these instructions, to give the most positive orders to the Officers to whom the charge of such ships or vessels might be intrusted, to take all possible care that no embezzlement of any kind whatever took place on board them." An order which was entirely congenial with his upright and disinterested character; no man deprecated more than Nelson the smallest approaches to a contrary behaviour: *Thank God!* exclaimed he on a similar occasion, *I shall get no money: the World, I know, thinks that to be our God, and now it will be deceived, as far as relates to us.*

That regard for their Sicilian Majesties which Lord Nelson uniformly cherished, was strongly expressed in two of the last letters which he addressed to them on the 19th of December, from the Gulf of Palma, a short time before his pursuit of the French Fleet. To the King he said, "I have heard of the repeated and vexatious decrees of the French in your kingdom, may God avert the political storm from your Majesty. I have written to the faithful and good General Acton by this opportunity. The French Fleet was safe in Toulon, Dec. 12th; but by reports they are embarking troops, and some expedition is certainly near taking place."—To the Queen he wrote at considerable length: "Although I have addressed a letter to the King to assure him of my unalterable attachment, yet I cannot resist declaring the same to your Majesty, for my obligations are equal to both, and so is my gratitude. Never perhaps was Europe more critically situated than at this moment, and never was the probability of universal monarchy more nearly being realised than in the person of the Corsican. I can see but little difference between the name of Emperor, King, or Prefect, if they perfectly obey his despotic orders. Your Majesty's illustrious Mother would not have so submitted. Prussia is trying to be destroyed last, Spain is little better than a province of France, Russia does nothing on the grand scale. Would to God these Great Powers reflected, that the boldest measures are the safest. They allow small States to fall and to serve the enormous power of France, without appearing to reflect that every kingdom which is annexed to France makes their existence as independent states more precarious. Your Majesty sees all this, and much more than I can: for your Majesty is the true daughter of the great Maria Theresa. Your good heart

will forgive my free manner of writing, it may be the last I shall ever address to you; for if I do not very soon get quiet on shore, my thread of a feeble life will break: but God's will be done. My last breath will be for the felicity of your Majesty, the King, and Royal Family."

Anno
Ætat. 46. (1805.) On the first day of this eventful year, Lord Nelson, in writing to Mr. Foresti at Corfu, informed him that the French Fleet had been safe in Toulon on the 27th of December; but that each report which arrived, continued to declare they were embarking troops, some said for Naples and Sicily, others for the Morea or Egypt, and every person, in short, thought they were destined for his particular Country. On the 2d of January, the Active, Captain R. H. Moubray, and the Seahorse, Hon. C. Boyle, were sent off Toulon to watch the enemy's operations. Our Fleet was on the 9th off Asinaria standing on for Madelena, where it anchored on the 11th. On the 15th, Captain Keates, who had been sent with the Superb to Algiers on the 28th of December, joined; *having*, as the Admiral noted in his Diary, *arranged our differences respecting the Dey with great judgment*.—The first attempt of the French Fleet during this year, to escape from Toulon, was also thus noticed in his Diary. "Jan. 19. Hard gales N. W. At three P. M. the Active and Seahorse arrived at Madelena, with information that the French Fleet put to sea from Toulon yesterday. These frigates were close to them at ten o'clock last night, and saw one of them until two o'clock this morning. Unmoored and weighed. At twenty eight minutes past four, made the general signal for each ship to carry a light and repeat signals during the night, made by the Admiral. Ran through the passage between Biche and Sardinia at six o'clock. At thirty five minutes past six, burnt a blue light, and at forty five minutes past, another."—It is the opinion of H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence,* that the promptness thus shewn by his noble Friend was the greatest instance of his determined spirit as a Sea Officer, and H. R. H. noticed it as such in the House of Lords. The Passage was so narrow, that only one of the Fleet could pass at a time, and each was guided merely by the stern lights of the preceding ship.

His Diary and private Log continue his own modest and concise account. "At seven the whole Fleet was clear of the Passage. Sent Seahorse round the southern end of Sardinia to St. Peters to look out for them, but to prevent the Enemy as much as possible, from seeing her, and the moment Capt. Boyle discovered them to return to me. From their position, when last seen, and the course they were steering, S. or S. by W. they could only be bound round the southern end of Sardinia. At nine P. M. bore away along that Island with the following ships, Victory, Donnegal, Superb, Canopus, Spencer, Tigre, Royal Sovereign, Leviathan, Belleisle, Conqueror, Swiftsure, and Active frigate. During the night it was

* From minutes of a conversation at Bushey, with his Royal Highness.

squally unsettled weather. At forty eight minutes past eight, burnt a blue light, at half past ten, down topgallant yards and struck topgallant masts. At midnight, moderate breezes and clear. At two, burnt a blue light, and at four burnt another and made more sail. At thirty five minutes past seven, Active made the signal for a sail, and immediately afterwards that the strange sail was a vessel of war, which proved to be the Seahorse. At fifty minutes past seven, made the signal that Spencer and Leviathan were to be a detached squadron; delivered the Hon. Captain Stopford a letter to that effect, directing him to keep on my weather beam with them, being fast sailing ships, to act as occasion might require. At fifty five minutes past eight, made Active's signal to close nearer the Admiral, and at twenty minutes past nine made Swiftsure's to do the same. At twenty five minutes past nine, made the general signal to prepare for Battle. At twenty five minutes past eleven, made the same signal, to form the established order of sailing in two columns, and the signal to keep in close order. Spencer and Leviathan separated from this order, to be the readier to push at any detached ships of the Enemy. All night very hard gales from S. S. W. to S. W. which continued throughout the next day; during great part of the time we were under storm staysails. On the following day, *Tuesday, Jan. 22*, we had in the morning very heavy squalls* from the Westward, Seahorse in sight coming down. At half past nine, she made the signal that she had been chased by the Enemy's frigates; and at ten, that she had intelligence to communicate. At eleven, Captain Boyle informed me, that yesterday afternoon, at three o'clock, he had seen a French frigate standing in for Pulla, but it was so thick he could not discern the French Fleet, and it blew a heavy gale of wind at S. S. W. I sincerely pray for a favourable wind; for we cannot be more than twenty leagues from them, and if Cagliari be their object, and the Sardes will but defend their Capital, we shall be in time to save them: Pray God it may be so."—The Active, Captain Moubray, and Seahorse, Hon. C. Boyle, were then detached by the Admiral to reconnoitre the Bay of Cagliari, and to ascertain whether the Enemy's squadron was there; but could obtain no intelligence. The Active was then sent with a letter to the Viceroy and Consul at Cagliari, whilst the Admiral, in vain endeavouring to get round the island of Serpentera, remained during the 24th anxiously looking out for the Active to bring information; but, on rejoining the Fleet, she made the signal that she had gained no intelligence. On the 25th of January, the Hon. C. Boyle came on board the Victory, and received an order to proceed to Naples with the Admiral's despatches for Mr. Elliot and Captain Sotheron, and to return immediately and join the Fleet off Stromboli. The Active on the 26th was directed to cruise three days East, five or six leagues

* Lord Nelson, as was his invariable custom, marked in his Diary the variations of the barometer, that he might form a correct idea of the weather to be expected, and from them he increased or diminished the sail carried by the Fleet.

from the island of Serpentera, for the purpose of speaking any of our ships that were in search of the Squadron, at the expiration of which time she was to follow the Fleet according to her orders. The *Phœbe*, Hon. T. B. Capel, on the 26th, joined the Fleet, and informed the Admiral, that on the 19th he had kept company with an Enemy's ship of 80 guns until he got into Ajaccio, which had lost all her topmasts, and her main topsail yard was through the top. Captain Hallowell in the *Tigre* was also on the 27th detached to Sir J. Acton at Palermo, and with letters to be forwarded by express to Sir A. Ball at Malta, requesting every possible means might instantly be employed to obtain intelligence of the Enemy. On the 28th Captain Hallowell returned from Palermo; no intelligence of the Enemy's destination had reached Sir J. Acton, but he sent word, that accounts had arrived from Paris of 7000 troops having been ordered to embark at Toulon, and from Nice, of 10,000, and as supposed for Sicily; he was however convinced that 10,000 would not succeed against Sicily, as their force consisted of 9000 regular troops, and 18,700 militia.

The sanguine and disappointed mind of Nelson was again on the rack, and his nights became sleepless: "*Stromboli*," as he remarks in his Diary, "*burnt very strongly throughout the night of the 28th*: passed round it at three in the morning. As we ran outside the Lipari Islands, we had been obliged to steer E. by N. and for two hours E. N. E. by compass; when by the Spanish chart, E. and E. by S. were laid down as the proper course."—In Lord Nelson's opinion, Egypt was decidedly the great object of the French, and he therefore determined to pursue their Fleet thither. On the 30th, the *Bittern*, Captain Corbet, was sent for information of the Enemy to the island of Pantellaria, and Tunis, and to rejoin at appointed places. The next day the Hon. T. B. Capel was detached to Coron in the *Morea*; and, in case of not succeeding, to cruise off Gozo for a week, for the purpose of speaking vessels; and the *Hydra*, Captain Maitland, was directed to proceed round the southern end of Sardinia, or through the Straits of Bonifaccio as wind might permit, off Toulon, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the Enemy's squadron had put back. On the 31st, the Hon. O. Boyle was detached with a similar order, by the eastern side of Corsica round Cape Corse; and Captain Raynsford, in the *Morgiana*, was directed to proceed to Porto Ferrajo in Elba, and to St. Florence in Corsica, endeavouring to speak vessels from Marseilles, and to look into Ajaccio after the Enemy's crippled ship.—The land of Egypt was made by the *Canopus* on the 4th of February; and as the *Anson*, with the Admiral's despatches to Mr. Briggs, our Consul at Alexandria, had been driven to leeward, Captain Hallowell was on the 7th sent in. The Turks at Alexandria were much alarmed at the appearance of our ships, believing them to have been French; but, as the Admiral observes, "they were in no condition to defend that most important place from an attack, by surprise, of five hundred men. The three Turkish frigates in the harbour loaded their guns, and made some preparations for defence."—On the 8th, Captain Hallowell returned, and informed the

Admiral that the Enemy's Fleet had not been seen or heard of at Alexandria. Lord Nelson then bore up and steered for Malta. The ill success of his exertions, so similar to what had happened in 1798, produced the same effect* on his harassed mind, and was equally cavilled at by his impatient countrymen at home. His letter to Lord Melville, written on the 14th of February when within 100 leagues of Malta, shews with what reflection and judgment Egypt had been determined on by him, as the object of the Enemy; and how cautious all men should be, whether in power or not, of attaching blame to the unsuccessful exertions of great naval or military Officers. "Feeling, as I do, that I am entirely responsible to my King and Country for the whole of my conduct, I find no difficulty at this moment, when I am so unhappy at not finding the French Fleet, nor having obtained the smallest information where they are, to lay before you the whole of the reasons which induced me to pursue the line of conduct I have done. I have consulted no man, therefore the whole blame of ignorance in forming my Judgment must rest with me. I would allow no man to take from me an atom of my Glory, had I fallen in with the French Fleet, nor do I desire any man to partake of any of the Responsibility, all is mine, right or wrong: Therefore I shall now state my reasons, after seeing that Sardinia, Naples, and Sicily were safe, for believing that Egypt was the destination of the French Fleet; and at this moment of sorrow, I still feel that I have acted right. I. The wind had blown from N. E. to S. E. for fourteen days before they sailed; therefore they might without difficulty have gone to the westward. II. They came out with gentle breezes at N. W. and N. N. W. Had they been bound to Naples, the most natural thing for them to have done would have been to run along their own shore to the eastward, where they would have had ports every twenty leagues of coast to take shelter in. III. They bore away in the evening of the 18th, with a strong gale at N. W. or N. N. W. steering S. or S. by W. It blew so hard that the Seahorse went more than thirteen knots an hour, to get out of their way. Desirable as Sardinia^b is for them, they could get it without risking their Fleet, although certainly not so quickly as by attacking Cagliari . . . however I left nothing to chance in that respect, and therefore went off Cagliari . . . Having afterwards gone to Sicily, both to Palermo and Messina, and thereby given encouragement for a defence, and knowing all was safe at Naples, I had only the Morea and Egypt to look to: for although I knew one of the French ships was crippled, yet I considered the Character of Buonaparte; and that the orders given by him, on the banks of the Seine, would not take into consideration winds or weather; nor indeed could the accident of even three or four ships alter in my opinion a destination of importance: therefore such an accident did not weigh in my mind, and I went first to the Morea, and then to Egypt. The result of my inquiries at Coron, and Alexandria, confirm

* See page 66.

^b In a letter to Mr. Consul Magnon, Lord Nelson gave it as his opinion, that if the weather had been fine, he should have fallen in with the French Fleet off the Island of Toro.

me in my former opinion; and therefore, my Lord, if my Obstinacy, or Ignorance is so gross, I should be the first to recommend your superseding me: But, on the contrary, if, as I flatter myself, it should be found, that my ideas of the probable destination of the French Fleet were well founded, in the opinion of his Majesty's Ministers, then I shall hope for the consolation of having my conduct approved by his Majesty; who will, I am sure, weigh my whole proceedings in the scale of justice. The Pasha of Coron informed me, that the French Ambassador was to leave Constantinople on the 17th or 18th of January; which tallying with the sailing of the French Fleet, might probably be a plan of Buonaparte not to subject himself to the charge of invading the Country of a friendly power, as the French Government had been charged with, when he went before to Egypt."—Lord Nelson then proceeded to describe the state of Egypt, and the change which had taken place since the French invasion of it in 1798—That then the Mameloucs and all the inhabitants were against their invaders, whereas they were now ready to receive either the English or French. In writing on the same subject to Sir Alexander Ball, he thus described that innate support which a great mind possesses: "When I call to remembrance all the circumstances which I know at this moment, I approve, if nobody else does, of my own conduct. We know, my dear Ball, that the success of a man's measures is the criterion by which the world judges of the wisdom or folly of them. I have done my best. I feel I have acted right; and should Ministers think otherwise, they must get somebody of more wisdom."

(1805.) Lord Nelson soon afterwards received intelligence from Mr Elliot at Naples, that the French Fleet, after having been dispersed in a gale of wind, had been compelled to return into Toulon harbour; and that a considerable number of Saddles and Muskets had been originally embarked. "Those gentlemen," said the Admiral in writing to Lord Melville, "are not accustomed to a Gulf of Lyons Gale, which we have buffeted for twenty one months, and not carried away a spar. I most sincerely hope they will soon be in a state to put to sea again. Every body has an opinion respecting the destination of the Enemy, mine is more fully confirmed that it was Egypt: to what other Country could they want to carry Saddles and Arms? I yet hope to meet them before I go hence. I would die ten thousand deaths, rather than give up my Command when the Enemy is expected every day to be at sea."—In this pursuit of the French Fleet, as in the former one, he had felt the same distress for Frigates, which he so emphatically styled *The Eyes of his Fleet*; and in writing to Lord Melville respecting the extent of the Mediterranean Command to Cadiz, which would have been continued had Mr. Addington's government remained, Lord Nelson thus prefaced his letter: "It is only with great deference to the superior judgment of your Lordship, that I venture once more to touch upon the subject of the great want of Frigates and Sloops on the Mediterranean station; for I am fully

aware of the want you have of them at home, and for other commands—the more Stations are multiplied, the greater must be the demand for small ships. I have, in a former letter, stated my opinion freely upon the Stations of Gibraltar and of Cadiz being given to the same Officer; for without that is done, our Convoys can never be considered safe. It may be thought by some, but I am confident your Lordship's liberal mind will not think so, that a desire of more extensive command for the hope of prize money actuates me. Such people know me not; let me be placed alongside of the French Admiral. Had the Station been continued to me, I should have appointed that excellent Officer, Sir R. Strachan, to the command at Gibraltar and off Cadiz; with, if to be had, one other ship of the line, four frigates, and as many sloops, and to have covered our Convoys both from Carthage and Cadiz: and something of that kind your Lordship will find it still necessary to adopt, to insure our Convoys. There is also another, although perhaps a minor consideration, why the Officer at Gibraltar should be under the orders of the Admiral commanding the Mediterranean Fleet—which is, that any Admiral independent of that station, takes all the stores which he chuses, or fancies he wants for the service of his Fleet; thereby placing the Fleet in the Gulf of Lyons in great distress for many articles. I again beg your Lordship's indulgence for the freedom of my remarks."—Prize Money, as he justly observed in this letter, never influenced his public conduct: When sending to Sir A. Ball a list of the Sloops and Brigs that had been detached to the eastward, he said, *If I had them, I do assure you not one of them should go prize hunting—that I never have done.* And when writing to Lord Moira: "A blow struck in Europe," said NELSON, "would do more towards making us respected, and of course facilitate a Peace, than the possession of Mexico or Peru; in both of which, I am sure, we are perfectly ignorant of the disposition of the inhabitants; and above all, I hope we shall have no Buccaneering Expeditions. Such Services fritter away our Troops and Ships, when they are so much wanted for more important occasions, and are of no use beyond enriching a few individuals. I know not, my dear Lord, if these sentiments coincide with yours: but as Glory, and not Money, has through life been your pursuit, I should rather think you will agree with me, *That in Europe and not abroad, is the place for us to strike a Blow*, which would make the Corsican look aghast even upon his usurped Throne.—You may rely upon every attention in my power to Captain Austen. I hope to see him alongside a French 80 gun ship, and he cannot be better placed than in the Canopus, which was *once* a French Admiral's ship, and struck to me. Captain Austen I knew a little of before, he is an excellent young man. I hope soon, my dear Lord, to congratulate you upon the birth of a Son, who will emulate his Father's Manliness. In these days I see many people, but very few Men."

(1805.) On the 27th of February in the evening he was at length, after this unsuccessful pursuit of the Enemy, compelled by violent gales of wind to anchor his Fleet in the

bay of Pulla, Sardinia ; and his disquietude at that time may be judged of, from the following note to Sir R. Bickerton : *What a dreadful thing not either to get hold of the French Fleet, nor even to hear of them since their return, except from Naples :—what Weather! did you ever see such in almost any country? It has forced me to anchor here, in order to prevent being drove to leeward, but I shall go to sea the moment it moderates.* As he observed to Captain Ball, he was not at that moment to be envied in his Command, and had passed a long and very anxious Winter. It was a most severe mortification to him that the French Fleet had been crippled—*Buonaparte himself, said he, cannot feel more disappointed than I. Had the Weather been fine, we should have met off the Island of Toro.* After beating about the Fleet was again compelled from another heavy gale at N.W. to anchor on the eighth of March in the Gulf of Palma. During the next night, he passed with the Victory, in heavy rain and blowing strong, through a passage where only one ship of the line followed him. *You, my dear Ball, concludes one of his letters, you will suppose my Misery; it is at its full, and must change.* From the 21st of January when, if the Enemy had not been crippled, he was so fully of opinion he should have fallen in with them, every ship in his Fleet had remained prepared for battle, with not a bulk head up night or day. To add to his distress a Convoy had been intercepted, which, as he observes in one of his letters, would not have happened if he could have ordered the Officer off Cadiz: he however sent ships to protect the vessels. “I hear,” adds the Admiral, “I am not to be allowed to send a vessel even with my despatches to Lisbon—I bear it patiently: when I see Lord Melville, and Nepean, something will be done. Either Sir John Orde should command all, or myself.”

It was Lord Nelson's intention in the next place, (as appears from what he styled *most secret memoranda*, which were addressed to Captain Bayntun of the Leviathan) to make his appearance off Barcelona, in order to induce the Enemy to believe that he was fixed on the coast of Spain, when he had every reason to believe that they would again put to sea, as their troops were still embarked: “From off Barcelona,” added he, “I shall proceed direct to the general rendezvous; and should Leviathan be there before me, and I find either Termagant, or Bittern, it would be very desirable to have a vessel fixed ten leagues West of St. Pierres, in case the French Fleet should not steer close to Sardinia; for I think Egypt ~~is~~ still their destination. Captain Bayntun will be telegraphed when he is to proceed upon this service, which will not be done whilst a hope remains of the Fleet's getting to its other rendezvous in any reasonable time.”—On the 23d of March, when off St. Pierres, he directed Captain Richardson, of the Juno frigate, as from the appearance of the weather it seemed likely to come on to blow from the S.E., to proceed as expeditiously as possible to the Gulf of Palma; and if he found that the Fleet could not get up from the S.E. winds, which would make it improper to anchor with the Ships in the Gulf, Captain

tain Richardson was then desired to cause the Victuallers and Storeships, with such other ships as might be there, to weigh and join the Admiral: "I shall make the best of my way," added Lord Nelson, "off Vache and Toro to join them, beyond which they are not to be brought, unless by signal or orders from me." On the Victory's afterwards coming to anchor in the Gulf of Palma, he despatched the Amazon, Captain Parker, to bring the Victuallers from Malta, of which the Fleet began to be in serious want; and on the 26th, Rear Admiral Louis joined from England in the Ambuscade, Captain Durban.

(1805.) Lord Nelson, at the close of this month of March, had nearly given up all idea of the French Fleet again leaving Toulon; and the time was rapidly approaching, when, being of opinion that they would be laid up for the summer months, he had determined to return to England to recruit his health. *I had hopes, said he in writing at that time to a civilian, Dr. Sewell, to have sent the French Fleet for condemnation, and although my hopes diminish, yet it is possible it may arrive before April is over; after which some other Admiral must have that great Felicity.* He soon afterwards received a report, that the French had certainly embarked troops on the 21st of March; upon which his jaded spirits began to revive. On Saturday, March 30, his Squadron weighed from the Bay of Palma, and on the 1st of April anchored in Pulla Bay in the Gulf of Cagliari, to water. On the 3d they again weighed and made sail from Pulla, towards Toulon, and were joined by the Hydra, Captain G. Mundy. The weather on the 4th was variable and unsettled, light breezes, hazy, and drizzling rain: When suddenly the Phœbe, Hon. T. B. Capel, was discovered in the Offing with the signal flying, *That the French Admiral was at Sea.*—Villeneuve had again sailed, on the morning of March 31, from Toulon, with eleven ships of the line, seven frigates, and two brigs, with the wind at N.E. and had steered S.S.W. He was first discovered by our frigates at eight o'clock, and was last seen by Captain Capel at sunset on the same day, when the wind came fresh from the W.N.W. The Active, Captain Moubray, stood upon a wind to the S.W. all night, but lost sight of them. During the two next days there was little wind, southerly and easterly. On Wednesday and Thursday, were fresh N.W. breezes, and the next day it became nearly calm. Neither from the Enemy's course, nor manœuvres, could any correct judgment be formed, whether the French Fleet had an easterly or westerly destination; but when, last observed, on the evening of the 31st, they were steering towards the coast of Africa. Cruisers were despatched in all directions, and Lord Nelson immediately addressed the following Order to Captain Thomas, of the Ætna bomb. *Proceed off Cagliari, fire guns, and call out the Seahorse: desire Captain Boyle to join the Fame now standing to the westward, as I do not*

• On the 7th Captain Boyle was directed to proceed to Maritimo to know if the French had passed within the last four or five days, and he was then to join the Admiral off Palermo.

think the French will make Toro. I can tell him no more, as my movements must be very uncertain. To Captain Durban of the Ambuscade, he at the same time wrote, "Proceed to Galita, communicate with the Fishermen, and try and find out if they have seen the French Fleet. I shall lie to all night and drift for Galita, and I shall try to keep within Sardinia and Galita till you join. If I am led away by information, I shall endeavour to send a letter to Palma, St. Pierre's, or Cagliari."—Captain Moubray of the Active was also directed to steer S. by E., true and make the coast of Barbary, and after remaining twenty-four hours on that station, to endeavour to join the Admiral.

(1805.) *To Lord Melville, April 5. Midway between the Coast of Barbary and Sardinia.* "My dear Lord: Although I feel so far comfortable that the French Fleet is at sea, yet I must have a natural and I hope a laudable anxiety of mind, until I have the happiness of seeing them. However, I have covered the channel from Barbary, to Toro, with Frigates and the Fleet. The French could not pass before to day if this be their route. I must leave as little as possible to chance, and I shall make sure they are to the Eastward of me, before I risk either Sardinia, Sicily, or Naples; for they may delay their time of coming even this distance, from an expectation that I shall push for Egypt, and thus leave them at liberty to act against Sardinia, Sicily, or Naples. I have taken every thing into my most serious consideration; and although I may err in my judgment, yet your Lordship may rely, that I will do what I think is best for the Honour of my King and Country, and for the protection of his Majesty's Allies. I will not say more."—He also, on the same day, sent information of what had taken place to Mr. Stratton, our Minister at Constantinople, and that, when last seen, the 'Enemy were steering directly for the coast of Africa, precisely the route which Ganteaume had taken when he attempted to land troops in Egypt. By the same opportunity he wrote to the Grand Vizier in order to put the Turks still more on their guard, and to secure their cooperation. He assured the Grand Vizier of his inviolable attachment to the Sublime Porte and his Imperial Majesty. That in having recently pursued the Common Enemy to the Morea and Egypt, believing that to have been their destination, he had only obeyed the orders of his Sovereign; "and no particular merit," added NELSON, "is I feel due to an Officer for the performance of his Duty. I think it is very possible that their destination may be either to the Morea or Egypt. I have placed his Majesty's Fleet in the narrow part between Sardinia and the coast of Africa, therefore it is scarcely possible for them to pass without my seeing them, or receiving accounts from the Frigates... I have only to hope that God Almighty

Statement of the two Fleets, as sent by Lord Nelson to Mr. Stratton.

French Fleet.

Eleven Sail of the Line.

Seven Frigates.

Two Brigs.

English Fleet.

Eleven Sail of the Line.

Four Frigates.

Two Corvettes.

will deliver them into my hands, and give His blessing to my endeavours to serve the Public Cause."—That devout reliance on his God which is so conspicuous in the Character of this great Admiral, becomes still more striking when we reflect, that he commanded the Fleet of the first Maritime Power in the World, whose Ships could alone oppose the Infidel Empire of France. His frequent perusal of the Scriptures, led him continually to adopt the very words and language of the Sacred Historian: In concluding a letter which he addressed on the same day to the new Capitan Pasha . . . *I hope*, said NELSON, *that the God of Battles will crown my endeavours with success, against the Enemies of the Sublime Porte and of my gracious Sovereign.*

Lord Nelson waited in the situation he had thus judiciously taken, until he was satisfied that the object of the Enemy was not to pass between Sardinia, and the Coast of Barbary, as Ganteaume had done; and the British Fleet then bore up on the 7th of April for Palermo, in order to cover Sicily, and the more eastern parts of the Mediterranean, in case the Enemy should have passed to the northward of Corsica. Captain Capel had been directed to proceed to the rendezvous, and to communicate with the Thunder Bomb, Captain G. Cocks, informing whoever was on the rendezvous of the station the Fleet had taken; and Captain Capel was ordered to go even and look into Toulon, if no information of the Enemy could otherwise be procured. Captain Mundy, in the Hydra, was at the same time sent off the Coast of Sardinia and to the Madelena Islands, and was instructed to call in his way at Cagliari. On the day the Fleet bore up, Captain Boyle was detached to Maretimo, to inquire of the commanding Officer, if he had seen the French Fleet pass that Island within the last four or five days. Captain Hallowell was at the same time sent in the Tigre to Sir John Acton at Palermo, and Captain Parker, in the Amazon, to his Excellency Mr. Elliot at Naples:

(1805.) Not having obtained any information either from the Frigates, or from Palermo or Messina, it appeared to him no longer doubtful, that the Enemy were gone down the Mediterranean. Upon which he changed his Course, and from the 11th of April used every possible exertion to get to the westward; sending Frigates to Gibraltar, and Lisbon, for the purpose of procuring provisions and obtaining intelligence, one of which was also detached to Admiral Cornwallis off Brest. It was the 16th of April before any tidings could be obtained of the Enemy; when it appeared from a Neutral spoken by the Leviathan, that the French had been seen on the 7th off Cape de Gatte, and it was soon afterwards ascertained that they had passed the Straits of Gibraltar on the 8th.

• Captain Moubray of the Active, having executed his former Orders, joined the Fleet; and was next sent to Gibraltar, and thence without one moment's loss of time to the English Channel. On not meeting with any Cruiser belonging to the Western Squadron, or the Irish Station, he was to proceed to the respective Admirals on both Stations, and deliver Lord Nelson's despatches.

If this Man speaks true, said Nelson, they may be half way to Ireland, or Jamaica, by this time. Oh that I could, but find them ! I am very unhappy.—On the 16th he informed Mr. Elliot, that the Fleet was then beating hard to get round the southern end of Sardinia, with a westerly wind blowing strong. Lord Nelson had resolved, as soon as possible, to ascertain that the French Fleet had certainly not returned to Toulon, and then to proceed to the westward ; but receiving on the same day the intelligence that they had passed the Straits on the 8th, he thus expressed his disappointment in a letter to the Admiralty : “ Under the severe affliction which I feel at the escape of the French Fleet out of the Mediterranean, I hope that their Lordships will not impute it to any want of due attention on my part ; but, on the contrary, that by my ‘Vigilance the Enemy found it was impossible to undertake any Expedition in the Mediterranean. The Frigates which I had appointed to watch them, unfortunately lost sight of their ships during the night of March 31, and from April 4th when they joined, we have had nothing but strong and sometimes hard gales of Westerly and N.W. winds ; and it appears that the French Fleet must have had strong gales Easterly. On Tuesday the 9th I made sail from the western end of Sicily for the Westward, but to this moment I have only advanced sixty five leagues. I shall leave Captain Capel with five Frigates and the small Craft, to protect our commerce, and to prevent the French sending Troops by sea.”

(1805.) During the summer season in the Mediterranean, very little dependance can be placed on the Winds, but April was too early to reckon on such unsteadiness ; they proved however favourable in the extreme to the Enemy : For whilst the British Fleet, as the Admiral remarked, had strong southerly and westerly Winds, the French had them equally fresh from the N.E. Thus, had he obtained earlier intelligence of their destination, it would have been impossible to overtake them in the Mediterranean ; and as far as he could form any judgment of their destination, he believed it to have been easterly. By the wise measures he immediately adopted with his five Frigates, he effectually guarded Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, Egypt, and the Morea ; and with such objects and claims on his protection, it was impossible for him to have gone to the westward, until he had ascertained their real object. Notwithstanding every exertion, he did not get in sight of Gibraltar before the 30th of April, about which time he first heard of Villeneuve having been reinforced by some ships, under Gravina, from Cadiz ; and as there was no possibility of passing the Straits

“ ‘This,’ said his Lordship in writing on the same day to Sir John Acton, “is the only gleam of Comfort that comes across me.”

“ Sir Richard Bickerton, who had shifted his flag from the Royal Sovereign to a smaller ship, was left with the command in the Mediterranean. The five Frigates, &c. left with the *Pharbe*, Captain Capel, consisted of the *Hydra*, G. Mundy ; *Ambuscade*, W. Durban ; *Juno*, H. Richardson ; *Niger*, James Hillyar ; *Thunder Bomb*, G. Cocks ; and *Etna*, R. Thomas. Captain Capel was particularly instructed to cover Sardinia, Sicily, and the route to Egypt, from any troops that might be sent to land in those places : And Captain Sotherton of the *Excellent*, 74, remained as guard ship at Naples.

at that time, and his Ships would be equally ready to embrace the least favourable spirit of wind when at anchor on the Barbary Shore, as by remaining under sail, he profited of the opportunity of watering in Mazari Bay, and ordered the *Superb* to Tetuan to procure Cattle, Fruit and Vegetables for the Squadron. In a few hours a very considerable supply of the latter salutary article, was taken off by ten ships. The expedition, activity, and zeal which appeared throughout the Squadron in watering and refitting, were perhaps without a parallel: A laudable spirit animated and impelled the Officers and Seamen of each ship on such occasions, and made it a perpetual display of good humoured emulation to be reported the first ready. Such was NELSON, and such the manner in which the operations of his Fleet were performed.

His own sufferings at that time continued to be very great, and some idea of them may be formed from the following passages in his letters. *April 19.* "My good fortune, my dear Ball, seems flown away. I cannot get a fair wind, or even a side wind—dead foul! dead foul! but my mind is fully made up what to do when I leave the Straits, supposing there is no certain information of the Enemy's destination. I believe this ill luck will go near to kill me; but as these are times for exertion, I must not be cast down, whatever I may feel.—Always, my dear Ball, yours faithfully." Notwithstanding this anxiety, nothing escaped his attention; as appears from a short note to General Fox at Gibraltar, with whom he was unacquainted: "Broken hearted as I am, Sir, at the escape of the Toulon Fleet, yet it cannot prevent my thinking of all the points intrusted to my care—amongst which Gibraltar stands prominent: I wish you to consider me as particularly desirous to give every comfort to the Old Rock."—To Lord Melville on the same day, he emphatically wrote as follows: "... "I am not made to despair—what man can do shall be done: I have marked out for myself a decided line of conduct, and I shall follow it well up: although I have now before me a letter from the Physician of the Fleet, enforcing my return to England before the hot months. Therefore, notwithstanding I shall pursue the Enemy to the East or West Indies, if I know that to have been their destination, yet if the Mediterranean Fleet joins the Channel, I shall request with that order permission to go on shore."—With this idea of being probably induced to join Lord Gardner in the Channel, NELSON addressed the following note to him on the same day: "If the Toulon Fleet, with that of Cadiz, is gone your road, the ships under my command may be no unacceptable sight: If you do not want our help, tell us to go back again. I feel vexed at their slipping out of the Mediterranean, as I had marked them for my own game. However, I hope, my dear Lord, that you will annihilate them instead of your most faithful humble servant, NELSON AND BRONTE."

(1805.) *On the 5th of May a breeze at length sprung up from the Eastward. The signal was immediately made to weigh; the *Superb* was recalled from Tetuan, leaving the

•Cattle and other refreshments which had just been brought down on the beach, and all the Squadron was seen standing to the Westward; when the wind suddenly failed, and on the 7th Lord Nelson anchored in Rosia Bay, Gibraltar. But before all the Fleet had done the same, there was every appearance of a Levanter coming on: the ships were unmoored, the provisioned transports taken in tow, and at six o'clock the whole was again under sail, steering through the Straits "If nothing is heard of them from Lisbon, (wrote he to Mr. Marsden), or from the Frigates I may find off Cape St. Vincent, I shall probably think the rumours which have been spread are true, that their object was the West Indies; and in that case I think it my duty to follow them—or to the 'Antipodes should I believe that to be their destination. I shall despatch a sloop of war to England from off the Cape, when my mind is made up from either information, or the want of it."

(1805.) It was entirely inconsistent with Lord Nelson's great professional Character and regard for the Discipline of the Service, to take so bold a step as the pursuit of the Enemy to the West Indies, until he had every reason to believe they could not have sailed in any other direction. A considerable time elapsed before he had made up his mind to take so great a responsibility upon himself: and it is the more necessary to make this remark, lest other Officers led on by the impulse of Zeal unsubdued by the reflection he employed, and the splendour of this resolute pursuit, may erroneously indulge a contrary idea to their own destruction. The Saddles that had been embarked on board the French Fleet, had made him long think of Egypt as its object, and afterwards Ireland; and, with this idea, it had been originally his intention before he left the Mediterranean, as appears by his letter to the Admiralty, to have proceeded from Cape St. Vincent, and taken a position fifty leagues west from Scilly: approaching that Island slowly, that he might not miss any vessels sent in search of the Squadron with orders: and he gave this as his reason for thinking of doing so—*Because from that position, it would have been equally easy to get either to the Fleet off Brest, or to go to Ireland.* The same idea appears also in his letters to Commissioner Otway at Gibraltar. April 26. "I rather think as the Spaniards went with them, that they are destined first for Ferrol, and then either for Ireland or Brest. I can say nothing certain as to my movements, until I get intelligence." Afterwards when off Tetuan, May 4th, he adds, "I cannot very properly run to the West Indies without something beyond mere surmise, and if I defer my departure, Jamaica may be lost: I shall take all matters into my most serious consideration, and shall do that which seemeth best under all circumstances."—Not meeting with any intelligence from Sir John Orde's cruisers on arriving at Gibraltar, as had been expected, Lord Nelson then became more inclined to feel he should be justified in following the route which reports had given to the

^a April 19, as also by that to Lord Gardner commanding in the Channel, of the same date.

Enemy: I still am as much in the dark as ever, said he on the 7th, in writing to Sir Evan Nepean, I am now pushing off Cape St. Vincent, where I hope to be more' fortunate, and I shall join the Amazon from Lisbon, from which place I have accounts to April 27, when they knew nothing of the Enemy. If I hear nothing, I shall proceed to the West Indies.

• (1805.) It was not, therefore, until this great Officer had thoroughly examined the Mediterranean to the Eastward, had weighed in his mind the probability of the Enemy's having taken a northern direction on leaving the Straits, and had decided what position in that case to adopt to cover Ireland and Brest; that, on hearing from Lisbon so late as April 27, when nothing had been known of the Fleets, he at length allowed his daring and enterprising genius to adopt the plan of that pursuit to the West Indies, which so effectually disconcerted the intentions of the Enemy, and drove them back terrified to Europe. On passing the Straits, a circumstance occurred, not hitherto noticed, which must have proved of considerable comfort to his mind, on having resolved amidst such uncertainty to take so decided a measure; as it enabled him to proceed with greater confidence than he could otherwise have done. At that critical moment, but whether on the return of the Amazon from Lisbon, or on his arrival at Lagos Bay, is uncertain, Lord Nelson received a visit from Admiral Donald Campbell, already mentioned under the year 1799, as an English Officer of repute in the Portuguese service; and was informed¹ by him in confidence, that the West Indies was undoubtedly the destination of the Combined Fleets. On receiving this intelligence, Lord Nelson had but little doubt that the reports which had prevailed were founded on fact. —As soon as his subsequent determination was known, Captain Keats desired, that notwithstanding the crippled state of the Superb she might be allowed to accompany the Victory, upon which the Admiral sent him the following reply: “I am very much pleased, my dear Keats, at the cheerfulness with which you are determined to share the fate of the Fleet. Perhaps none of us would exactly wish for a West India trip; but the call of our Country is far superior to any considerations of Self. I will take care Superb shall have neighbour's fare in every thing.”

Lord Nelson did not leave Cape St. Vincent, until he had provided every thing in his power for the benefit of his Majesty's service in those seas. He waited^k off that Cape until Admiral Knight had joined with a fleet of Transports, having 5000 Troops on board

¹ Admiral Campbell suffered most severely for this visit to the Victory, as appears by a subsequent letter to Lord Nelson, dated Sept. 27, 1805. Notwithstanding the rigid secrecy which Lord Nelson observed, a complaint was soon afterwards made against Donald Campbell by the Spanish Naval Commander in Chief at Algeiras, which instantly brought down the vengeance of the French Ambassador at the Court of Portugal, and terminated in the Admiral's being laid on the shelf. His income was accordingly very considerably reduced, and though the British Government assured him of its support, the death of Campbell soon afterwards involved his widow and family in distress. See Appendix, N^o 11, where Campbell's letter on this important subject is inserted, from the original amongst the Nelson Papers.

^k Letter to the Admiralty, dated May 9, 1805.

under the command of Sir James Craig, taking care that Admiral was seen safely inside the Gut; and not feeling quite satisfied with the force of his flag ship the *Queen*, and her companion the *Dragon*, Captain E. Griffith, his Lordship on further consideration added the *Royal Sovereign*, Admiral Sir R. Bickerton, which in his opinion rendered it impossible for all the force at Carthagea to make any impression upon them. Not even then being quite satisfied in his own mind, of having paid a sufficient attention to the service on which Admiral Knight was sent, Lord Nelson drew up the following directions for his guidance: "My dear Admiral: I have only to recommend in order to make sure of your safe arrival, that you do not go near the land between Cadiz and Cape Trafalgar; but get, as soon as you can, into the latitude of Cape Spartel before you run for the Straits mouth. And I must beg most seriously to call your attention, to carry the Convoy safe into Gibraltar from the numerous gun boats and privateers which cover the Straits: I beg therefore to recommend, that the Convoy is not carried near Tariffa or Cabrita Point, but kept in the middle of the Gut, until Gibraltar bears N. N. E. The being drove to the eastward is of no consequence if it should be calm, any vessel may work with ease round Europa Point. And there is only one thing more that I think it my duty to recommend; which is, that the men of war are not suffered to anchor until every vessel of the Convoy is anchored; for you may rely, that a serious attack will be made upon any stragglers, or on the last ships of the Convoy, if there should be little wind."

When we consider the state of Lord Nelson's mind at that moment, his impaired health and spirits, the continual fatigue and anxiety which he had endured, in being as he informed H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, *One whole month in getting down the Mediterranean, which the French had done in nine days*; it is hardly possible to suppose that the human mind could embrace such a variety of objects, and yet keep steadily fixed on the great and leading one of all, The pursuit of so superior an Enemy: *I am going*, said he to Sir John Acton, *to the West Indies, where the Enemy have twenty four sail of the line, my force is very, very inferior. I only take ten with me, and I only expect to be joined by six.* Admiral Knight not appear-

1 Victory, Superb, Donnegal, Spencer, Tigre, Canopus, Leviathan, Belleisle, Conqueror, Swiftsure. *Frigates*, Amazon, Amphion, Decade. The *French Fleet* consisted of Le Bucentaur, 80, Vice Admiral Villeneuve, le Neptune, 80, l'Indomptable, 80, Rear Admiral Dumanoir, le Formidable, 80, l'Aigle, 74, l'Atlas, 74, le Swiftsure, 74, le Berwick, 74, le Mont Blanc, 74, l'Intrepide, 74, le Pluton, 74, le Scipion, 74: Six 44 gun frigates, and one of 26 guns; three corvettes, and the Cyane, English prize, which had been taken in the preceding year, May 12, by the *Hortense* and *Hermione*, near Martinique.—The *Dido*, 44, afterwards joined. The six Spanish ships of the line were the *Argonaute*, 90, Admiral Gravina, Commander in Chief, la Firma, 80, le Terrible, 80, San Raphael, 80, San Jago del America, 64, San Jago del Espana, 64, and one frigate, Santa Magdalena, 44. This Combined Fleet had on board from 3000 to 3,400 French troops, and from 15 to 1600 Spanish; exclusive of about 600 under orders at Martinique, and about 1000 under orders at Guadaloupe. General Lauriston was Commander in Chief of the troops, General Ray second, and a Spanish General. Two more new French ships of the line afterwards joined.

ing, he determined on the 10th of May to proceed to Lagos Bay, whence on his arrival he wrote to Admiral Campbell: "Here we are, my dear Campbell, clearing 'Sir John Orde's transports which I found in Lagos Bay, completing ourselves to five months; and to-morrow I start for the West Indies. Disappointment has worn me to a skeleton, and I am in good truth very, very far from well. Sir Richard Bickerton remains in the Mediterranean, and Admiral Knight, reports say, is to command at Gibraltar. He is at present off Lisbon with the Convoy of troops. I wish he would come here; but he has been deceived by false information that the Combined Squadrons were still in Cadiz—I wish they were: but I am sorry to believe they are now in the West Indies, or just off."

(1805.) His whole attention was now directed to the West Indies, when the same wisdom and cool precaution appeared throughout all his conduct. No hurry, no distraction of thought, every thing weighed in the balance of the coolest judgment, every thing provided against with a forethought that has been seldom if ever equalled. His first step was to detach a fast sailing sloop, the *Martin*, Captain R. H. Savage, on the 11th, before the Fleet, with a letter to the Right Hon. Lord Seaforth at Barbadoes; and on the same day Admiral Knight, with the expected Convoy of 5000 troops, passed towards the Straits. The Admiral requested Lord Seaforth, in case Admiral Cochrane should not be at Barbadoes, that he would open and read the official letter that had been sent to him, and would recommend its being forwarded as expeditiously as possible to Admiral Cochrane. Lord Nelson also earnestly begged an embargo might be laid on all vessels at Barbadoes, that the Enemy might not be apprised of his arrival, and thereby again escape from his Fleet. Before he sailed, he addressed a few lines to his friend Lord Sidmouth, when the visit of the Portuguese Admiral Donald Campbell was noticed, and a letter from him to Lord Sidmouth which had been sent home in the Admiralty packet. *My lot, added Nelson, seems to have been hard, and the Enemy's most fortunate; but it may turn. Patience and perseverance will do much.*

He made Madeira on the 15th of May; and the next day a ship, having the appearance of an Enemy's cruiser, was chased for a short time. Greater exertion was never employed for an expeditious passage; and he calculated in gaining by it eight or ten days on the Enemy, who had no less than thirty five days start of him. As the Squadron approached Barbadoes, the *Amazon*, Captain Parker, was despatched on the 29th of May to Admiral Cochrane, in order to prepare whatever naval force there might be in Carlisle Bay, to join Lord Nelson on his approach, who repeated his desire to Lord Seaforth that a strict embargo might be laid on all vessels, as he fully intended not to anchor in Carlisle Bay, nor to send a frigate from the Fleet; but to carry the news to Martinique himself of his arrival in those seas, and as he concluded his letter to Lord Seaforth, *To get at the Enemy without one moment's delay.*

On the 3d of June, he received intelligence of the Enemy being in the West Indies from two British merchant ships, and on the 4th, the King's birth day, he reached Barbadoes and sent the following letter to the Admiralty. "I arrived off here at noon this day, where I found Rear Admiral Cochrane" in the Northumberland, and the Spartiate is just joining. There is not a doubt but that Tobago and Trinidad are the Enemy's objects; and although I am anxious in the extreme to get at their eighteen sail of the line, yet as Sir W. Myers has offered to embark himself with 2000 troops, I cannot refuse such a handsome offer. I am now working to an anchorage, and I hope that we shall have sailed before six hours are over with the General and troops."

(1805.) The alarm which prevailed for the safety of Tobago and Trinidad was very great. Intelligence had been received that the Enemy's Fleet, consisting of eighteen sail, had been seen on the 28th of May from St. Lucia, standing to the southward. This was corroborated by other accounts, and no doubt of its authenticity existed with any one except Lord Nelson; who, on his opinion being overruled, replied, *If your intelligence proves false, you lose me the French Fleet.* But this intelligence, supported by an application from General Sir W. Myers, Commander in Chief, to convey himself and 2000 troops to the relief of Tobago and Trinidad, could not be resisted. The Admiral consequently worked his ships up to Carlisle Bay, received the General and troops that evening on board the squadron, and on the morning of the 5th of June at eight A. M. sailed from Barbadoes with twelve ships of the line, four frigates, three sloops, and four smaller vessels. The Curieux brig, Captain Bettesworth, was detached to look into Tobago for information; a vessel was sent by Sir W. Myers to General Prevost at Dominica, to acquaint him with the Admiral's arrival; Colonel Shipley of the engineers was directed to communicate with the nearest post on Trinidad, in order to ascertain the situation of the Enemy, and signals were agreed upon to convey the earliest information on his return to the squadron.

The British Fleet accordingly stood to the southward with fine breezes all night. Lord Nelson had been recommended, on account of the strong lee currents which almost constantly run there with great violence, to steer S. by E. from Barbadoes. On the next day, the 6th of June, the Fleet arrived off Great Courland Bay, Tobago, and Captain Henderson, of the Pheasant sloop, was directed to proceed with all expedition to Port Toko in

* Admiral Cochrane, as appears from another letter, had but just arrived from Jamaica, where Admiral Daerles had kept all the ships except the Spartiate.

† This unfortunate Intelligence (although perhaps it was the means of saving Lord Nelson's life a few months longer for his Country, since the superiority of the Enemy was so great) had been conveyed to him on the 4th of June, when in Carlisle Bay, in the following extract by Sir W. Myers' Secretary from a letter of Brigadier General Brereton to General Sir W. Myers, dated St. Lucia, May 29, eleven o'clock A. M. "I have this moment received a report from the windward side of Gros Islet, that the Enemy's Fleet of twenty eight sail in all, passed there last night; their destination I should suppose must be either Barbadoes or Trinidad."

Trinidad, to send a boat on shore with Sir W. Myers' letters, for information whether the Enemy were in the Gulf of Paria, and to communicate by signal with the Admiral in the morning. At Tobago all was bustle and apparent uncertainty, when, in addition, the following singular occurrence took place. A merchant, particularly anxious to ascertain whether the Fleet was that of a friend or enemy, had prevailed on his clerk, with whom he had also agreed respecting signals, to embark in a schooner and to stand towards it; and it unfortunately happened, that the very signal made by the Clerk corresponded with the affirmative signal which had been agreed on by Colonel Shipley, *of the Enemy being at Trinidad*. It was the close of the day, and no opportunity occurred of discovering the mistake. An American merchant brig also had been spoken with the same day by the Curieux, probably sent to mislead, whose master reported that he had been boarded a few days before by the French Fleet off Grenada, standing towards the Bocas of Trinidad. No doubts were any longer entertained, the news flew throughout the British squadron, the ships were ready for action before daybreak, and Nelson anticipated a second Aboukir in the Bay of Paria. If further confirmation was necessary, it appeared in the seeming conflagration of one of our outposts at daylight, and the party retreating towards the citadel. The Admiral and Officers of his squadron, after such corroboration, felt it difficult to believe the evidence of their senses, when on entering the Gulf of Paria, on the 7th, no Enemy was to be seen, nor had any been there. The intelligence from St. Lucia, the corroborating accounts met with at Barbadoes, the American's report off Tobago, the schooner's signal, and conflagration of the outpost, were all false or delusive; and had contributed to draw the Fleet so far to leeward, that it could not, as would seem, fetch to windward of Grenada. Patience and perseverance, however, as the Admiral had observed to Lord Sidmouth, did much.

On the 8th of June, according to his Diary, "At day light an Advice Boat arrived in the Fleet from Barbadoes, with letters from Captain Morrice; giving an account of the capture of the Diamond Rock, and also that the French and Spanish squadrons *had not sailed from Martinique*, but that the French Commodore had told him, that the Ferrol Squadron consisting of six sail of French, and eight of Spaniards, had arrived in Fort Royal June the 4th."—Lord Nelson, when writing on the same day to Lord Seaforth, after giving his liberal meed of praise to the gallant defenders of the Diamond Rock, said with his usual good humour, "The information from St. Lucia of the Combined Squadron having been off that Island to windward, must have been very incorrect. I have my doubts respecting the certainty of the arrival of the Ferrol Squadron, as I have always understood that nothing could pass in, or out of Fort Royal without being seen: but, my Lord, powerful as their Force may be, they shall not with impunity make any great attacks. Mine is compact, theirs must be unwieldy, and although a very pretty Fiddle, I don't believe that either Gravina, or Villeneuve, know how to play upon it."

(1805.) The disappointment and feelings of Lord Nelson at this time may easily be imagined. He had entered the Gulf of Paria, and found the complete fallacy of every thing that had been asserted in opposition to his own ideas; which, though deduced from apparent conjecture, proved alone to be correct. With his accustomed activity and firmness of mind he immediately exerted his great abilities to remedy the evil, and to overcome the obstacles that presented themselves. Having obtained an account on the 8th of June, that the Enemy had not moved on the 4th from Fort Royal, but were expected to sail that night for the attack of Grenada, he on the 9th arrived off Grenada, displaying such expedition as perhaps there is no Example of in any Fleet. On his arrival he received a letter from General Prevost, that the Enemy had passed Dominica on the 6th, standing to the northward. On the 8th they had passed to leeward of Antigua, and that day had taken a Convoy of sugar laden ships which had unfortunately left St. John's during the night for England. Lord Nelson, having on his passage communicated with Dominica, on the 11th was off Montserrat, and at sun-set of the 12th of June anchored in St. John's Antigua to land the Troops; when he sent the Curieux to England with his despatches, in which was the following letter to his friend the Duke of Clarence: "Your Royal Highness will easily conceive the misery I am feeling, at hitherto having missed the French Fleet; and entirely owing to false Information sent from St. Lucia, which arrived at Barbadoes the evening of June 3d. This caused me to embark Sir William Myers and 2000 Troops, and to proceed to Tobago and Trinidad. But for that false Information, I should have been off Port Royal as they were putting to sea, and our Battle most probably would have been fought on the spot where the brave Rodney beat de Grasse. I am rather inclined to believe they are pushing for Europe to get out of our way, and the moment my mind is made up I shall stand for the Straits mouth. But I must not move, after having saved these Colonies and 200 and upwards of sugar laden ships, until I feel sure they are gone. We saw, about 200 leagues to the westward of Madeira, a Vessel which I took to be a French Corvette, that watched us two days; but we could not take her. She I hear gave Gravina notice of our approach, and that probably hastened his movements: however I feel I have done my duty to the very utmost of my abilities. The Combined Squadrons passed to leeward of Antigua on Saturday the 8th, standing to the northward. My heart is almost broke, and with my very serious complaints I cannot expect long to go on."—*To Earl Camden*: "My Lord: however unhappy I may feel at not having got up with the Enemy's Fleet, yet I should think myself very remiss if I failed to inform your Lordship and to request you to inform his Majesty, of the very spirited conduct of Lieut. General Sir William Myers, who offered to embark on board the Fleet with 2000 Troops, in order to try and annihilate both the Enemy's Fleet and Army, had we fortunately found them in any of our Islands. The Zeal of the Lieutenant General and the

whole body of Troops, was such as could not be exceeded ; and it is a matter of sincere regret that we have not met with the Enemy. But great merit is not less due to the Lieutenant General, for the expedition with which the troops were collected from different parts of Barbadoes, and to the officers and men for the cheerfulness with which they embarked."

(1805.) Lord Nelson had also, on the 10th of June, written to an old commercial friend, Mr. Simon Taylor,* of Jamaica: "My dear Sir: I was in a thousand fears for JAMAICA, for that is a blow which Buonaparte would be happy to give us. I flew to the West Indies without any orders, but I think the Ministry cannot be displeased... When I am satisfied that they are on their return, after sending some of the Spanish ships to the Havanna, I shall push hard to get off the Straits mouth before them; *and kind Providence may some happy day bless my endeavours to serve the public weal*, of which the West India Colonies form so prominent and interesting a part. I ever have been and shall die a firm friend to our present Colonial System. I was bred as you know in the good old School, and taught to appreciate the value of our West India possessions; and neither in the Field, nor in the Senate, shall their just Rights be infringed, whilst I have an arm to fight in their defence, or a tongue to launch my voice. We are nearly, my dear Mr. Taylor, thirty years' acquaintance, and I am, as ever, your faithful and obliged Friend."

Thus in the short space of Eight Days, had this great Admiral secured our West India Colonies from that plunder, and havoc, with which they had been threatened by the Combined Fleets of France and Spain; during which he had received on board and disembarked 2000 Troops, had entered the Gulf of Paria, and surmounting the various obstacles that combined to retard his progress, had shewn his protecting power to every Island in the chain from Trinidad to St. Kitt's. With a very inferior Fleet, by the terror of his name, he had compelled them to fly to Europe on the first tidings of his approach; and he immediately resolved, without a moment's delay, or any information of their route, again to pursue them across the Atlantic, and to trust to his own judgment to discover their destination. The Combined Squadrons had been last seen standing to the northward; Lord Nelson had made up his mind as to their course. Some imagined that they would return from the northward and attack Barbadoes, others that they would go to St. John's, Porto Rico, be there joined by reinforcements, and then proceed to Jamaica. Whilst on the contrary some were inclined to believe, that they would call at the Havanna for such Spanish ships as were ready, if they did not send those that were with them thither, or else, that they would make a sweep along the Coast of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland;

* This respectable Merchant, who is still living, was brought up in Mr. Hope's house at Amsterdam. His Jamaica estate alone is estimated at 300,000*l*.

† He was styled by the French *Cet Amiral déterminé*. Lord Nelson always thought that the Vessel seen near Madeira, conveyed the news of his approach to Martinique, and that upon receiving such Intelligence the Enemy immediately prepared for their escape.

, which could be done without delay: "I hear all," said Lord Nelson in a letter to Sir A. Ball, "and even feel obliged, for all is meant as kindness to me that I should get at them. In this diversity of opinions I may as well follow my own, which is, *That the Spaniards are gone to the Havanna, and that the French will either stand for Cadiz or Toulon, I feel most inclined to the latter place; and then they may fancy that they will get to Egypt without any interruption.* •

(1805.) The Troops having been disembarked at Antigua on the morning of the 13th of June, and Rear Admiral Cochrane remaining on his station, Lord Nelson sailed at noon in pursuit of the Enemy with his squadron of eleven ships, taking with him the *Spartiate*, Captain Sir F. Laforey; confidently believing that he should be able by superior management to reach their own shores before they arrived. Whenever opportunities offered of going on board the *Victory*, without causing any delay to the squadron, he would occasionally call some of his Captains to him. But although pleased to hear their opinions, he adhered to his own, and in his turn with his usual courtesy, and frankness, assigned the reasons on which it continued to be founded.

In one of these unreserved conversations, he said, "I am thankful that the Enemy has been driven from the West India Islands with so little loss to our Country. I had made up my mind to great sacrifices; for I had determined notwithstanding his vast superiority to stop his career, and to put it out of his power to do any further mischief. Yet do not imagine I am one of those hot brained people who fight at immense disadvantage, without an adequate object. My object is partly gained. If we meet them, we shall find them not less than eighteen, I rather think ^atwenty sail of the line, and therefore do not be surprised if I should not fall on them immediately--*We went part without a Battle.* I think they will be glad to let me alone, if I will let them alone; which I will do, either till we approach the shores of Europe, or they give me an advantage too tempting to be resisted."

On the 16th of June the British Fleet continued standing to the northward, and without any intelligence of the Enemy. The *Amazon*, indeed, on the preceding day had chased a schooner, but could not come up with her. In writing on the 16th to Sir Evan Nepean, Lord Nelson thus opened his mind to him without reserve. "So far from being infallible, like the Pope, I believe my Opinions to be very fallible, and therefore I may be mistaken in thinking that the Enemy's Fleet is gone to Europe: and yet I cannot bring myself to think otherwise, notwithstanding the variety of opinions which different people of good judgment form. But I have called every circumstance that I have heard of their proceedings before me, I have considered the approaching season, the sickly state

¹ There had been a Report whilst our Fleet remained in the West Indies, that the Enemy had received a reinforcement of two Spanish Ships of the Line.

of their Troops and ships, the means and time for defence which have been given to our Islands, and the certainty with which the Enemy must expect the arrival of our reinforcements: And therefore, if they were not able to make an attack for the first three weeks after they had reached the West Indies, they could not hope for greater success when our means of resistance had increased, and their means of defence were diminished; and it should be considered, that the Enemy will not give me credit for quitting the West Indies for this month to come. As this is a letter of reasoning on my conduct, I may perhaps be prolix, but I am anxious to stand well in your opinion; and if my conduct is taken into consideration by Mr. Pitt, I will thank you to shew him what I have written. A frigate certainly came from France May 31st; from that moment all was hurry. On June 1st, I believe, the Furet arrived with an account of my being on the passage. If Barbadoes be the object of the Enemy's attack, a fleet of men of war could get there, on the average, in four or five days: therefore why should they make a passage of at least fifteen or sixteen days by going to the Northward? If Tobago or Trinidad were their object, they had only to weather St. Lucia, and they could fetch them with ease. To St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada, they had a fair wind; therefore it must be unnecessary to go to the Northward. If, therefore, any of those Islands are the objects of their attack, as some people suppose, they are playing a game which I own is incomprehensible to my weak understanding, and I am completely deceived. What impression could they expect to make upon Jamaica with four or five thousand men? and if that were their object, why not steer direct from Martinique? Some think they may be going to St. John's Porto Rico, and wait to be joined there by reinforcements, but the season is passed: nor if fifteen sail of the line were coming out to join them, would there be occasion to hide themselves from our observation. My opinion is firm as a rock, That some counter Orders, or an Inability to perform any service in these seas, have made them resolve to proceed directly to Europe, sending the Spanish ships to the Havanna."

(1805.) On the next day, June 17, Lord Nelson issued the following directions, *To the Captains of any of his Majesty's Ships cruising off the Western Islands, or not proceeding on more important Service.* "Sir: As I believe the Enemy's Fleet is bound to Europe, and it being very uncertain whether they will go to Ferrol, or Cadiz, I beg leave most strongly to recommend your proceeding off Ferrol, with this information, to the Admiral commanding off that Port, in order that he may be upon his guard against a surprise from a Superior Force."—On the 18th, when writing to General Villettes, he thus liberally spoke

* William Ann Villettes, so often mentioned with regard by Lord Nelson, was descended from one of the most ancient families in France; his ancestors having been Lords of Montdidier, in Languedoc, in the 13th century. He was born at Berne, June 14th, 1754. Being originally intended for the Bar, his father entered him at Lincoln's Inn, where he kept two or three terms; but his ardour for a Military life was so great, that a Cornetcy in the 10th Regiment of Dragoons was obtained for him. After various services, and more particularly in the Mediterranean,

of the intelligence which had so misled him. "My dear General: Unwell, and out of humour as I am by my disappointment, yet I will not let a letter go to Malta without writing you a line; and I am sure you will regret, with me, our old acquaintance Brereton's wrong information. Ball will shew it to you, it could not be doubted, and by following it I lost the opportunity of fighting the Enemy."—"However," added he to Mr. Elliot, "I must not despair of getting up with them before they enter the Straits; at least they will have no time to carry their Plans into execution, and do harm to any of the countries under my charge. I feel that Mortal Man could not do more to serve his Country and the Common Cause faithfully. Your Son is very well, and improves every day in his profession."

(1805.) On the same day with the date of this letter, Tuesday June 18, the Amazon made the signal of Intelligence to communicate. She had spoke a schooner, who had seen on the preceding Saturday, at sun set, a Fleet of ships of war consisting of twenty-two sail steering to the northward, which appeared to be the Combined Fleet. The Enemy by computation bore N. E. by N. eighty-seven leagues. On the 19th the Martin was detached to Gibraltar to give information of the Enemy's return to Sir R. Bickerton, and the Decade to Lisbon. The anxiety of Lord Nelson was at this time extreme, and his depression of spirits from what he had gone through very great, which may be judged of from the following hasty note in his Diary, June 21: *Midnight, nearly calm, saw three planks which I think came from the French Fleet. Very miserable, which is very foolish.* At the beginning of July the wind suddenly changed to N. E. with rain. *It appears hard,* exclaimed he, *but as it pleases God: He knows what is best for us poor weak Mortals.* On the 8th of July they made but little progress: "We crawled," said the Admiral, "thirty three miles the last twenty-four hours; my only hope is, that the Enemy's Fleet are near us, and in the same situation. All night light breezes, standing to the eastward to go to the northward of St. Michael's. At times squally with rain. On examining the Spanish log and chart we had taken in a Bark from La Guira, I find that the Combined Squadrons went in sight of Cape Blanco, and passed close to the Salvages."—No circumstance of particular moment occurred during the Passage back. Lord Nelson kept, at least for a considerable time, the daily supposed track and situation of the Enemy. On Wednesday, July 17, the Fleet came within sight of Cape St. Vincent, "Making," observes the Admiral in his

from the year 1793, General Villette at the close of 1807 was appointed Lieutenant Governor and Commander of the forces in Jamaica, where his amiable disposition and firm but conciliatory conduct soon obtained a general confidence and esteem. In July, 1808, he undertook a Military Tour of Inspection through the Island; but during his journey was seized with a Fever of which he died on the third day. (See an account of this Officer, *Gent. Mag.* Vol. 79. p. 297.) The Dean and Chapter of Westminster have granted their permission, that a Monument to his Memory should be placed in the Abbey, near that of his late friend the Hon. Sir C. Stuart.

In another note, under June 29, he observes, "The best place for cruising, is in Lat. from 36 to 37 N. Long from 36 to 37 West."

Diary, "our whole run from Barbuda, day by day, 3459 miles: Our run from Cape St. Vincent to Barbadoes was 3227 miles, so that our run back was only 232 miles more than our run out—allowance being made for the difference of the latitudes and longitudes of Barbadoes and Barbuda: average per day thirty-four leagues wanting nine miles."—On the 18th of July being in want of provisions, he steered for the Straits mouth, and at ten, Admiral Collingwood,[†] who at first took the British Fleet for that of the Enemy, passed in the Dreadnought to the northward with three sail of the line and some frigates.—*Cape Spartel in sight, said Nelson, but no French Fleet, nor any information about them: How sorrowful this makes me, but I cannot help myself.*—On the 19th he bore up and anchored in Gibraltar, yet still without gaining any information of the Enemy. On the 20th, as is remarked in his Diary, *I went on shore for the first time since June 16, 1803; and from having my foot out of the Victory, two years, wanting ten days.*

(1805.) On the very next day, July 21, they were employed in getting ready for sea, and Lord Nelson sent home his despatches in the Thomas, Merchant brig. The Pickle schooner arrived with letters from Admiral Collingwood, congratulating Lord Nelson on his return: "We approached, my dear Lord, with caution, not knowing whether we were to expect you or the Frenchmen first. I have always had an idea that Ireland alone was the object they have in view, and still believe that to be their ultimate destination. They will now liberate the Ferrol squadron from Calder, make the round of the Bay, and, taking the Rochfort people with them, will appear off Ushant perhaps with thirty four sail, there to be joined by twenty more. This appears a probable plan; for unless it be to bring their powerful Fleets and Armies to some great point of service, some rash attempt at conquest, they have only been subjecting them to chance of loss; which I do not believe the Corsican would do without the hope of an adequate reward. I have a letter from Calder to day, the constant anxiety of his situation is wearing him down. The French Government never aim at little things, while great objects are in view. I have considered the invasion of Ireland as the real Mark and But of all their operations. Their Flight to the West Indies

[†] On the sailing of the Enemy's Squadron from Toulon, and when it was uncertain whether Lord Nelson had followed them to the West Indies, or had taken a station to the Westward of Ireland, Vice Admiral Collingwood had been appointed to a Squadron with orders to go in pursuit of the Enemy, or in the event of receiving information that they were followed by Admiral Nelson, to make such a disposition as appeared best. Admiral Collingwood arrived off Cape Finesterre May 27, and fell in with Sir R. Bickerton, which determined him to take a station off Cadiz to prevent any progress of the Spaniards; and on the day of his arrival there, he detached two of his fastest sailing ships, the Ramillies and Illustrious, to Barbadoes, in hopes of joining Lord Nelson. Sir R. Bickerton had proceeded up the Mediterranean, convoying the troops under General Sir James Craig until they had passed Carthage; when he was to watch the Enemy's Squadron in that port. The Colossus, Captain Morris, was stationed off Trafalgar, July 11, to look out for the Enemy, of whose return advice had been received by the Decade. Admiral Collingwood, in his letter to Lord Nelson, said, "I am exceedingly pleased with Captain Mundy of the Hydra; his vigilance and activity are exemplary, he is a clever young man."

was to take off the Naval Force, which proved the great impediment to their undertaking. 'This Summer is big with events, we may all perhaps have an active share in them, and I sincerely wish your Lordship strength of body to go through it, and to all others your strength of mind.'

(1805.) Lord Nelson's Squadron unmoored on the 22d of July, intending if the wind came westerly to go to Tetuan for water, and if easterly to go outside the Straits. At eight P. M. they accordingly anchored in Mazari Bay, about eight miles to the S. E. of the custom house of Tetuan, where the river is very fine and convenient for watering a Squadron. He described in his Diary the best anchorage for a Fleet, which must weigh when the wind sets in easterly and blows fresh: "Bring the Tower on the Cape at the western side of the Bay, to bear from W. N. W. to W. by S. and abreast of the Bay, from half a mile to one and a half mile distant, where there is from ten to twenty fathom water. The river runs inside a sandy beach and parallel to it, so that boats may lay alongside the beach the whole extent of the Bay, and roll their casks over to the river and fill them."—Many of the ships got 200 tons on board in one day; bullocks also were procured, and onions for the men. On the 24th the Decade joined from Admiral Collingwood, yet still no information of the Enemy. The Fleet weighed at noon, and stood for Ceuta; during the night they remained in the Gut, with variable winds and a thick fog. On the next day, July 25, the Termagant joined, with an account that the Combined Fleet had been seen by the Curieux* brig on the 19th, standing to the northward. Having passed the Straits and communicated with Admiral Collingwood, the Squadron under Lord Nelson bore away to the westward, and then proceeded off Cape St. Vincent with a view to go more northward, or to act as circumstances of intelligence might render necessary. And now a circumstance occurred which, though trifling in itself, marked the extraordinary mind of Lord Nelson. An American merchant ship spoken by one of the frigates, had fallen in a little to the westward of the Azores with an armed vessel, having the appearance of a privateer dismasted, and which had evident marks of having been set fire to and run on board by another ship, the impression of whose stern had penetrated the top sides. The crew had forsaken her, and the fire most probably had gone out of its own accord. In the cabin had been found a log book and a few seamen's jackets, which were given to the Officer and taken on board the Victory; and, with these, the Admiral immediately endeavoured to

* Captain Betteſworth, whose intrepid mind has been since lost to his Country, did not return to give the Admiral this intelligence for the following reasons, as stated by Captain Betteſworth in his letter to Lord Nelson, dated Plymouth, August 18, 1805: "I felt extremely hurt that when we fell in with the Combined Fleet, I had not the power of returning to you, as from the great distance we had run, and the small probability of being able to rejoin your Lordship, with a fair wind home and every prospect of a short passage, I thought your Lordship would have been better pleased at my continuing my course; and I feel happy to be able to say, I was so fortunate as to deliver your Lordship's despatches on the twenty third night after I left you."

explain the mystery, and to discover some further intelligence of the Enemy. The log book which closed with this remark, *Two large ships in the W. N. W.*—shewed, in his opinion, that the abandoned Vessel had been a Liverpool Privateer cruising off the Western Islands. In the leaves of this log book, a small scrap of dirty paper was found filled with figures, which no one could make any thing of but Lord Nelson, who immediately on seeing it, remarked, *They are French characters!* which probably stimulated him to a stricter observation. After an attentive examination, he said, “I can unravel the whole: this Privateer had been chased and taken by the two ships that were seen in the W. N. W. The prize master, who had been put on board in a hurry, omitted to take with him his reckoning, there is none in the log book; and this dirty scrap of paper which none of you could make any thing of, contains his work for the number of days since the privateer last set Corvo, with an unaccounted-for run which I take to have been the chace, in his endeavour to find out his situation by back reckonings. The jackets I find to be the manufacture of France, which prove the Enemy was in possession of the Privateer; and I conclude by some mismanagement, she was run on board of afterwards by one of them and dismasted. Not liking delay (for I am satisfied those two ships were the advanced ones of the French squadron) and fancying we were close at their heels, they set fire to the vessel and abandoned her in a hurry. If my explanation, gentlemen, be correct, I infer from it they are gone more to the northward, and more to the northward I will look for them.”—Subsequent information proved that he was correct in every part of this interpretation.

(1805.) The Fleet accordingly stood more to the northward on the 3d of Aug. with light breezes, northerly, and hazy weather. “I feel,” says his Diary, “every moment of this foul wind, but I trust in Providence that it is all for the best: although I, a poor weak mortal, suffer severely with the mortification of so apparently long a passage as this will probably be, from the continuance of northerly winds. We are in lat. 39, N. long. 16, W. course west. No information, all night light airs.”—After some days the wind came more favourable, as appears from his Diary, (Aug. 8) when he emphatically noticed the change, and added, “In summer time, coming from the Mediterranean, you must not expect to lose the northerly wind, until you get into the longitude of 17 W.”—On the 12th the Niobe was spoken, three days from the Channel Fleet, at which time no intelligence had been obtained of the Enemy’s arrival in any of the ports in the Bay of Biscay. On the 15th of August they fell in with Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant,* and in the evening Lord Nelson received orders to proceed with the Victory and Superb to Portsmouth. On leaving his Squadron, he addressed the following Official Communication, expressive of the estimation and regard which he entertained for his brave followers, to Admiral Louis. “Sir: I have only a

* The track of Lord Nelson to the West Indies, and back again to Europe, has been published by Mr. Faden, from documents furnished by the Admiral.

moment to beg that you will be so good as to express, in the manner best calculated to do justice, the high sense I entertain of the merit of the Captains, Officers, and ships' Companies lately composing the Squadron under my command; and assure their able and zealous Commanders, that their conduct has met my warmest approbation. I have only to repeat the high opinion I entertain of your distinguished conduct."—The letters that were afterwards written, expressive of the general regret that prevailed throughout the Squadron on parting with their gallant Chief, were highly honourable to his character: "God bless you, my dear NELSON," replied Louis, "would to Heaven you were with us; believe me the loss of you has been much felt. This instant all your old Squadron's signals have been made to join the Prince of Wales."—"I look forward," said his friend Hallowell, "with pleasure to your resuming the command of us, to lead your old Mediterranean Squadron to a Victory which will give much satisfaction to the Country."

(1805.) The noble manner in which Lord Nelson always treated his brother Officers, and respected the feelings of such as had experienced misfortune, is alone a proof of the greatness and goodness of his mind: more particularly in a Profession, the members of which, as the late Lord Sandwich observed, fortunately resemble a Rope of Sand, and therefore have no power as a body. On the Admiral's arrival in the Channel, he thus delivered his sentiments respecting Sir R. Calder's Action, in a letter to Captain Fremantle: "I could not last night thank you for your kind letter, for I was in truth bewildered by the account of Sir Robert Calder's Victory, and the joy of the event; together with the hearing that the Nation was not content, which I am sorry for. Who, my dear Fremantle, can command all the success which our Country may wish for? We have fought together, and therefore well know what it is: I have had the best disposed Fleet of friends, but who can say what may be the event of a Battle? And it most sincerely grieves me, that in any of the papers it should be insinuated, *Lord Nelson could have done better*. I should have fought the Enemy, so did my friend Calder. Who can promise that he will be more successful than another? I only wish to stand upon my own merits, and not by comparison one way or the other with the conduct of a brother Officer. You will forgive this dissertation, but I feel much upon the occasion. Believe me your most faithful and affectionate friend."

On Saturday the 17th of August the Victory at daylight was abreast of Portland, at eleven she anchored off the Princessa Shoal near the Isle of Wight, and the next day worked up to a good birth at Spithead—*Just two years and three months*, adds Lord Nelson, *from my arrival at Portsmouth in 1803*. On the next day, in writing to his brother William, the Rev. Dr. Nelson, he again touched on the Action of Sir R. Calder: "You will have heard, my dear Brother, of our arrival, but I know you would like better to have it under my hand. I am but so so—yet, what is very odd, the better for going to the West Indies, even with the anxiety. We must not talk of Sir Robert Calder's Battle, I might not have

[done] so much with my small force. If I had fallen in with them, you would probably have been a Lord before I wished; for I know they meant to make a dead set at the Victory. Hardy is, I am sorry to say, very unwell. Give my kind love to Mrs. Nelson, Horace, &c. and best regards to Archdeacon Yonge, to Rolfe, and our other friends; and be assured that I am your most affectionate Brother.”—Before the Admiral left the Victory he gave the following most honourable testimony to his Secretary, the late Mr. J. Scott: “I cannot allow myself to part from you, even, as I hope, for a very short time, without giving you the assurance of my sincere esteem and regard: and to say, that as a Secretary, for ability, punctuality, and regularity, I believe your superior is not to be met with: and as a Gentleman, that your whole conduct has been most exemplary during the time you have been with me. Wishing you health and every felicity, believe me always, my dear Sir, your obliged and sincere friend.”

(1805.) His Excellency Mr. Elliot, in writing to Lord Nelson during the month of August from Naples, thus delivered the general sentiments of diplomatic men respecting the Admiral's late proceedings. “My Lord: Either the distances between the different quarters of the globe are diminished, or you have extended the powers of human action. After an unremitting Cruise of two long years in the stormy Gulf of Lyons, to have proceeded without going into port to Alexandria, from Alexandria to the West Indies, from the West Indies back again to Gibraltar; to have kept your ships afloat, your rigging standing, and your crews in health and spirits, is an effort such as never was realised in former times, nor, I doubt, will ever again be repeated by any other Admiral. You have protected us for two long years, and you saved the West Indies by only a few days.”—Sir Alexander Ball, in sending his congratulations, made some judicious remarks on the intelligence by which the plan of Lord Nelson had been frustrated. “I think orders should be given that when a Fleet is discovered, an Officer should be sent for to witness it, and that one should be at the signal hill at the rising and setting of the sun. I have often reflected on these circumstances, and on the little attention generally paid to them. In the affair of St. Lucia, is it not possible that a signal man might be bribed?”

The gratitude of the Crowning City, and its Mercantile Princes, soon repaid the noble spirit of NELSON for all his toil and disappointment; though like a true Englishman, and with the inherent character of a Seaman, he sometimes expressed himself as being irritated and displeased. The West India Merchants, through their chairman, Sir R. Neave, Bart. were amongst the first on the Admiral's arrival in London, to express their unfeigned thanks and high sense of his prompt determination in quitting the Mediterranean, and of his sagacity in judging of and ascertaining the course of the Combined Squadrons, and of his bold and unwearied pursuit of them to the West Indies, and back again to Europe; all

* At a meeting held at the Marine Society's Office, Bishopsgate Street, August 23, 1805.

of which had been very instrumental towards the safety of those Colonies. His presence in the Metropolis soon imparted additional vigour and firmness to the operations of government. Lord Barham on receiving, as first Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Nelson's Journals, perused the whole narrative with an attention which enabled that Minister to form a more complete idea of the Admiral's professional character; and Lord Barham afterwards liberally declared, he had not before sufficiently appreciated such extraordinary talents. This opinion of the noble Admiral's late proceedings was immediately communicated to the Cabinet, with an assurance from Lord Barham, that an unbounded confidence ought to be placed in NELSON; who was above all others the Officer to be employed on the station he had so ably watched, and whose political relations he had so thoroughly understood.

Anno
Ætat 47. (1805.) It had been the most anxious wish of Lord Nelson, when he applied for leave of absence on account of his health, prior to this run to the West Indies, to be again sent out to the command of a Fleet, in which he was not only respected but beloved; and this wish he had repeatedly expressed in his private letters, and in his official communications with the Sicilian Government. The voice of the nation, and its rulers, accorded with this desire, and in a manner the most gratifying to his feelings. In some occasional interviews with Lord Barham at the Admiralty, he now expressed his readiness to obey the voice of his Country, and pointed out various means by which additional effect might be given to the service on which he was about to be employed. He visited also the other departments² of Government, opened his mind without reserve or fear, and traced with the decision and even authority of a Statesman, the various plans that required an immediate attention. He shewed Ministers the dangers to which they were particularly exposed in the Mediterranean, the errors which had too long been persisted in, and the events and changes that might be expected to take place in Europe, from the prevailing aspect of its political horizon. Amongst the last of his cautions was the following, which he also thus repeated to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence, *If your Royal Highness has any communication with Government, let not General Mack be employed; for I knew him at Naples to be a Rascal, a Scoundrel, and a Coward . . .* At many of these ministerial conferences, the present Admiral Sir R. G. Keats, K.B. attended his friend; who frequently appealed to him, particularly in their last interview with Mr. Pitt, for the truth of what he asserted, and also for further information on those subjects, of which the liberal mind of NELSON confessed that

Amongst other subjects Lord Nelson was anxious to accomplish, what has of late years been too little attended to, the providing a sufficient number of Gun Boats to be attached to our Fleets, the want of which has been much felt in the Baltic. In a letter to General Fox, his Lordship on his return said, "I did not fail to lay before Lord Barham my ideas respecting the keeping of the Bay and Garrison of Gibraltar from being annoyed by the Enemy's Gun Boats. If I can find the paper, I will send you a copy, and I should be glad of any further hints to make the Gun Boat System as perfect as we could expect."

Keats had a greater knowledge than himself. The following letter, dated Merton, Aug. 24, alludes to what had passed at one of those interviews. "My dear Keats; Many thanks for your kind letter, nothing I do assure you could give me more pleasure than to have you at all times near me; for, without a compliment, I believe your head is as judicious, as your heart is brave, and neither, I believe, can be exceeded. Yesterday when with the Secretary of State, a new Minister, who has only sat one solitary day in his office, and of course knows but little of what has passed, (indeed Ministers were all full of the Enemy's Fleet, and as I am now set up for a Conjuror, God knows they will very soon find out I am far from being one), I was asked my opinion against my inclination; for if I make one wrong guess, the charm will be broken. But this I ventured without any fear, that if Calder got fairly close alongside their twenty-seven or twenty-eight sail, by the time the Enemy had beat our Fleet soundly, they would do us no further harm this year. The Duke of Clarence wrote to you from Merton, but when I see Lord Castlereagh I shall know positively what they mean to do. You see by my writing tackle that I am not yet mounted as a Commander in Chief."—At one of his last visits to the Admiralty previous to his leaving England, Lord Barham received the noble Admiral in a manner that corresponded with the opinion he had delivered to Ministers. The list of the British Navy was given him, and he was desired to choose his own Officers. NELSON immediately returned it, *Choose yourself, my Lord, the same spirit actuates the whole Profession, you cannot choose wrong.* Lord Barham then desired that the Admiral would without reserve dictate to the private secretary, Mr. Thompson,* such ships as he wished in addition to his present Squadron, and that they should follow him at short intervals as soon as each was ready. *Have no scruple, Lord Nelson, there is my Secretary, I will leave the room—give your orders to him, and rely on it they shall be implicitly obeyed by me.* And it was owing to this wise and liberal conduct of Lord Barham, that the Mediterranean Fleet received constant reinforcements of ships, which, not sailing in a body, arrived without any information of them being received by the Enemy.

Soon afterwards, towards the end of August, the Honourable Captain Blackwood arrived with the news of the Combined Fleets being blocked up in Cadiz by Admiral Collingwood. On his way to London with the despatches, that Officer^a as he passed Lord Nelson's Villa at Merton about five in the morning, called and found him already up and dressed. On seeing Captain Blackwood he exclaimed, *I am sure you bring me news of the French and Spanish Fleets, and I think I shall yet have to beat them.* The answer was confined to giving, as briefly as possible, all the information of which Captain Blackwood was the bearer; and after expressing hopes that he should witness the intended drubbing, so well foretold, he left Merton for the Admiralty. Lord Nelson immediately followed and soon afterwards joined him, when they talked over the operations that were

* Now a Commissioner of the Navy.

^a From a Memoir furnished by Captain Blackwood.

intended on returning to the Mediterranean; and he frequently repeated, *Depend on it, Blackwood, I shall yet give Mr. Villeneuve a drubbing.*—Every thing was soon afterwards arranged for his return to the Mediterranean, and on the 3d of September he thus concluded a letter to the Right Hon. George Rose, to whom he had particularly recommended his brother in law Mr. Bolton . . . “I hold myself ready to go forth whenever I am desired; although God knows I want rest: but Self is entirely out of the question. I shall rejoice to see you on board the Victory, *if only for a moment*; but I shall certainly not be an advocate for being at Portsmouth, till one of the Victory’s anchors is at the bows.”

(1805.) Accordingly, on the night of Friday, September 13, Lord Nelson having taken leave of his brother William and of other relations who were at Merton, with a mind much agitated and highly wrought, pursued his route to Portsmouth—To serve, as he expresses it in his Diary, his King and Country. He seemed, from all his conversations with H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence and with Lord Sidmouth, to expect a desperate Battle, and to think that he should never return. As he left Merton his devout spirit offered up the following sublime Prayer to the God of Battles: *May the great God whom I adore, enable me to fulfil the Expectations of my Country; and if it be his good pleasure that I should return, my thanks will never cease being offered up to the Throne of His Mercy. If it be His good Providence to cut short my days upon earth, I bow with the greatest submission, relying that He will protect those so dear to me whom I may leave behind. His Will be done. Amen.*

He arrived at the George Inn, Portsmouth, at six in the following morning, and having arranged every thing with his accustomed quickness, went to that part of the beach to embark for the Victory, where the bathing machines are placed. The scene is described as having been singularly affecting. He was followed by numbers of his Countrymen in tears, many of whom knelt down before him and blessed the beloved Hero of the British Nation. The affectionate heart of NELSON could not but sympathise with the general interest that was taken in his welfare, and turning round to Capt. Hardy, he said, *I had their Huzzas before, I have now their Hearts.* A fresh proof of the attachment^b of the common Seamen to him had also appeared. The crew of the Superb, Capt. Keats, which owing to her necessary repairs was not ready for sea, were heard to express their desire that they might be turned over to some ship in the harbour which was ready, in order to go back with their Admiral to the Mediterranean. Mr. Rose and Mr. Canning accompanied Lord Nelson to his ship, and dined on board whilst the Victory was preparing to sail. He weighed on the 15th, at daybreak, the Euryalus, Captain Blackwood, in company; but owing to a contrary wind, came to anchor again; they however by sunset were off Christchurch, and by the evening of the next day off the Berry Head. Lord Nelson’s perseverance in working down Channel against contrary and strong winds, is well known and appreciated.

^b From H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence.

On the 17th, when off Plymouth, he sent in Euryalus to call out Ajax and Thunderer, and wrote the following letter to his early friend Sir Andrew S. Hamond, Bart. Comptroller of the Navy. "My dear Sir Andrew: I have read with much attention your very interesting letter of the 12th, and rely that although you have been involved in transactions out of your strict line of duty, for the benefit of the Naval Service, you will pass the fiery Ordeal without a singe. You have then a most undoubted right to retire from the fatigues of your laborious office, with such a pension and marks of your Sovereign's approbation, as he may graciously be pleased to bestow. With respect to your petitioning for your Rank on the list of Admirals, I shall answer you, my dear Sir Andrew, to the best of my opinion; and if it should not meet exactly your ideas, yet I trust you will believe that no one has a higher opinion of your Naval Abilities as a Captain, or Admiral, than myself. If my memory serves me right, when you passed your Flag, I expressed my regret that the Service was to lose your experience at sea; you would long since have commanded the Fleets of Britain, with the whole Service looking up to your Abilities. But with what you may deem precedents, Lord Barham, Sir John Laforey, Lord Hood, Admiral Gambier, and lately Admiral Stirling—yet these Gentlemen contended for their Flags, without which they said, "we will not hold our civil employments." You allowed it to pass over. Your Salary ought to be equal to your wishes, and much more in addition to your Comptroller's pension, than an Admiral's half pay. But I fear if the precedent were established, however properly in your person, that such a field would be opened for Officers getting on the list of Admirals, after being long out of the service, that the Ministry would never get clear of applications, nor would the service know who were likely to command them. Having given you, my dear Sir Andrew, my full opinion, allow me to say and to offer; that if the King is pleased to place you on the list of Admirals, I shall be ready myself to serve as second under you for a given time; and to mark, at least in myself, that I receive you with open arms as a most valuable Officer restored to us. With respect to your good Son, you are sure of my affectionate attention to him; and believe me ever, my dear Sir Andrew, your most obliged and affectionate Friend.'—In writing to Sir J. T. Duckworth, whilst off the Edystone, *September 17*, Lord Nelson said, "I could not answer your kind letter of the 10th, as I was every moment engaged in settling my affairs both public and private. Perhaps this will not find you at Plymouth, for I know it was intended to offer you your Flag as third in command in the Mediterranean Fleet. I am aware, and said so at the Admiralty, that having served so long, and so honourably as Commander in Chief, you might not wish to take an inferior station; but that if you did, it would give me most sincere pleasure to have you,* and to profit by your skill and gallantry."

* His Lordship also expressed a wish, amongst other Officers, to have Lord Henry Paulet, and Captain Otway.

(1805.) After encountering much blowing weather, the Victory^a arrived off Cadiz on the 29th of September, the Admiral's Birthday, when the necessary orders were given out for the Fleet; and what is remarkable, it was on the same day that Admiral Villeneuve, as he afterwards informed Capt. Blackwood, received orders to put to sea on the first convenient opportunity. From the 29th of Sept. to the 21st of October, Lord Nelson never came in sight of land, that the Enemy might be kept in ignorance of his force: the wisdom of this conduct was strongly proved by subsequent events. Villeneuve repeatedly declared his belief, that Lord Nelson, by detaching six sail of the line to the Mediterranean, had reduced the British Fleet to one third weaker than that of the Enemy.—In writing to General Fox at Gibraltar, the Admiral requested that the publisher of the Gibraltar Gazette should be forbid to mention the force of the Fleet, much less the names and strength of the ships; “for I much fear,” added he, “that if the Enemy know of our increased numbers, we shall never see them out of Cadiz. If my arrival is necessary to be mentioned, the ships with me need not, and it may be inserted that an equal number, or some ships of Admiral Collingwood's, are ordered home. I rely upon your goodness to accord with my wishes.” In the letter which he had forwarded to Admiral Collingwood, by the Euryalus, to announce the approach of the Victory, Lord Nelson also said, “I send it, my dear Coll, that if you are in sight of Cadiz not only no salute might take place, but also that no colours may be hoisted; for it is as well not to proclaim to the Enemy every ship which may join the Fleet . . . I would not have any salute, even if you are without sight of land.”

To Sir John Acton, Sept. 30. “My dear Sir John: After being only twenty five days^a in England, I find myself again in the command of the Mediterranean Fleet. I only hope that I may be able, in a small degree, to fulfil the expectations of my Country . . . I hear the French have two or three sail of the line at Toulon, two frigates and a corvette, in England they have not the smallest idea of such a force. If it be so, they must send more ships; for although it is natural to look to the Russians to prevent those ships from doing any harm to the eastward of Toulon, yet I can answer for nothing but what is committed to the charge of English ships. I was so little a while in England, and only three times with the Minister, that I hardly entered into any business but my own. I hope both Austria and Russia have begun, and, if the War comes into Italy, I have proposed such a cooperation on the part of England, that I am confident three months may if all parties are agreed free Italy and Piedmont; but we must all put our shoulders to the wheel. The

^a The Euryalus was detached on September 26 to Admiral Collingwood, with orders to put himself under Lord Nelson's command.

^b In a letter on the same day to Admiral Knight, Lord Nelson said, “I was only twenty five days from dinner to dinner absent from the Victory;” and he then adds, *In our several stations, my dear Admiral, we must all put our shoulders to the wheel, and make the great machine of the Fleet intrusted to our charge, go on smoothly.*

combined Fleet in Cadiz is thirty five or thirty six sail of the line, and eight at Carthagenæ. I have twenty three sail of the line, and six occasionally at Gibraltar and to have an eye upon the ships at Carthagenæ. The French have made an exchange of an old French 74 for the Santa Anna, a Spanish first rate. Be assured I am your Excellency's most faithful Friend."—*To Sir A. Ball, Sept. 30.* "My dear Ball: I got fairly into the Fleet yesterday, and under all circumstances I find them as perfect as could be expected...The force is at present not so large as might be wished, but I will do my best with it; they will give me more when they can, and I am not come forth to find difficulties, but to remove them. I know not a word of Sir James Craig or his troops, or what they are going about, except as the man said of the Parson, *he preached about doing good*, and so Ministers talked of our troops doing good to the Common Cause; but I was so little a time in England, and not more than four times in London, that really I could hardly talk of any thing seriously but naval matters."

(1805.) In some previous letters from him on his arrival in England, his liberal opinion respecting Sir Robert Calder has been noticed, a liberality which they who were intimate with those Officers will be the best enabled to appreciate. NELSON's feelings on this subject appear also in other letters, but particularly in the following one to Lord Barham, dated *Sept. 30.* "My dear Lord: I did not fail immediately on my arrival, to deliver your message to Sir Robert Calder, and it will give your Lordship pleasure to find, as it has me, that an Inquiry is what the Vice Admiral wishes, and that he had written to you by the Nautilus, which I detained, to say so. Sir Robert thinks that he can clearly prove, It was not in his power to bring the combined Squadrons again to Battle. It would be only taking up your time, were I to enter more at large on all our conversation; but Sir Robert felt so much, even at the idea of being removed from his own ship which he commanded, in the face of the Fleet, that I much fear I shall incur the censure of the Board of Admiralty, without your Lordship's influence with the members of it. I may be thought wrong, as an Officer, to disobey the orders of the Admiralty, by not insisting on Sir Robert Calder's quitting the Prince of Wales for the Dreadnought, and for parting with a 90 gun ship, before the force arrives which their Lordships have judged necessary. But, I trust, that I shall be considered to have done right as a Man, and to a brother Officer in affliction—my heart could not stand it, and so the thing must rest. I shall submit to the wisdom of the Board to censure me or not, as to them may seem best for the Service: I shall bow with all due respect to their decision."

In a letter to a friend, which has been printed, he described his reception on rejoining the Mediterranean Fleet, as causing the sweetest sensation of his life: *The Officers who came on board to welcome my return, forgot my rank, as Commander in Chief, in the enthusiasm with which they greeted me. As soon as those emotions were past, I laid before them the Plan I had*

previously arranged for attacking the Enemy; and it was not only my pleasure to find it generally approved, but clearly perceived and understood.—This Plan had been drawn up by Lord Nelson during his pursuit of the French Fleet to the West Indies, and contains the great Principles of Duty in a British Admiral on coming to Action with an Enemy. On his return to England it had been perused by some of his ministerial friends and generally admired, and a copy of it was deposited with Lord Barham at the Admiralty. As the result of deep reflection from so great an Officer, who repeatedly led our brave seamen to victory, and having been written when in pursuit of a superior force which he had resolved not only to attack, but if possible to annihilate, its value to all professional men is incalculable; and to other readers it will afford considerable interest, as giving a view of the ideas which Lord Nelson entertained on resuming the Mediterranean command.

“The business of an English Commander in Chief being first to bring an Enemy's Fleet to Battle, on the most advantageous terms to himself (I mean that of laying his ships close on board the Enemy as expeditiously as possible), and secondly, to continue them there without separating until the business is decided; I am sensible beyond this object it is not necessary that I should say a word, being fully assured that the Admirals and Captains of the Fleet I have the honour to command, will, knowing my precise object that of a close and decisive Battle, supply any deficiency in my not making signals; which may if extended beyond these objects either be misunderstood, or if waited for very probably, from various causes, be impossible for the Commander in Chief to make: therefore it will only be requisite for me to state in as few words as possible, the various modes in which it may be necessary for me to obtain my object, on which depends not only the Honour and Glory of our Country, but possibly its safety, and with it that of all Europe from French Tyranny and Oppression.

“If the two Fleets are both willing to fight, but little manœuvring is necessary, the less the better, a day is soon lost in that business: therefore I will only suppose that the Enemy's Fleet being to leeward, standing close upon a wind on the starboard tack, and that I am nearly ahead of them standing on the larboard tack, of course I should weather them. The Weather must be supposed to be moderate; for if it be a gale of wind, the manœuvring of both Fleets is but of little avail, and probably no decisive Action would take place with the whole Fleet. Two Modes present themselves; one to stand on just out of gun shot until the van ship of my line would be about the centre ship of the Enemy, then make the signal to wear together, then bear up, engage with all our force the six or five van ships of the Enemy, passing certainly if opportunity offered through their line. This would prevent their bearing up, and the Action from the known bravery and conduct of the Admirals and Captains, would certainly be decisive: the second or third

rear ships of the Enemy would act as they please, and our ships would give a good account of them should they persist in mixing with our ships. The other Mode would be, to stand under an easy but commanding sail directly for their headmost ship, so as to prevent the Enemy from knowing whether I should pass to leeward or windward of him. In that situation, I would make the signal to engage the Enemy to leeward, and to cut through their Fleet about the sixth ship from the van, passing very close; they being on a wind and you going large, could cut their line when you please. The van ships of the Enemy would by the time our rear came abreast of the van ship, be severely cut up and our van could not expect to escape damage.

“ I would then have our *rear* ship, and every ship in succession wear, continue the Action with either the van ship, or second ship, as it might appear most eligible from her crippled state; and this mode pursued, I see nothing to prevent the capture of the five or six ships of the Enemy's van. The two or three ships of the Enemy's rear must either bear up, or wear; and, in either case, although they would be in a better plight probably than our two van ships (now the rear), yet they would be separated, and at a distance to leeward so as to give our ships time to refit, and by that time, I believe, the Battle would from the judgment of the Admiral and Captains, be over with the rest of them. Signals from these moments are useless, when every man is disposed to do his duty. The great object is for us to support each other, and to keep close to the Enemy and to leeward of him.

“ If the Enemy are running away, then the only signals necessary will be, to engage the Enemy as arriving up with them; and the other ships to pass on for the second, third, &c. giving if possible a close fire into the Enemy in passing, taking care to give our ships engaged notice of your intention.”

(1805.) The health of the Mediterranean Fleet, to which Lord Nelson paid such unre-mitted attention, greatly depended on his keeping the Moors in good humour; and no one ever succeeded in that respect better than he did. A letter, by his desire, had been addressed by the King to the Emperor of Morocco with the valuable presents that were sent out. The differences with the Dey of Algiers had been adjusted, and as his Highness' life had been placed in imminent danger, from one of those sudden convulsions, so common amongst the Barbary States, the Admiral sent his congratulations from off Cadiz, Sept. 27, informing his Highness that a frigate had been sent for the express purpose of carrying the presents, and making inquiries respecting his health: “ I think your Highness,” added Lord Nelson, “ will be glad to hear of my return to the command of his Majesty's Fleets in the Mediterranean: And I rely that nothing will ever be permitted to happen which can interrupt the most perfect harmony and good understanding which exists between your Highness and the Regency, and the British Nation.—I am confident that

your Highness will give orders for the most friendly reception of British ships in all the ports in your dominions, and that they shall be furnished for their money with every article they may want to purchase. I shall be very anxious for the return of the frigate, that I may know the state of your Highness' health; and I beg that your Highness will be assured of the most high esteem of NELSON AND BRONTE."

(1805.) Vice Admiral Collingwood's Order for the Blockade of Cadiz and San Lucar, had been addressed on the 23d of June to Rear Admiral Louis in the Canopus, commanding the advanced Squadron off Cadiz; and on the ensuing 4th of September, further directions had been issued to Admiral Louis, to prevent Vessels laden with Provisions from entering Ayamonte near the mouth of the Guadiana, and also the Enemy's Port of Maguer. On the 26th of the same month, in consequence of directions from the Admiralty dated the 21st, Admiral Collingwood had also given Orders to the advanced Squadron to respect such licences as had been granted to certain British Merchants resident in Spain, to import merchandize into their own country. Lord Nelson, on the 1st of October, in writing to Lord Castlereagh, one of the Secretaries of State, entered at some length on the subject of this Blockade, and the situation of the Enemy's Fleets. "My Lord: The far greater part of the Combined Fleets is in the harbour, and indeed none can be called in the Bay of Cadiz, they lie in such a position abreast of the town, and many entirely open over the narrow strip of land, that Colonel Congreve's Rockets, if they will go one mile and a half, must do execution. Even should no ships be burnt, yet it would make Cadiz so very disagreeable, that they would rather risk an Action than remain in Port. I do assure your Lordship, that myself and many thousands in the Fleet will feel under the greatest obligations to Colonel Congreve. But I think with your Lordship's assistance, we have a better chance of forcing them out by want of provisions: It is said hunger will break through stone walls, ours is only a wall of wood. The French are sending provisions of all kinds from Nantz, Bordeaux and other Ports in the Bay, in Danish Vessels, called of course Danish property, to Ayamonte, Conil, Algeziras, and other little Ports from Cape St. Mary's to Algeziras; whence it would be conveyed in their coasting boats without the smallest interruption to Cadiz, and thus the Fleets be supplied with provisions for any expedition. Vice Admiral Collingwood has most properly directed their being detained and sent to Gibraltar, to be libelled in the Vice Court of Admiralty. I have followed so good an example:—I am able enough to see the propriety and necessity of the measure, without which the Blockade of Cadiz is nugatory and we should only have the odium of the measure, without any benefit to us, or real distress to our Enemies.

John Harrison, a considerable astronomer, brought up originally to the law, but possessing such a turn for mechanics, that he has been chiefly devoted to the improvement and discovery of many useful inventions. He has lately been appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in the Prince's Corps of Royal Cornwall Miners.

There never was a place so proper to be blockaded at this moment as Cadiz. I have therefore to request that your Lordship will take the proper measures, that the Officers under my orders may not get into any pecuniary scrape by their obedience; and, should it be thought proper to allow the Enemy's Fleet to be victualled, that I may be informed as soon as possible....I can have nothing, as an Admiral, to say upon the propriety of granting Licences; but from what your Lordship told me of the intentions of Ministers respecting the neutral trade, it strikes me, some day it may be urged that it was not for the sake of Blockade, but for the purpose of taking all the trade into her own hands, that Great Britain excluded the Neutrals. Your Lordship's wisdom will readily conceive all that Neutral Courts may urge at this apparent injustice, and of Might overcoming Right."

(1805.) The Honourable Captain Blackwood had received orders from Rear Admiral Louis, commanding the advanced Squadron off Cadiz, dated the 29th of September, to take such a station in the Euryalus Frigate off that Harbour, as from circumstances of wind and weather might be best adapted for watching the motions of the Enemy's Fleet, and preventing Vessels from entering or coming out unperceived. He had also been directed to take his Majesty's ship Hydra, Captain George Mundy, under his orders. The report made to Lord Nelson by Admiral Louis, on the first of October, was, that thirty four Ships of the Line, (eighteen French and sixteen Spanish) with four Frigates and two Brigs, were ready for sea in the outer harbour of Cadiz; and on the next day, October 2, Captain Blackwood sent his Lordship word, "That within the last few days there had been a great deal of bustle and movements in Cadiz; every one capable of serving had been sent on board the Ships, and the French Troops, disembarked on their arrival, had been reimbarked."—Lord Nelson replied on the 4th, "I am momentarily expecting the Phœbe, (Hon. T. B. Capel); Sirius, (Captain Prowse); Naiad, (Captain T. Dundas); and Niger, (Captain J. Hillyer), from Gibraltar, two of which shall be with you directly. If you can meet them, and there be any way of sending information and their despatches, keep Naiad and Phœbe. Juno (Captain H. Richardson) is a fixture between Capes Trafalgar and Spartel. Mars, Colossus, and Defence will be stationed four leagues east from the Fleet, and one of them advanced to the east towards Cadiz, and as near as possible in that latitude. The Fleet will be from sixteen to eighteen leagues west of Cadiz; therefore if you throw a Frigate west from you, most probably in fine weather we shall daily communicate. In fresh breezes, easterly, I shall work up for Cadiz, never getting to the northward of it; and, in the event of hearing they are standing out of Cadiz, carry a press of sail to the southward towards Cape Spartel and Arache. I am writing regular Instructions for the guidance of the Frigates; but I am confident these gentry will not slip through our fingers, and that we shall give a good account of them although they may be superior in numbers."

(1805.) It is no less extraordinary than true, that a want of Frigates and Small Vessels has been the general complaint of all Commanders of large Fleets from the American War to the present day. When it is considered how greatly the successful operations of a Fleet, watching that of an Enemy, depend on its number of Frigates and Sloops, it behoves the Administration of our Country in particular, to leave no room for their Naval Commanders either at home or on foreign stations, to shift a degree of responsibility on that account, from themselves to the Admiralty. Lord Nelson uniformly represented this evil to the different Members of the Cabinet, but without removing it. On the 5th of October in writing to Lord Castlereagh, he touches on this subject. "I have only two Frigates to watch them, and not one with the Fleet. I am most exceedingly anxious for more Eyes, and hope the Admiralty are hastening them to me. The last Fleet was lost to me for want of Frigates, God forbid this should."—When writing on the same day to Lord Barham, the Admiral did not fail to call his attention to the same defect in the Mediterranean Fleet. "My dear Lord: The French and Spanish ships have taken the Troops on board, which had been landed on their arrival, and it is said that they mean to sail the first fresh Levant wind; and as the Carthagena ships are ready, and when seen a few days ago had their topsail yards hoisted up, it looks like a junction. The position I have taken for this month, is from sixteen to eighteen leagues west of Cadiz: for although it is most desirable that the Fleet should be well up in the easterly winds, yet I must guard against being caught with a westerly wind near Cadiz, as a Fleet of ships with so many three deckers, would inevitably be forced into the Straits, and then Cadiz would be perfectly free for the Enemy to come out with a westerly wind, as they served Lord Keith in the late War. I am most anxious for the arrival of Frigates; less than eight with the Brigs, &c. as we settled, I find are absolutely inadequate for this service, and to be with the Fleet. And Capes Spartel, Cantin, or Blanco, and the Salvages, must be watched by fast sailing Vessels in case any Squadron should escape. I have been obliged to send six sail of the line to water and get stores at Tetuan and Gibraltar, for if I did not begin, I should be very soon obliged to take the whole Fleet into the Straits. I have twenty three sail with me, and should they come out, I shall immediately bring them to Battle. But although I should not doubt of spoiling any Voyage they may attempt, yet I hope for the arrival of the ships from England, that as an Enemy's Fleet they may be annihilated: Your Lordship may rely upon every exertion."

The Admiral on the same day, *October 5*, sent the Pickle Schooner, Lieutenant J. Lapenotiere, to Captain Blackwood, to assist him for a few days on the look out: "Perhaps," added Lord Nelson, "with an easterly wind you could anchor a Frigate between Cadiz and the Pedro Shoals, taking care that she did not anchor until two hours after dark, and that she weighed two hours before day."—On the morning of the 6th all

remained quiet at Cadiz; and the Pickle Schooner rendered an essential service, by capturing a Portuguese settee with a cargo of bullocks from Tangier, said to be bound to Villa Real, that was endeavouring with a fresh breeze at East to work into Cadiz. This acceptable cargo was sent by Captain Blackwood to Lord Nelson; who on the same day in writing to the Secretary of the Admiralty, again expressed his anxiety for the arrival of the promised Frigates . . . "I am sorry ever to trouble their Lordships with any thing like a complaint of a want of Frigates and Sloops; but if the different Services require them and I have them not, those services must be neglected to be performed. I am taking all the Frigates about me I possibly can; for if I were an Angel, and attending to all the other points of my Command, let the Enemy escape for want of the *Eyes of the Fleet*, I should consider myself as most highly reprehensible. Never less than eight frigates, and three good fast sailing brigs, should always be with the Fleet to watch Cadiz; and to carry transports in and out to refit it, would take at least ten and four brigs, to do that service well. At present I have only been able to collect two, which makes me very uneasy." Ships, said Lord Nelson afterwards, *are I see wanted everywhere, but the watching of the Fleet in Cadiz is my first object.*

"We shall have these Fellows out at last, my dear Lord (said Admiral Collingwood when writing on the 6th). I firmly believe they have discovered that they cannot be subsisted in Cadiz—Their supply from France is completely cut off. And now, my Lord, I will give you my ideas: If the Enemy are to sail with an easterly wind they are not bound to the Mediterranean, and your Lordship may depend on it, the Carthagea Squadron is intended to join them. If they effect that, and with a strong easterly wind they may, they will present themselves to us with forty sail. Should Louis, by any good fortune, fall in with the Carthagea Squadron, I am sure he would turn them to leeward, for they would expect the whole Fleet was after them. Whenever the Carthagea People were expected, they opened the Light^b House."

(1805.) Every day now brought fresh reason to expect, that before it was over the Enemy would put to sea: the anxiety of every Officer was surpassed by what the Admiral endured, "I verily believe," said he on the 6th in writing to Mr. Rose, "that the Country will soon be put to some expense on my account, either a Monument, or a new Pension and Honours; for I have not the smallest doubt, but that a very few days, almost hours, will put us in Battle. The Success no Man can insure, but for the fighting them."

^b Admiral Collingwood shortly afterwards, when leaving the Dreadnought for the Royal Sovereign, having expressed his hopes that it would not be long, before he should have an opportunity of showing Lord Nelson that his confidence had not been misplaced, added a testimony in favour of his First Lieutenant, who is omitted: "I have had a little distress about two Lieutenants being Senior to my first, *Charles*, who is a brave right arm and the spirit that puts every thing in motion; but I hope your Lordship will appoint them, as their names are Palmer and Hewson, and then I will take my Signal Lieutenant, whose name is *Bridges*."

if they are to be got at, I pledge myself; and I am *very, very, very* anxious for the arrival of the force intended; for the thing will be done if a few more days elapse, and I want for the sake of our Country that it should be done so effectually, as to have nothing to wish for: and what will signify the force the day after the Battle. It is, as Mr. Pitt knows, *Annihilation* that the Country wants, and not merely a splendid Victory of twenty three to thirty six—honourable to the parties concerned, but absolutely useless in the extended scale to bring Buonaparte to his marrow bones. Numbers can only annihilate. I think not for myself, but my Country.”—Throughout the whole day and frequently the night, did this great Officer give his unwearied attention to the complicated objects, which his command at that critical moment more particularly embraced. His mind was every where, passing with a rapidity scarcely human throughout every circumstance of duty, and forming with accuracy a just conception of the intentions of the Enemy: *You may rely on it*, said he, *they will come out, and fight, if forced to Battle*. He never went to his short and disturbed rest, without providing for the contingencies of the night: “With this Swell,” wrote he on the 6th to Admiral Collingwood, “I think we had better at half past four or five o’clock, make the signal for all Boats to repair on board; and to keep the wind under three topsails and foresail for the night, and direct the ships with the transports in tow to keep to windward—this clear Night we need not mind the order of sailing, even if we want to wear in the night. Should the Swell get up before the evening, telegraph me, and the boats shall be hoisted in, and we will make sail.”—*With the business of such a Fleet*, observed he to Mr. Elliot, *I am not very idle; therefore, if I only write what is most interesting for you to know, you must excuse the other kind of writing*.

(1805.) The French at that time, at Toulon, had one ship of the line ready for sea, another fitting, and a ship had been launched at Genoa. They had also three frigates, and three corvettes which had been at Algiers, and were then cruising on the coast of France and Genoa, and towards Leghorn. The Eurydice, Captain Hoste, was employed looking out under Cape St. Mary’s to intercept the Enemy’s victuallers coming from the Bay; and a fast sailing Frigate or Sloop, as soon as the proper number of ships arrived, was intended to be sent off Cape Cantin, and also off the Salvages, in case any Squadron of the Enemy should escape from Cadiz. On the 7th of October the Amphion, Captain J. Sutton, joined with a Transport from Lisbon, and a letter from Lord Strangford; and the Naiad and Niger Frigates, with Transports from Gibraltar. On the next day the Eurydice, Captain W. Hoste, captured a Spanish Privateer. On the 8th of October the

“Telegraph me, dear Collingwood, upon all occasions,” said Lord Nelson in another letter, “without ceremony: We are one, and I hope ever shall be.”

Official Letter to the Admiralty, dated October 6.

Phœbe Frigate, and Weazel, Captain Peter Parker, joined Captain Blackwood, but Captain Parker was only detained to convey intelligence to Lord Nelson. The 8th was the first day since Captain Blackwood had been stationed off the Harbour's mouth, that his detachment enjoyed a sufficiently commanding breeze to reconnoitre the Enemy's force. It was found to consist of thirty four sail of the Line, three of which were three decked ships, with five Frigates, one Corvette, and three Brigs. Six Admirals Flags were flying. The French ships had their top gallant yards up, and sails bent. The Pickle was immediately sent with this intelligence to the Fleet. In writing to the Hon. Brigadier General Stewart, on that day, Lord Nelson said, "I have thirty six sail of the line looking me in the face, unfortunately there is a strip of land between us, but it is believed they will come to sea in a few days. The sooner the better, I dont like to have these things upon my mind ; and if I see my way through the Fiery Ordeal, I shall go home and rest for the winter, and shall rejoice to take you, my dear Stewart, by the hand. Some day or other that Buonaparte, if he lives, will attempt the Invasion and Conquest of Great Britain. The making our Volunteers and Militia soldiers was a wise plan, and we were very near having occasion to use them. Good Captain Hardy is still with me. Believe me ever your most sincere and faithful Friend."

When Admiral Louis, with the regular allotment of ships, Canopus, Spencer, Queen, Tiger and Zealous, had been sent to Gibraltar to procure a supply of water, Captain George Duff of the Mars succeeded to the command of the advanced squadron, for the time ; consisting of his own ship, with the Defence, Captain George Hope, the Colossus, Captain J. N. Morris, and the Ajax, Captain W. Browne. On the 4th of October the Admiral had sent the following directions to Captain Duff: "As the Enemy's Fleets may be hourly expected to put to sea from Cadiz, I have to desire that you will keep with the Mars, Defence, and Colossus, from three to four leagues between the Fleet and Cadiz, in order that I may get the information from the Frigates stationed off that Port, as expeditiously as possible. Distant signals to be used, when Flags, from the state of the weather, may not readily be distinguished in their Colours. If the Enemy be out, or coming out, fire guns by day, or night, in order to draw my attention. In thick weather, the ships are to close within signal of the Victory : one of the ships to be placed to windward, or rather to the eastward of the other two, to extend the distance of seeing ; and I have desired Captain Blackwood to throw a Frigate to the westward of Cadiz, for the purpose of an easy and early communication."—Captain Duff, in writing to his wife, October 8, thus spoke of Lord Nelson : "He certainly is the pleasantest Admiral I ever served under. He is so good a man, that we all wish to do what he likes without any kind of Orders. I

¹ See a Memoir of Captain Duff furnished by his family, (Naval Chronicle, Vol. 15, Page 265.)

have been employed for this week past to paint the ship after the "Nelson mode, which most of the Fleet are doing."—On the 9th, according to the Admiral's Diary, he sent the Nelson mode to his friend Collingwood; and such were the high spirits and good humour that prevailed throughout the Fleet, then daily expecting a desperate Battle with a superior force, that their evenings were often spent in attending the "theatrical performances which were exhibited in almost every ship. These performances kept up the cheerfulness and health of the men, and generally concluded a quarter before eight o'clock with God save the King."

On the 9th of October, Lord Nelson, then nineteen leagues from Cadiz, in writing to the Captain of the Euryalus, said, "Let us have them out, my dear Blackwood. Agamemnon, Belleisle, and Superb, and very probably London, are this moment on their passage; therefore if *Mr. Decrès* means to come forth, if he would take my advice (which I dare say he will not) he had better come out directly. They who know more of Cadiz than you or I do, say, that after these Levanters come several days of fine weather, westerly winds, fine sea breezes, and a land wind at night; and that if the Enemy are bound into the Mediterranean, they would come out in the night, which they have always done, placing lights on the porpoises and the Diamond, and the shoal off Cadiz, run to the southward and catch the sea breeze off the mouth of the Gut, and push through, whilst we might have little winds in the offing. In short watch all points, and all winds and weathers. Remember me to Capel, Parker, Mundy, and Captain Prowse."

(1805.) *To Admiral Collingwood, Oct. 9.* "My dear Coll, Captain Blackwood will have five Frigates and a Brig, they surely cannot escape us. I shall be glad to see you

^m The ships painted as usual with two yellow streaks, but the port holes black, which gave them an appearance of being chequered.

ⁿ This Amusement had been encouraged by the noble Admiral so far back as 1786, when Captain of the Boreas, (See Vol. 1, Page 98.) The following is an extract from a Prologue, that was delivered during their Blockade of Cadiz, in 1805, on board the Britannia, Lord Northesk, who was present.

"Yes! he foresees—confirm his prospects, Heaven!
Yon cooped up Boasters to your wishes given.
Sees their proud Ensigns from their Standards torn,
Their vanquish'd Navies in our Triumph borne;
Sees added Laurels grace our NELSON's brow,
And Victory hovering o'er his glowing prow,
His conquering Banners o'er the waves unfurl'd,
And Britain's Thunder rule the watery World!
If aught of Prescience to the Muse belong,
Soon, soon the scenes that animate her Song
In glowing colours shall salute your eyes,
And Heaven shall bid th' Auspicious Morn arise."

^o It was not then known for certain that Villeneuve commanded.

mounted in the Royal Sovereign; but change at your leisure. You will admire her as a far better ship than the Victory. I had rather that all the ships burnt a blue light, or false fire; for it must often happen that the cause of wearing is a change of wind, and often a very confused sea; and a ship may be very anxious from various circumstances to be assured that her neighbour astern has wore, as the Line from the above circumstances would be entirely broken: it is perfectly understood that unless in very fine weather, or extraordinary circumstances, the Fleet will not be directed to wear in succession. We have found the comfort of blue lights and false fires in the Mediterranean, where the wind changes so often. I send you my Plan of Attack, as far as a man dare venture to guess at the very uncertain position the Enemy may be found in. But, my dear Friend, it is to place you perfectly at ease respecting my Intentions, and to give full scope to your judgment for carrying them into effect: We can, my dear Coll, have no little Jealousies. We have only one great Object in view, that of annihilating our Enemies, and getting a glorious Peace for our Country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you, and no man will render your services more justice than your very old Friend, NELSON AND BRONTE."

(1805.) It is impossible to read this letter without giving its great and noble Writer the tribute of a tear, without feeling that the hand which wrote it was in a few days cold in death: but it was the Death he wished for, it was the Sleep in which the Brave have delighted to rest. The following is the Plan of Attack which was inclosed. "*Victory, off Cadiz, October 9th.* Thinking it almost impossible to bring a Fleet of forty sail of the line into a line of Battle, in variable winds, thick weather, and other circumstances which must occur, without such a loss of time that the opportunity would probably be lost, of bringing the Enemy to battle in such a manner as to make the business decisive; I have therefore made up my mind to keep the Fleet in that position of sailing, with the exception of the first and second in command, that the Order of Sailing is to be the Order of Battle: placing the Fleet in two lines of sixteen ships each, with an advanced squadron of eight of the fastest sailing two decked ships, which will always make, if wanted, a line of twenty four sail on whichever line the Commander in Chief may direct. The second in Command will, after my intentions are made known to him, have the entire direction of his Line to make the attack upon the Enemy, and to follow up the blow until they are captured or destroyed.

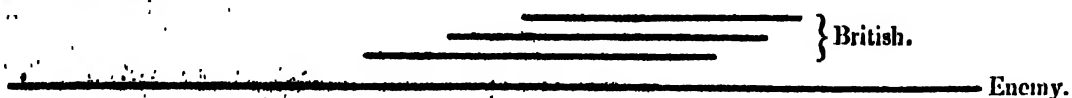
"If the Enemy's Fleet should be seen to windward in line of Battle; and that the two lines and the advanced squadron could fetch them, they will probably be so extended that their Van could not succour their Rear: I should therefore, probably, make the second in command's signal to lead through about their twelfth ship from their rear, or wherever he could fetch, if not able to get so far advanced. My line would lead through about their

Centre; and the advanced Squadron to cut two, or three, or four ships ahead of their centre, so as to insure getting at their Commander in Chief, whom every effort should be made to capture. The whole impression of the British Fleet must be to overpower from two or three ships ahead of their Commander in Chief, supposed to be in the centre, to the rear of their Fleet. I will suppose 20 sail of the Enemy's Line to be untouched: it must be some time before they could perform a manœuvre, to bring their force compact to attack any part of the British Fleet engaged, or to succour their own ships, which indeed would be impossible without mixing with the ships engaged. *The Enemy's Fleet is supposed to consist of 46 sail of the line, British Fleet of 40. If either be less, only a proportionate number of Enemy's ships are to be cut off: British to be one fourth superior to the Enemy cut off.*

"Something must be left to chance, nothing is sure in a Sea Fight beyond all others. Shot will carry away the masts and yards of friends as well as foes. But I look with confidence to a Victory, before the van of the Enemy could succour their rear; and then, that the British Fleet would most of them be ready to receive their 20 sail of the line, or to pursue them, should they endeavour to make off. If the Van of the Enemy tacks, the captured ships must run to leeward of the British Fleet; if the Enemy wears, the British must place themselves between the Enemy, and the captured and the disabled British ships: and, should the Enemy close, I have no fears as to the result.

"The second in Command will, in all possible things, direct the movements of his Line, by keeping them as compact as the nature of circumstances will admit. Captains are to look to their particular Line as their rallying point; but, in case Signals can neither be seen nor perfectly understood, no Captain can do very wrong, if he places his ship alongside that of an Enemy.

"Of the intended Attack from to Windward, the Enemy, in Line of Battle, ready to receive an attack:"



The Divisions of the British Fleet will be brought nearly within gunshot of the Enemy's Centre; the Signal would, most probably, then be made for the lee line to bear up together, to set all their sails, even steering sails (Vide Instructions, page 17, Signal Book, with reference to Appendix.) in order to get as quickly as possible to the Enemy's Line and to cut through, beginning at the twelfth ship from the Enemy's Rear: some ships

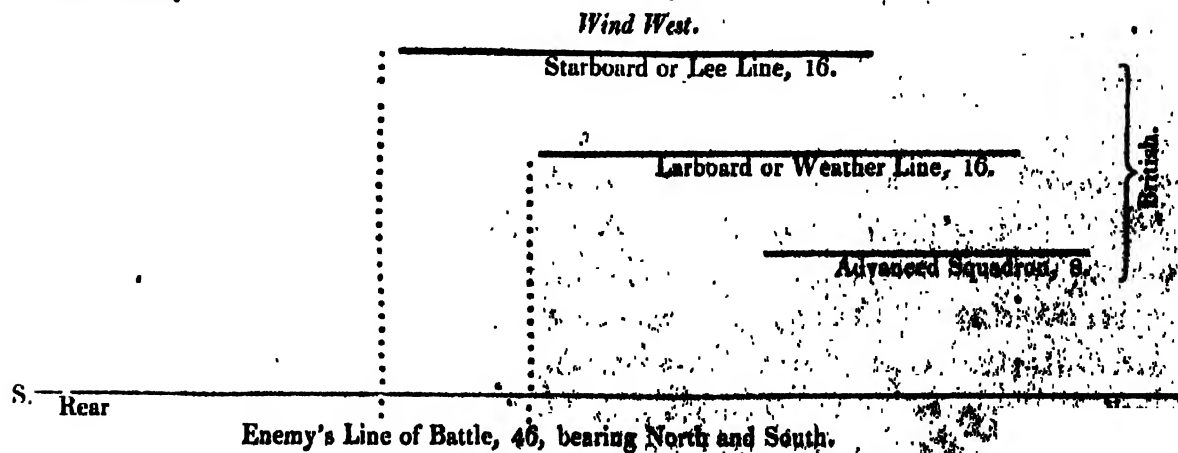
In illustration of this plan of attack, which bears the stamp of Lord Nelson's original genius and skill in naval tactics, let us suppose the wind West as marked underneath, the British Fleet formed into two principal lines, in the order of sailing to windward of the Enemy, having another smaller line termed by the Admiral the advanced or windward Squadron; and that, in such a position, the three Divisions having approached to a convenient distance of the Enemy's line (supposed to be formed to leeward in order of battle on the larboard tack, with the heads

may not get through their exact place, but they would always be at hand to assist their friends, and if any are thrown round the Rear of the Enemy, they would effectually complete the business of 12 sail of the Enemy. Should the Enemy wear together, or bear up and sail large, still the 12 ships, composing in the first position the Enemy's rear, are to be the object of attack of the Lee line, unless otherwise directed from the Commander in Chief: which is scarcely to be expected, as the entire management of the Lee line after the intentions of the Commander in Chief are signified, is intended to be left to the judgment of the Admiral commanding that line.

"The remainder of the Enemy's Fleet, 34 sail, are to be left to the management of the Commander in Chief, who will endeavour to take care that the movements of the second in Command are as little interrupted as is possible."

(1805.) The Combined Fleets, on the 10th of October, were close to the Porpoises and Diamond Rock at Cadiz, and almost out of the harbour, and every thing tended to confirm Lord Nelson in his opinion, that their destination was the Mediterranean. On that day he issued some standing Orders, consisting of his last fourteen directions to the Fleet, copies of which were passed from ship to ship in the lee and weather line, to be signed by every Captain, and returned to the Victory. The fifth^a of these shews his uniform attention to the health of the seamen, and the sixth his great economy of government stores. The twelfth was consonant with the prevailing humanity of his character: "It is my particular directions, that the Name and Family of every Officer, Seaman and Marine, who may be killed or wounded in Action with the Enemy, on board any of his Majesty's

of their ships towards the North), the Admiral made the signal for his two columns to bear up, according to the Instructions in his plan and reference to Signal Book; the tracks of the two columns of British Ships would, in that case, be represented by the dotted lines cutting through the Enemy's Line of Battle, in various directions, astern or ahead of their leaders: Which manœuvre was nearly what was put in practice on the 21st, with the exception, that the British Fleet bore up by signal, in two columns, when at the distance of ten or eleven miles from the Enemy.



^a See Appendix, No 12.

ships and vessels under my command, is returned to me as soon after the circumstance happens as the service will admit of, agreeable to the annexed form; in order that I may transmit it to the Chairman of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's Coffee House, that the case of the relations of those who fall in the Cause of their Country may be taken into consideration." The different divisions of the Fleet were also instructed by one of these Orders, to bear the White or St. George's Ensign, being his own colours, in order to prevent confusion from a variety of flags, and to hoist Union Jacks at the foretop gallant stay of each ship, as a distinction.

(1805.) On the same day, Oct. 10, he wrote again to his second in Command: "My dear Coll, The Enemy's Fleet is all but out of the harbour; perhaps this night with the northerly wind they may come forth, and with the westerly sea breeze tomorrow go into the Mediterranean. If the weather is fine, and we have plenty of drift, I shall lay to all night." *To Captain Blackwood, Oct. 10.* "Let me, my dear Blackwood, know every movement. I rely that we cannot miss getting hold of them, and I will give them such a shaking as they never yet experienced, *at least I will lay down my life in the attempt.* We are a very powerful Fleet and not to be had cheap. I have told Parker, and do you direct, that ships bringing information of their coming out, are to fire guns every five minutes by the watch, and in the night to fire rockets, if they have them, from the mast head. I have nothing more to say; they will, I hope, sail to night. Cadiz, East, 13 leagues, six A. M."

During the ensuing night, it blew so strong at N. W. that the Enemy could not venture to cast their ships loose; and their continuing thus in port, rendered the situation of the blockading Fleet very critical; as Lord Nelson had been led to think, by a letter from his friend Admiral Young, that if the Enemy did not soon sail, he might reasonably expect the Brest Fleet: *I must therefore*, observed he in writing to that Officer, *try and annihilate them, before the Cadiz Fleet can join.* On the next day, Oct. 11, he described the manner in which he had stationed his ships, in a letter to Sir A. Ball: "I have five frigates, a brig, and a schooner, watching them closely, an advanced Squadron of fast sailing ships between me and the frigates, and the body of the Fleet from fifteen to eighteen leagues west of Cadiz. I am aware there will be moments when it might be wished we were closer; but I have considered all possible circumstances, and believe there will often be times in strong gales of westerly wind, when we may even wish ourselves farther off, as we shall be endangered of being driven into the Mediterranean: when, if they choose to go westward, they will have no interruption. However, whether I am right or wrong, I act from the best of my judgment.—Admiral Murray is in England, settling the affairs of his father-in-law, lately dead: he might have had his flag, if he pleased, in this Fleet. Hardy is much recovered. I have pressed the necessity of two sail of the line, two frigates,

and two sloops, to scour the Mediterranean from Toulon, Genoa, &c. &c.¹ and to preserve Sardinia—round the southern end of it to Toulon again, as a fixture. For Malta, and the convoys to the Adriatic, &c. one small frigate, four good sloops of war, and the four vessels commanded by Lieutenants.”—Again, when writing a second letter, on the same day, to Sir Alexander, “ You will see, my dear Ball, from the tenour of the letter addressed to you, that I have had much communication with his Majesty’s Ministers upon the subject of preventing Sardinia from falling into the hands of the French . . . I want that we should have a great weight in the Mediterranean; and although I have made a very considerable impression on the minds of Mr. Pitt, Lords Mulgrave and Castlereagh,* of the very great importance of fixing ourselves in the Mediterranean, yet perhaps that may wear off by absence. However, I must say, they received all my little knowledge with much attention.”

(1805.) Lord Nelson daily found the advantage of the Station he had determined to keep, sixteen or eighteen leagues to the westward of Cadiz; for although it was possible that the Combined Fleets might get a few leagues before him into the Mediterranean, yet that could not be put in competition with the chance of the British Fleet being driven through the Straits. He ardently wished that some of his ships could have been changed for others, whose rate of sailing was better. He knew that the Enemy must ere long move from Cadiz, and might not volunteer an Action. *I own*, said he to Lord Barham, *I long for faster sailing ships, and, if not three deckers, two alongside an Enemy are better than three deckers a great way off*.—As the day of the Battle approached, the convulsions of the Continent increased, and the danger that threatened Great Britain from the Brest and Rochfort Squadrons, consequently became more considerable. The Continent, as he informed Admiral Louis, was in motion, Austria had marched into Bavaria, and the Russians were in Germany. Hanover was evacuated, and it was thought Prussia would join the Coalition. The Rochfort Squadron was not only out, but had taken the Calcutta and most of her convoy of South Sea whalers, and had chased very hard both the Agamemnon, Sir E. Berry, and the Aigle, Hon. D. P. Bouverie, on their passage to the Fleet; and it was by no means thought improbable by Lord Nelson, that the Rochfort Squadron might get to the southward and enter the Mediterranean. The Fleet was at this time very short of men, and the crews of the respective ships had in consequence a greater portion of labour to undergo. Their health, however, continued as remarkable, as the general cordiality and cheerfulness that prevailed.

The weather on the 14th of October became more favourable, and the only apprehension was, lest the Enemy’s ships from being so much crowded at the harbour’s mouth, might have suffered in the late gales and be in consequence detained. The Amphion, to

* On the 24th of September, 1805, Lord Castlereagh had answered the Admiral in an official despatch on the subject of Sardinia. (See *Appendix*, N^o 13.) Lord Nelson replied by letter, dated Oct. 13.

which Captain Hoste had been lately appointed, was on that day sent to Gibraltar, and thence to Algiers with presents to the new Dey who had succeeded on the death of the former one, and with a complimentary letter from the Admiral. On the 14th, Lord Nelson made the following arrangement of his ships. The Defence and Agamemnon were on that day placed from seven to eight leagues west from Cadiz, and the Mars and Colossus five leagues East from the main body of the Fleet, "whose station," adds the Admiral in his Diary, "will be from fifteen leagues, to twenty, west of Cadiz, and by this chain I hope to have a constant communication with the frigates off Cadiz."—*To Captain Blackwood, October 14.* "You will be speedily supported in case of an attempt to drive you off, I should like amazingly to see them try it. I approve most highly of your care of the Diligent storeship, and thank you for your notice about the salvages, which shall be inserted. Sir Richard Strachan was actually in scent of the French Squadron, I wish he were stronger, but I am sure he will spoil their cruising."—Lord Nelson's Diary then continues an account of his proceedings to the morning of the twenty first.—"*Wednesday, Oct. 16.* Moderate breezes, westerly. All the forenoon employed in forming the Fleet into the order of sailing. At noon fresh breezes W. S. W. and squally, in the evening fresh gales. Enemy as before, by signal from the Weazel, Captain Peter Parker. *Oct. 17.* Moderate breezes, N. W. sent Donnegal to Gibraltar to get a ground tier of casks. Received accounts by the Diligent storeship, that Sir Richard Strachan was supposed in sight of the French Rochfort Squadron, which I hope is true. At midnight the wind came to the eastward. *October 18.* Fine weather, wind easterly, the Combined Fleets cannot have finer weather to put to sea. *October 19.* Fine weather, wind easterly. At half past nine, the Mars (Capt. G. Duff) being one of the look out ships, repeated the signal, 'That the Enemy was coming out of Port'—Made the signal for a general chase S. E. Wind at south, Cadiz bearing E. N. E. by compass, distant sixteen leagues. At three the Colossus (Capt. J. N. Morris) made the signal, 'That the Enemy's Fleet was at sea.' In the evening directed the Fleet to observe my motions during the night, and for Britannia (Admiral Lord Northesk, Captain C. Bullen), Prince (Captain R. Grindall), and Dreadnought (Captain John Conn), they being heavy sailers, to take their stations as convenient; and for Mars, Orion (Hon. E. Codrington), Bellisle (Captain W. Hargood), Leviathan (Captain J. W. Bayntun), Bellerophon (Captain John Cooke), and Polyphemus (Captain R. Redmill), to go ahead during the night and to carry a light, standing for the Straits mouth. *Sunday, October 20.* Fresh breeze S. S. W. and rainy: communicated with Phoebe (Honourable T. B. Capel), Defence (Honourable G. Hope), and Colossus, who had seen near forty sail of ships of war coming out of Cadiz yesterday morning: but the wind being southerly, they could not get to within sight of the Enemy. Captain Blackwood, who, being stationed off the harbour's mouth, first telegraphed the Enemy's being at sea.

the mouth of the Straits; we were between Trafalgar and Cape Spartel. The frigates made the signal that they saw nine sail outside of the harbour—gave the frigates Instructions for their guidance, and placed Defence, Colossus, and Mars between me and the frigates. At Noon fresh gales and heavy rain—Cadiz N.E. nine leagues. In the afternoon Captain Blackwood telegraphed, that the Enemy seemed determined to go to the westward; and that they shall not do if in the power of Nelson to prevent them. At five telegraphed Captain Blackwood, that I relied upon his keeping sight of the Enemy. At five Naiad, (Captain T. Dundas) made the signal for thirty one sail of the Enemy N.N.E. "The Frigates and look out ships kept sight of the Enemy most admirably all night, and told me by signals which tack they were upon. At eight P.M. we wore and stood to the S.W. and at four A.M. wore and stood to the N.E."

We now come to the great and terrible Day of the Battle; when, as it has been so well expressed, *GOD GAVE US VICTORY, BUT NELSON DIED.* He felt that the twenty first was the last day of his bright Career, that it had been a memorable day in his family, and he accordingly prepared to die, that his Country might be defended from the inveterate Enemies of the civilized World. He knew that his ship would be the particular object of their fury, and that it was hardly possible he could go through the fiery Ordeal in safety. He passed the night, as he had formerly done that before the battle of Copenhagen, and his rest was short and interrupted. On the break of day, he thus committed the Justice of his cause, and his own safety, to the overruling providence of God: *"May the great God whom I worship, grant to my Country and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious Victory; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it, and may Humanity, after Victory, be the predominant feature in the British Fleet. For myself, individually, I commit my Life to Him who made me, and may His blessing light upon my endeavours for serving my Country faithfully. To Him I resign myself, and the just cause which is entrusted me to defend. Amen."*

It becomes painful and arduous to proceed in the Narrative; and the feeble mind that has hitherto ventured, so imperfectly, to record the bright events of our Nation's splendid career, falters in tracing the account of his last most glorious day. He put on the Coat which he had so often worn on the day of Victory, and which he kept with a degree of veneration: The various splendid honours he had received from different Nations, were plainly worked upon it, and the Star of the Order of the Bath which he had always worn with a peculiar pleasure, as the free gift of his Sovereign, he resolved should appear in the Battle and be nearest his heart when he fell: *In Honour, he exclaimed, I*

* By his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, in some lines written on the Action. See Appendix, No. 18.

* It had been his custom for years, to preserve what he termed his fighting Coat; but through inadvertence he omitted to wear the Sword, so much regarded, which had belonged to Captain M. Suckling.

gained them, and in Honour I will die with them. On leaving his Cabin he went over the different decks, spoke to and encouraged his men with his usual affability, and saw that the preparation for Battle was complete throughout the Ship. As he ascended the quarter deck ladder he was greeted with three Cheers.

Captain Blackwood's Memoir contains the following interesting account of the conversation he had with Lord Nelson on that Morning. "At six o'clock on the morning of the 21st, my signal was made to repair on board the Victory. In a few minutes I went on board, and had the satisfaction to find the Admiral in good, but very calm spirits. After receiving my congratulations, at the approach of the moment he so often and so long had wished for, he replied, *I mean to day to bleed the Captains of the Frigates, as I shall keep you on board until the very last minute.* His mind seemed entirely directed to the strength and formation of the Enemy's line, as well as to the effects which his novel mode of Attack was likely to produce. He seemed very much to regret, and with reason, that the Enemy tacked to the northward, and formed their line on the larboard instead of the starboard tack, which latter line of bearing would have kept the Straits mouth open. Instead of which, by forming to the northward, they brought the Shoals of Trafalgar and St. Pedro, under our lee; and also, with the existing wind, kept open the port of Cadiz, which was of infinite consequence to them. This movement was in a great degree the cause of Lord Nelson's making the signal to prepare to anchor, the necessity of which was impressed on his mind to the last moment of his life: and so much did he think of the possibility of the Enemy's escape into Cadiz, that he desired me to employ the Frigates, as much as I could, to complete the destruction of the Enemy whether at anchor or not; and not to think of saving ships or men, for Annihilation to both was his first object and Capture but a secondary one. During the five hours and a half that I remained on board the Victory, in which I was not ten minutes from his side, he frequently asked me, *What I should consider as a Victory?* the certainty of which he never for an instant seemed to doubt; although from the situation of the land he questioned the possibility of the subsequent preservation of the Prizes. My answer was, "That considering the handsome way in which Battle was offered by the Enemy, their apparent determination for a fair trial of strength, and the proximity of the land, I thought if fourteen ships were captured it would be a glorious result;" to which he always replied, *I shall not, Blackwood, be satisfied with any thing short of twenty.*—A telegraphic signal had been made by him to denote, *That he intended to break through the Rear of the Enemy's Line, to prevent their getting into Cadiz.* I was walking with him, continues Captain Blackwood, on the Poop, when he said, "I'll now amuse the Fleet with a Signal;" and he asked me, "if I did not think there was one yet wanting?" I answered, that I thought the whole of the Fleet seemed very anxious to understand what they were about, and to vie with each other who

should first get nearest to the Victory, or Royal Sovereign. These words were scarcely uttered, when his last well known Signal was made, **ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY.** The shout with which it was received throughout the Fleet was truly sublime. Now, said Lord Nelson, *I can do no more. We must trust to the Great Disposer of all Events, and the Justice of our Cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my Duty.*"

The wind was light from the S.W. and a long swell was setting into the Bay of Cadiz, so that our ships like Sovereigns of the Ocean moved majestically before it; every one crowding all the sail that was possible, and falling into her station according to her rate of going. The Enemy wore at about seven o'clock, and then stood in a close line on the larboard tack towards Cadiz: at that time the Sun shone bright on their sails, and from the number of three deckers amongst them, they made a most formidable appearance; but this so far from appalling our brave countrymen, induced them to observe to each other, *What a fine sight those Ships would make at Spithead.*

Admiral Villeneuve, who was worthy of a better Master, on receiving his Orders to put to sea, had called a Council of War; when it had been determined on knowing Lord Nelson commanded the Fleet, that they should not leave Cadiz unless they had cause to believe they were one third stronger than the British Force. From Lord Nelson's keeping out of sight, and their knowing at Cadiz of the detachment of six sail of the line to the Mediterranean, Villeneuve put to sea confident of success: An American Gentleman had declared, that Lord Nelson could not be with the British Fleet, as he had been seen only a few days before in London. There were also, it is said, some personal motives which induced Villeneuve to leave Cadiz, contrary to the opinion of the Spaniards. His conduct in the action with Sir Robert Calder, had been severely animadverted upon at Paris: Buonaparte had made known his disposition towards him, and the friends of this unfortunate Officer had given him intimation, that he would shortly be superseded by Admiral Rosilly, then actually on his road to take the command. "About ten o'clock, continues Captain Blackwood in his Memoir, Lord Nelson's anxiety to close with the Enemy became very apparent: He frequently remarked to me, that they put a good face upon it; but always quickly added, *Ill give them such a dressing as they never had before*, regretting at the same time the vicinity of the Land. At that critical moment I ventured to represent to his Lordship the value of such a life as his, and particularly in the present Battle; and I proposed hoisting his Flag in the Euryalus, whence he could better see what was going on, as well as what to order in case of necessity. But he would not hear of it, and

* From the information of Captain Hewson, R.N. then a First Lieutenant.

† Ibid.

‡ From communications made by himself to the Hon. Captain Blackwood.

gave as his reason the force of Example, and probably he was 'right.' My next object, therefore, was to endeavour to induce his Lordship to allow the Temeraire, Neptune, and Leviathan to lead into action before the Victory, which was then the headmost. After much conversation, in which I ventured to give it as the joint opinion of Captain Hardy and myself, how advantageous it would be to the Fleet for his Lordship to keep as long as possible out of the Battle, he at length consented to allow the Temeraire, which was then sailing abreast of the Victory, to go ahead, and hailed Captain E. Harvey to say such were his intentions, if the Temeraire could pass the Victory. Captain Harvey being rather out of hail, his Lordship sent me to communicate his wishes, which I did; when, on returning to the Victory, I found him doing all he could to increase rather than diminish sail, so that the Temeraire could not pass the Victory: consequently, when they came within gun shot of the Enemy, Captain Harvey finding his efforts ineffectual was obliged to take his station astern of the Admiral."

The Combined Fleet, commanded by Admiral Villeneuve in the Bucentaur, consisted of thirty three powerful ships, eighteen of which were French, and fifteen Spanish: amongst the latter was Lord Nelson's old antagonist the Santissima Trinidad of 140 guns, besides two of 112 guns, one of 100 guns, six of eighty four and eighty, and the remainder seventy fours of a large class, together with seven frigates of heavy metal, forty four and forty guns each, besides other smaller vessels. The Spaniards were commanded by Admiral Gravina, who had under him Vice Admiral Don J. D'Aliva, and Rear Admiral Don B. H. Cisneros. Villeneuve had under him Rear Admirals Dumanoir and Magon. Four thousand Troops were embarked on board the Fleet, under the command of General Contamin in the Bucentaur, amongst whom were several of the most skilful sharp shooters that could be selected, and many Tyrolese riflemen: various sorts of combustibles and fire balls were also embarked, as had been their practice in the Battle of the Nile. The Spaniards appeared with their heads to the northward, and formed their Line of Battle with great closeness and correctness; and as the mode of attack by Lord Nelson was unusual,

* There are some beautiful passages in the first book of The Maccabees, which form a sublime parallel with the Conduct and Sentiments of NELSON. JUDAS MACCABEUS fought with cheerfulness the Battles of Israel. In his acts he was like a Lion; the fear of Judas, and the dread of him came upon the Nations round about. On hearing of the threats and numbers of his Enemy, previous to the dreadful Battle in which he fell, and being advised to attend to his Safety, he exclaimed—*God forbid! If our time be come, let us die manfully for our brethren. The Victory of Battle standeth not in the multitude of an Host, but strength cometh from Heaven. They come against us in much Pride and Iniquity, to destroy us: but we fight for our Lives and our Laws, for our People and the Sanctuary. It is better for us to die in Battle, than to behold the Calamities of our People and our Sanctuary. Nevertheless, as the Will of God is in Heaven, so let Him do.* (Chapters iii. and ix.)

* This account is correct, as to the appearance of the Combined Fleet from some of the van ships in the Lee Column in leading down to Action; but the fact was, that the Enemy's Ships in the Rear were intermixed in a treble line, and from the Centre to the Van they formed, at unequal intervals, a double line.

so the structure of their Line was new. It formed a Crescent convexing to leeward, and Admiral Collingwood, in leading down to the centre, had both the Van and Rear of the Enemy abaft his beam. In a private letter that appeared from an Officer of the *Bellerophon*, it was observed, "The Enemy formed a close and well imagined, though until now unexampled Order of Battle; and which, had their plan of defence been as well executed as it was contrived, would have rendered our Victory much more dearly bought than it was: they were formed in a double Line, thus

1 2 3
 4 5 6

French and Spaniards alternately,* and it was their intention on our breaking the Line astern of No. 4, (which manœuvre they expected we should as usual put into execution) for No. 2 to make sail; that the British ship in hauling up should fall on board of her, whilst No. 5 should bear up and rake her, and No. 1 bring her broadside to bear on her starboard bow. This manœuvre only succeeded with *Tonnant* and *Bellerophon*, which were amongst the ships that suffered most." Before their fire therefore opened, every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern, forming a kind of double Line; and appeared when on their beam, to leave a very little interval between them, and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was on board the *Bucentaur*, eighty guns, in the Centre, and the *Prince of Asturias* bore *Gravina's* Flag in the Rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed without any apparent regard to national order. Lord Nelson, in the *Victory*, bore down at the head of the weather column, and Admiral Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign* at the head of the lee.

"Of the *Victory* and *Royal Sovereign*," continues Captain Blackwood, "it would be impossible to decide which achieved the most. They both, in my opinion, seemed to vie with each other in holding forth a brilliant Example to the rest of the Fleet. They were literally in themselves an Host. Admiral Villeneuve assured me, that on seeing the novel mode of attack intended to be made on the Combined Fleet, and which at that moment, he confessed, he could not in any way prevent; he called the Officers of his ship around him, and pointing out the manner in which the first and second in command of the British Fleet were each leading his Column, he exclaimed, *Nothing but Victory can attend such gallant conduct*. When Lord Nelson found the shot pass over the *Victory*, he desired Captain Prowse of the *Sirius* and myself, to go on board our ships, and in our way to tell all the

* Admiral Collingwood's Official Letter.

† Previous to this Captain Blackwood had witnessed with Captain Hardy, by Lord Nelson's desire, the paper that has been so often before the Public; in which the services of Lady Hamilton to her Country, during her continuance at the Court of Naples, were strongly recommended by the Admiral to the attention of Government.

- Captains of line of Battle Ships, that he depended on their exertions; and that if, by the mode of attack prescribed, they found it impracticable to get into Action immediately, they might adopt whatever they thought best, provided it led them quickly and closely alongside an Enemy. He then again desired me to go away; and as we were standing on the front of the Poop, I took his hand, and said, 'I trust, my Lord, that on my return to the Victory, which will be as soon as possible, I shall find your Lordship well and in possession of twenty Prizes.' On which he made this reply, *God bless you, Blackwood, I shall never speak to you again.*"

The two Columns of the British Fleet, led on by their gallant Chiefs, continued to advance, with light airs and all sails set, towards the van and centre of the Enemy, whose line extended about N.N.E. and S.S.W. In order to cut off any possibility of the Enemy's escape into Cadiz, Lord Nelson's Column was steered about two points more to the north, than that of Admiral Collingwood, owing to which the leading ships of the lee line were the first engaged. The Royal Sovereign and her line of battle steered for the centre. At half past eleven, the Enemy began firing on the Royal Sovereign, *See*, exclaimed NELSON, *see how that noble fellow Collingwood carries his ship into action.* In ten minutes afterwards the Royal Sovereign opened her fire, and cut through the Enemy's line astern of the Spanish ship Santa Anna, 112 guns, engaging her at the muzzle of her guns on the star-board side; when, being delighted at having first got into action, Collingwood turning to his Captain, said, *Rotherham, what would NELSON give to be here?* The following ships of the lee line vied with each other in following so daring an example, *Mars*, George Duff; *Belleisle*, William Hargood; *Tonnant*, Charles Tyler; *Bellerophon*, John Cooke; *Colossus*, J. N. Morris; *Achille*, Richard King; *Polyphemus*, Robert Redmill; *Revenge*, Richard Moorsom; *Swiftsure*, W. G. Rutherford; *Defence*, George Hope; *Thunderer*, Lieutenant J. Stockham, acting; *Defiance*, P. C. Durham; *Prince*, Richard Grindall; *Dreadnought*, John Conn.—The weather column, led on by Lord Nelson, had in the mean while advanced towards the Enemy's van; flags had been hoisted on different parts of the Victory's rigging by his orders, lest a shot should carry away her ensign. It is an extraordinary fact, and which has been well attested, that the Enemy did not hoist any colours, at least not until very late in the action. The Santissima Trinidad and Bucentaur, are described as having been the ninth and tenth ships; but as the Enemy's Admirals did not shew their

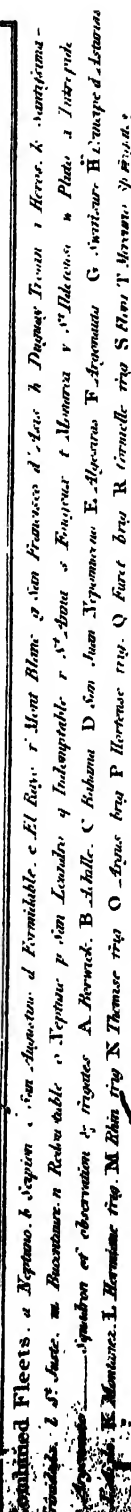
Admiral Collingwood's gallantry was most ably seconded by his Captain, *Rotherham*, of whom the following anecdote, so descriptive of his character, has been related. A heavy shower of musketry had nearly swept the quarter deck of the Royal Sovereign, when some of his Officers earnestly requested him not to expose himself so much to the Enemy's sharp shooters, by wearing a gold laced hat, and appearing in his epaulettes—"Let me alone," replied *Rotherham*, *I have always fought in a cocked hat, and always will.*"

Narrative of what passed on board the Victory on the 21st of October, by Mr. Beatty, then Surgeon of that ship, since made Physician of the Fleet.

flags, the former ship was only distinguished from the rest by having four decks; and to the bow of this formidable opponent, Lord Nelson now ordered the Victory to be steered. The Enemy at first displayed considerable coolness; and, as the Victory approached, such of their ships as were ahead of her and across her bows, at fifty minutes past eleven began frequently to fire single guns, in order to ascertain whether she was within range, when a shot having passed through the main top gallant sail of the Victory, they opened a tremendous fire. The coolness that was preserved by his Crew, was noticed with much satisfaction by NELSON, and he declared that in all his Battles he had seen nothing that could surpass it. The Victory had lost about 20 men killed and 30 wounded, before she returned a shot: her mizen topmast and all her studding sails and their booms on both sides had been shot away, when, at four minutes past twelve, she opened her larboard guns on the Enemy's van. Captain Hardy soon afterwards informed the Admiral that it would be impossible to break through the Enemy's line, without running on board one of their ships, and begged to know which he would prefer—*Take your choice, Hardy*, replied he, *it does not much signify which*. The tiller ropes of the Victory being afterwards shot away, she ran on board the Redoubtable,^a which coming alongside fired a broadside into the Victory, and immediately let down her lower deck ports; which was done to prevent her from being boarded through them by the Victory's crew; nor were they again opened. A few minutes after this, the Temeraire fell likewise on board of the Redoubtable, on the side opposite to the Victory, having also an Enemy's ship¹ on board of her on her other side: So that the extraordinary and unprecedented circumstance occurred here, of four ships of the line being on board of each other in the heat of battle, forming as compact a tier as if they had been moored together, their heads all lying the same way. The Victory then passing astern of the Bucentaur, hauled up on her starboard side, and pouring in a dreadful broadside, stood for the Admiral's old opponent, the Santissima Trinidad; playing her larboard guns on both ships, whilst the starboard guns of the middle and lower decks were depressed, and fired with a diminished charge of powder and three shot each, into the Redoubtable. "This mode of firing," says Mr. Beatty, "was adopted by Lieutenants Williams, King, Yule, and Browne, to obviate the danger of the Temeraire's suffering from the Victory's shot passing through the Redoubtable, which must have been the case, if the usual quantity of powder and the common elevation had been given to the guns. A circumstance occurred in this situation, which shewed in a most striking manner the cool intrepidity of

^a It could not possibly be the Fougex, according to Mr. Beatty's account, because from every information she was the ship next astern of the Santa Anna, between which and the Fougex Admiral Collingwood cut through the Enemy's Line. In the annexed Plan, the French ship Neptune is represented as being on board the Temeraire.

¹ Mr. Beatty's Narrative. This circumstance occurred from the Redoubtable shooting ahead, and endeavouring to close nearer to the Bucentaur, so as to prevent the Victory from cutting through that part of the line.

[illegible]

the Officers and Men stationed on the lower deck of the Victory. When the guns on that deck were run out, their muzzles came into contact with the Redoubtable's side, and at every discharge there was reason to fear that the Enemy's ship would take fire, and both the Victory and the Temeraire be involved in her flames. The fireman of each gun stood ready with a bucket full of water, which as soon as his gun was discharged, he dashed into the French ship through the holes made in her side by the shot."—The remaining ships of Lord Nelson's column, after the Temeraire, which pressed forward to his support, were the *Neptune*, T. F. Fremantle; *Conqueror*, Israel Pellew; *Leviathan*, H. W. Bayntun; *Ajax*, Lieutenant J. Pilfold acting; *Orion*, Edward Codrington; *Agamemnon*, Sir Edward Berry; *Minotaur*, C. J. M. Mansfield; *Spartiate*, Sir F. Laforey; *Britannia*, Rear Admiral Earl of Northesk, Captain Charles Bullen; *Africa*, Henry Digby.—Owing to the judicious mode of attack which Lord Nelson had adopted, his fastest sailing ships, like sharp shooters in an army, had half joined the battle before the slow sailing ones came up to their support, which as a corps of reserve soon determined the day. Had he delayed to form his Line, and had proportioned the way made by the bad sailing ships in the Fleet, they would have fired at a distance for a considerable time, and the Enemy might have had a drawn battle by escaping into Cadiz. What the genius of NELSON so ably planned, the British Fleet fully executed. The superiority of their Seamanship was very manifest throughout the Action; for the Enemy's Fleet by keeping with the wind nearly on their beam, lay in a trough in the sea and rolled considerably, so that one broadside passed over, and the next fell short of their opponents.

In the first heat of the Action, Mr. Scott, the Admiral's Secretary, was killed by a cannon ball whilst in conversation with Captain Hardy,^k and near to Lord Nelson. Captain Adair of the marines, who soon afterwards fell, endeavoured to remove the mangled body, but it had attracted the notice of the Admiral—*Is that poor Scott*, said he, *who is gone?* Afterwards, whilst he was conversing with Captain Hardy on the quarter-deck, during the shower of musket balls and raking fire that was kept up by the Enemy, a double headed shot came across the poop and killed eight of the marines. Captain Adair was then directed by him to disperse his men round the ship. In a few minutes, a shot struck the fore brace bits on the quarter deck, and passing between Lord Nelson and Captain Hardy, drove some splinters from the bits about them, and bruised Captain Hardy's foot. They mutually looked at each other, when NELSON, whom no danger could affect, smiled and said, *This is too warm work, Hardy, to last.* The Redoubtable had for some time commenced a heavy fire of musketry from her tops, which like those of the Enemy's other ships were filled with riflemen. The Victory, however, became enveloped in smoke, except at intervals when it partially dispersed, and owing to the want of wind, was surrounded

with the Enemy's ships. At fifteen minutes past one, and a quarter of an hour before the Redoubtable struck, Lord Nelson and Captain Hardy were observed to be walking near the middle of the quarter deck: the Admiral had just commended the manner in which one of his ships near him was fought, Captain Hardy advanced from him to give some necessary directions, and he was in the act of turning near the hatchway, with his face towards the stern, when a musket ball struck him on the left shoulder, and entering through the epaulet, passed through the spine, and lodged in the muscles of the back, towards the right side. NELSON instantly fell with his face on the deck,¹ in the very place that was covered with the blood of his Secretary, Mr. Scott. Captain Hardy, on turning round, saw the serjeant of marines, Secker, with two seamen, raising him from the deck: "Hardy, said his Lordship, *I believe they have done it at last, my backbone is shot through.*

Some of the crew immediately bore the Admiral to the cockpit, and several wounded officers, and about 40 men, were carried below at the same time, amongst whom were Lieut. Ram and Mr. Whipple, Captain's clerk, both of whom died soon afterwards. Whilst the seamen were conveying Lord Nelson down the ladder from the middle deck, he observed that the tiller ropes had not been replaced, and desired one of the midshipmen to remind Captain Hardy of it, and to request that new ones should be immediately rove. He then covered his face and stars with his handkerchief, that he might be less observed by his men. He was met at the foot of the cockpit ladder by Mr. Burke the purser, who, with the assistance of a marine supporting his legs, with some difficulty conveyed him over the bodies of the wounded and dying men, for the cockpit was extremely crowded, and placed him on a pallet in the midshipmen's birth, on the larboard side. Mr. Beatty was then called, and soon afterwards the Rev. Mr. Scott attended; and his Lordship's clothes were taken off, that the direction of the ball might be the better ascertained. *You can be of no use to me, Beatty, said Lord Nelson; go and attend those whose lives can be preserved.* When the surgeon had executed his melancholy office, had expressed the general feeling that prevailed on the occasion, and had again been urged by the Admiral to go and attend to his duty, he reluctantly obeyed, but continued to return at intervals. As the blood flowed internally from the wound, the lower cavity of the body gradually filled; Lord Nelson therefore constantly desired Mr. Burke to raise him, and, complaining of an excessive thirst, was supplied by Mr. Scott with lemonade. In this state of suffering, with nothing but havoc, and death, and misery around him, the spirit of NELSON remained unsubdued. His mind continued intent on the great object that was always before him, his Duty to his Country; he therefore anxiously inquired for Captain Hardy, to know whether the annihilation of the Enemy

¹ A Piece of the Mast of the Victory before which NELSON fell, has been consecrated to his Memory by H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence in a Naval Temple at Bushey, which also contains a Bust of the noble Admiral.

² The scene as represented by Mr. West is perfectly correct in every respect, and the great part of the Victory is described where Lord Nelson expired.

might be depended on; but it was upwards of an hour before that Officer could at so critical a moment leave the deck, and Lord Nelson became apprehensive that his brave associate was dead. The crew of the Victory were now heard to cheer, and he anxiously demanded the Cause, when Lieutenant Pasco, who lay wounded near him, said that one of their opponents had struck. A gleam of devout joy lighted up the countenance of NELSON; and as the Crew repeated their cheers and marked the progress of his Victory, his satisfaction visibly increased. *Will no one*, exclaimed he, *bring Hardy to me? He must be killed, I am certain he is dead.* Mr. Bulkley, the Captain's Aid de Camp, then came below, and in a low voice communicated to the Surgeon the particular circumstances respecting the Fleet which had detained Captain Hardy, but that he would take the first moment that offered to leave the deck. The excessive heat of the Cockpit from the numbers of the dead and wounded, increased the faintness of the dying Admiral, and his sight became dim: *Who brought the message?* said he feebly. "Bulkley, my Lord," replied Mr. Burke *It is his voice*, said NELSON; *remember me, Bulkley, to your Father.* Captain Hardy soon afterwards came down from the Deck, and anxiously strove to conceal the feelings with which he had been struggling. *How goes the Day with us, Hardy?* "Ten ships, my Lord, have struck." *But none of ours I hope.* "There is no fear, my dear Lord, of that. Five of their Van have tacked, and shew an intention of bearing down upon us; but I have called some of our fresh ships round the Victory, and have no doubt of your complete success." Having said this, he found himself unable any longer to suppress the yearnings of a brave and affectionate heart, and hurried away for a time to conceal the bitterness of his sorrow.

The firing continued, and the cheers of the men were occasionally heard amidst its repeated peals. With a wish to support his spirits that were in some degree shaken by having seen the Friend he so sincerely regarded, and from the increased pain under which he had to endure the agonies of excessive thirst, and the great difficulty of respiration, Mr. Burke said, "I still hope, my Lord, you will carry this glorious news home." *Don't talk nonsense*, replied the Admiral, *one would, indeed, like to live a little longer, but I know it to be impossible: God's Will be done. I have performed my Duty, and I devoutly thank Him for it.* A wounded Seaman was lying near him on a pallet, waiting for amputation, and in the bustle that prevailed was hurt by some person passing by: NELSON, weak as he was, indignantly turned his head, and with his usual authority reprimanded the man for not having more humanity. Some time afterwards he was again visited by the Surgeon: *I find, said he, something rising in my breast, which tells me I shall soon be gone. God be praised that I have done my duty. My Pain is so severe, that I devoutly wish to be released.*

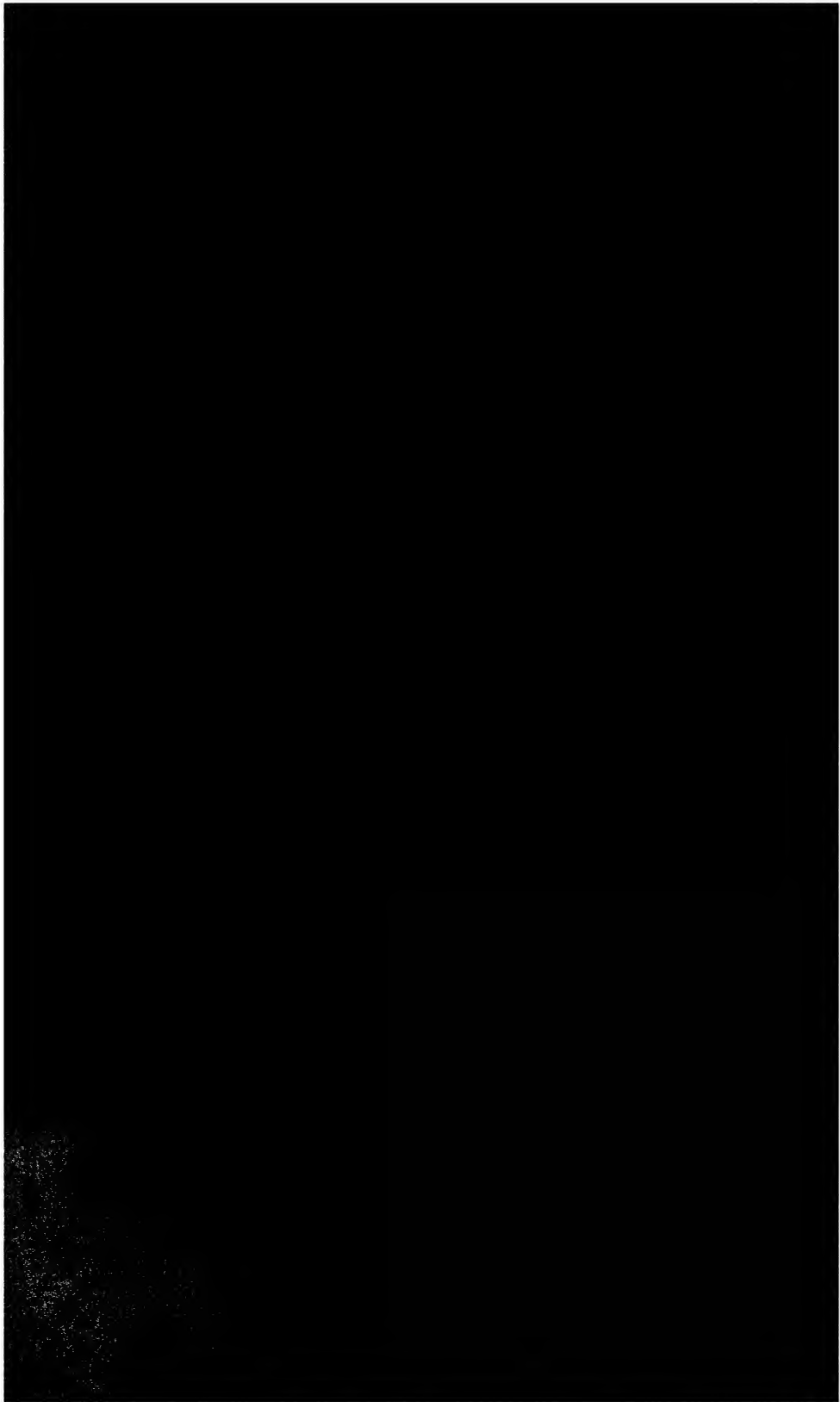
A most spirited and continued fire had been kept up from the Victory's starboard guns on the Redoubtable, for about fifteen minutes after Lord Nelson was wounded; in which

time Captain Adair and about eighteen Seamen and Marines were killed, and Lieutenant Bligh, Mr. Palmer, Midshipman, and twenty Seamen and Marines were wounded by the Enemy's musquetry alone: Lord Nelson did not allow of any small arms in the tops of the Victory, from the danger of setting fire to the sails. The Redoubtable had been twice on fire in her fore chains and on the forecastle, and by throwing some combustibles had set fire to the Victory: the alarm was given, which reached to the Cockpit, yet neither hurry nor trepidation appeared, and the Crew having put out the flames, immediately turned their attention to the Redoubtable, and rendered her all the assistance in their power. On the colours of that ship being struck, and no possibility of boarding her appearing from the state of ruin of both ships, and the closing of the Enemy's ports, some Seamen immediately volunteered their services to Lieut. Quillam, to jump overboard, and, by swimming under the bows of the Redoubtable, to endeavour to secure the Prize; but Captain Hardy thought the lives of such men too valuable to be risked by so desperate an attempt. Afterwards, when the firing from the Victory had in some measure ceased, and the glorious result of the day was accomplished, Captain Hardy immediately visited the dying Chief, and reported the entire number that had struck: *God be praised, Hardy! bring the Fleet to an anchor.* The delicacy of Captain Hardy's situation, from there being no Captain of the Fleet, was peculiarly embarrassing; and, with as much feeling as the subject would admit of, he hinted at the Command devolving on Admiral Collingwood. NELSON feeling the vast importance of the Fleet being brought to anchor, and with the ruling passion of his soul predominant in death, replied, and somewhat indignantly, *Not whilst I live, I hope, Hardy;* and vainly endeavouring, at the moment, to raise himself on the Pallet, *Do you, said he, bring the Fleet to anchor.* Captain Hardy was returning to the Deck, when the Admiral called him back and begged him to come near. Lord Nelson then delivered his last injunctions, and desired that his body might be carried home to be buried, unless his Sovereign should otherwise desire it, by the bones of his Father and Mother. He then took Captain Hardy by the hand, and observing, that he would most probably not see him again alive, the dying Hero desired his brave associate to kiss him, that he might seal their long Friendship with that affection which pledged sincerity in Death:

" Upon these Words I came and cheered him up,
He smiled me in the face——
So did he turn, and over Suffolk's neck
He threw his wounded arm, and kissed his lips;
And so, espoused to Death, with blood he sealed
A Testament of noble ending love." *

Captain Hardy stood for a few minutes over the body of him he so truly regarded, in silent

* Henry V. Act. iv. The insertion of this passage was suggested, during a conversation on the last moments of Lord Nelson, by Mr. Kemble.



agony, and then kneeling down again kissed his forehead : *Who is that*, said the dying Hero. "It is Hardy, my Lord." *God bless you, Hardy*, replied NELSON feebly, and afterwards added, *I wish I had not left the Deck, I shall soon be gone* ; his voice then gradually became inarticulate, with an evident increase of pain : when, after a feeble struggle, these last words were distinctly heard, *I HAVE DONE MY DUTY, I PRAISE GOD FOR IT*. Having said this, he turned his face towards Mr. Burke, on whose arm he had been supported, and expired without a groan.

Ἄνδρες μὲν ὑμῖν ἔτος εἰρηταί μορος
τῷ παντοσίμῳ, τῷ στρατηλάτῃ νεῶν.

ÆSCHYL. EUMENID. 639.

The following is the account of this painful event, which Admiral Collingwood afterwards transmitted to the Duke of Clarence, at H. R. H.'s request.—"Most gracious Prince, The loss which your Royal Highness and myself have sustained in the death of LORD NELSON, can only be truly estimated by those who had the happiness of sharing his Friendship: he had all the qualities that adorn the human heart; and a head which for quickness of perception, and depth of penetration, qualified him for the highest offices of his Profession. But why am I making those Observations to your Royal Highness who knew him? because I cannot speak of him but to do him honour.

"Your Royal Highness desires to know the particular circumstances of his death. I have seen Captain Hardy but for a few minutes since, and understood from him, that at the time the VICTORY continued very closely engaged in rather a crowd of ships, LORD NELSON was commending some ship that appeared to be conducted much to his satisfaction, when a musket ball struck him on the left shoulder: Captain Hardy immediately hastened to support him. He smiled, and said, *Hardy, I believe they have done it at last*. He was carried below; and when the ship was disengaged from the crowd, he sent an Officer to inform me he was wounded. I asked the Officer if his wound was dangerous? He hesitated; but I saw the fate of my friend in his eye, his look said what his Tongue could not give utterance to. About an hour afterwards, when the Action was over, Captain Hardy brought me the melancholy account of his death. He inquired frequently how the Battle went, and expressed Joy when he heard the Enemy were striking; in his last moments shewing an anxiety for the Glory of his Country, regardless of what related to his person.

"I cannot express how great my Gratitude is to your Royal Highness, for the high Honour done me by your letter, congratulating me on the success of his Majesty's Fleet

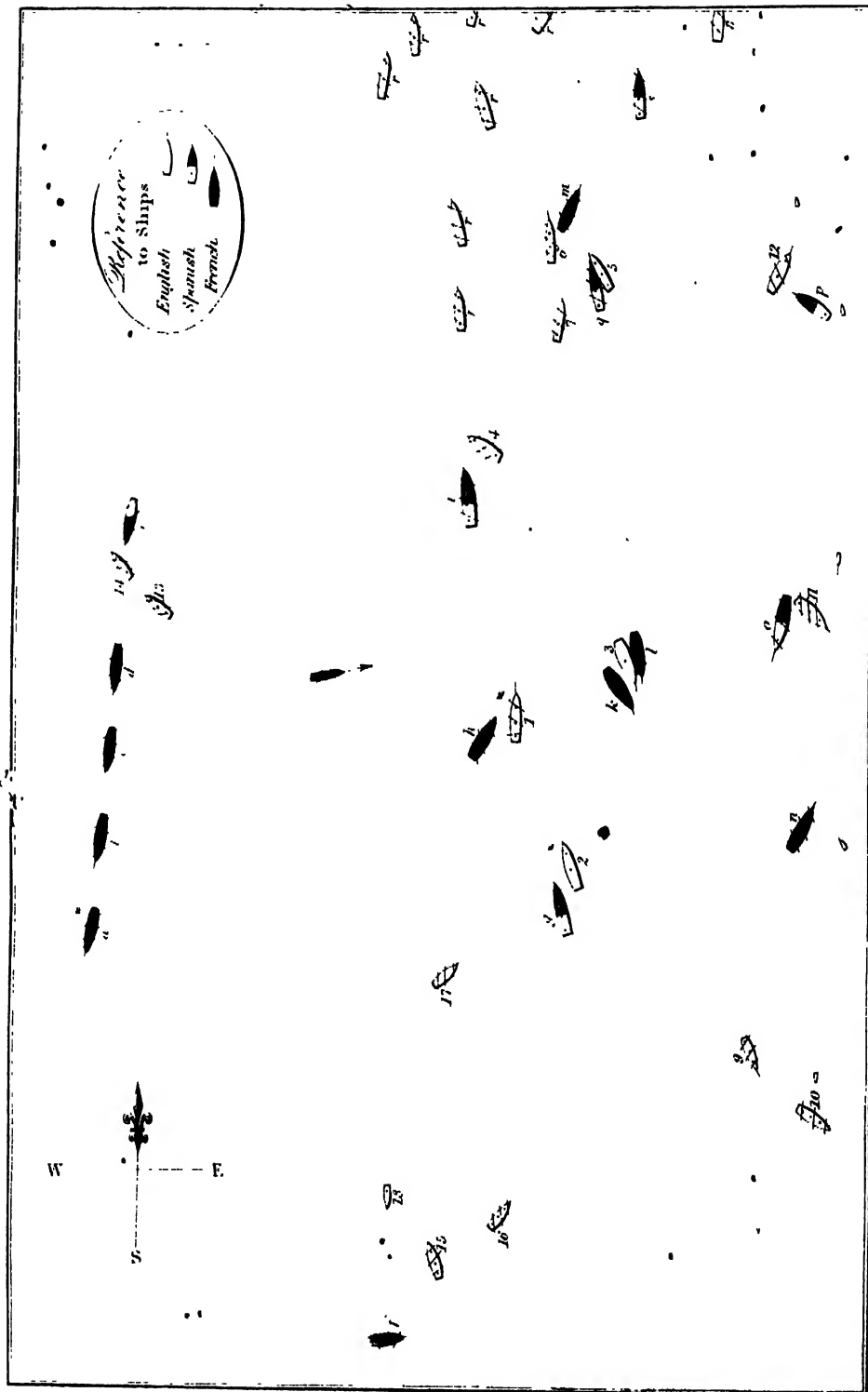
Lieutenant Hills. When this brave Officer left his ship on so melancholy a duty, the Enemy's van Ships that had tacked, were passing her to windward and firing at the Victory. (Mr. Beatty's Narrative, page 46.)

against his Enemies. This instance of condescension and mark of your Royal Highness's kindness to one of the most humble, but one of the most faithful of his Majesty's Servants, is deeply engraven in my heart; and it will ever be considered as my great Happiness to have merited your Royal Highness's approbation, of which this Sword, which your Royal Highness has presented to me, is a testimony so highly honourable. I beg your Royal Highness will accept my thanks; with the assurance that, whenever his Majesty's Service demands it, I will use it in the support of our Country's Honour and the advancement of his Glory."

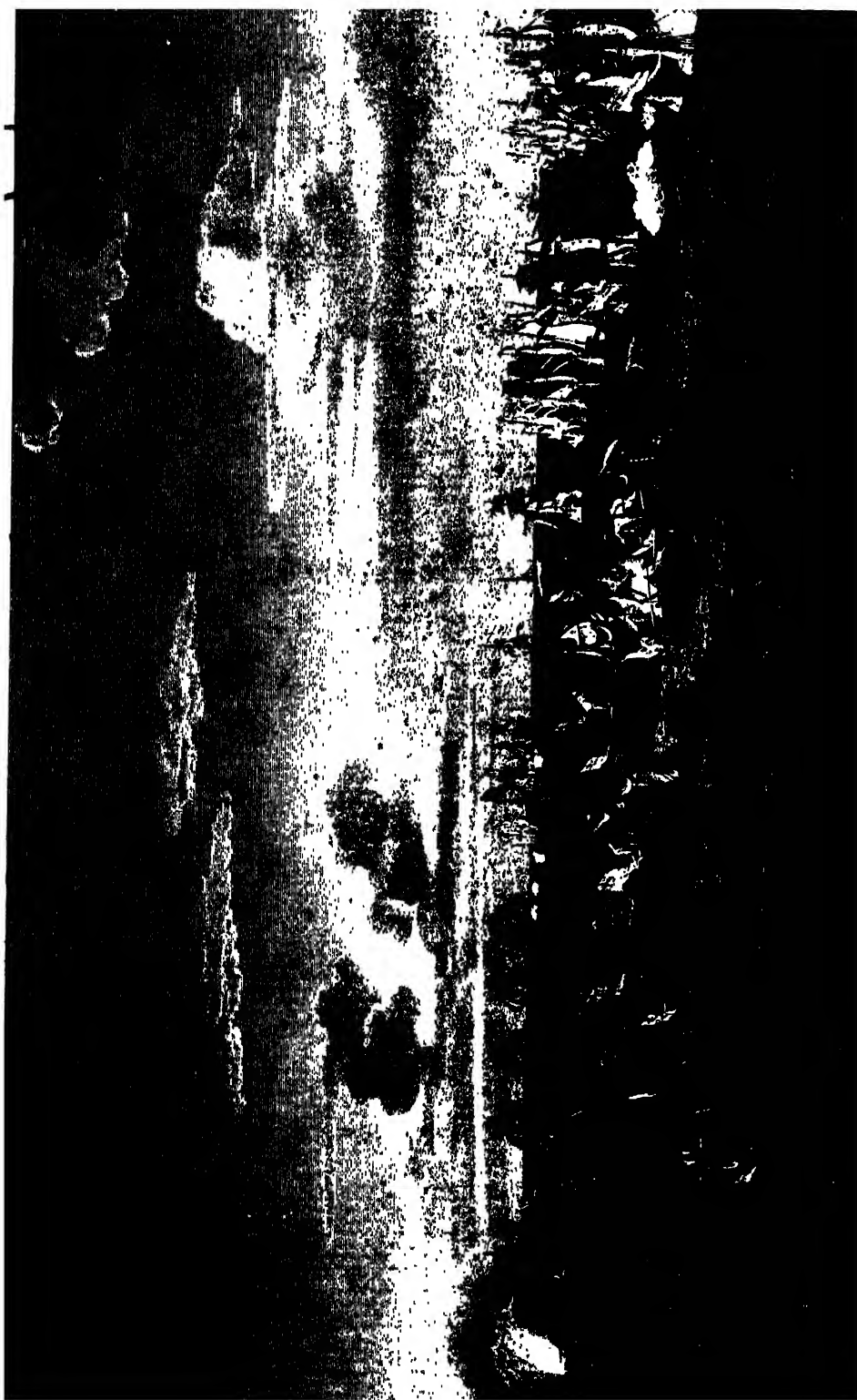
The Battle had been sorely contested, and the slaughter on board the Enemy almost unprecedented: in the British Fleet 423 were killed, and 1064 wounded, many of whom died afterwards. The Ships that pressed forward after their gallant Chiefs in the weather and lee Columns, are described by Admiral Collingwood, as breaking through in all parts astern of their leaders, and engaging the Enemy at the 'muzzles of their guns: "The Conflict," adds he, "was severe; the Enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their Officers; but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events to grant his Majesty's arms a complete and glorious Victory. About three P.M. many of the Enemy's ships having struck their Colours, their line gave way: Admiral Gravina, with the Ships joining their Frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their Van tacked, and standing to the southward, to windward of the British Line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to his Majesty's Squadron nineteen ships of the line, (of which two are first rates, the Santissima Trinidad and the Santa Anna) with three Flag Officers, viz. Admiral Villeneuve the Commander in Chief, Don*Ignatio Maria d'Aliva, Vice Admiral, and the Spanish Rear Admiral Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros. After such a Victory, it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several Commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express. The Spirit which animated all was the same. When all exert themselves zealously in their Country's Service, all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded, and never was high Merit more conspicuous than in the Battle I have described. The Achille, a French seventy four, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen after her surrender, took fire and blew up; 200 of her men were saved by the tenders . . . Such a Battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have only to lament

"In the Gibraltar Chronicle, dated Nov. 9, (1805), it was observed, "We do not recollect any General Action where so many of our Ships ran on board those of the Enemy; no less than five of the French captured Ships were engaged so closely, that the muzzles of our lower deck guns touched those of the Enemy. And it is worthy of remark, that in every instance where this occurred, the Frenchmen immediately lowered their Ports and deserted their guns on that deck; whilst our Seamen, on the contrary, were deliberately loading and firing their guns with two and often with three round shot, which soon reduced the Enemy's Ships to a perfect Wreck."

PLAN of the RELATIVE SITUATION of the BRITISH and COMBINED FLEETS. at the CLOSE of the BATTLE of TRAFALGAR.



British Fleet. 1 Victory, 2 Royal Sovereign 3 Temeraire, 4 Neptune, 5 Leviathan 6 Africa 7 Orion 8 Conqueror 9 Derwent 10 Tonnant 11 Bellona 12 Minotaur 13 Spartiate 14 Minotaur 15 Prince 16 Sirius frigate 17 Furieuse frigate 18 Pallas schooner
Combined Fleet. a Formidable, b Scipion, c Mont Blanc, d Duquesne Traite, e Neptuno f L'Eschille barque, g L'Ana, h Bucentaure i L'Inferno k Fougues
l Redoubtable, m L'Esperance, n L'Esperance, o Menace, p Bahama, q St. Augustin r r & British in Chase of part of the Enemy flying to the Northward The Enemy's Ships which were chased to the Eastward are not introduced, s Spanish Ship bearing up against the British & Conqueror



in common with the British Navy and the British Nation, in the fall of the COMMANDER IN CHIEF, the loss of a Hero whose name will be immortal and his memory ever dear to his Country: But my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the loss of a Friend, to whom by many years intimacy and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell, does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought. I have also to lament the loss of those excellent Officers, Captains Duff of the *Mars*, and Cooke of the *Bellerophon*: I have yet heard of none others. I fear the number that have fallen will be found very great when the returns come to me; but it having blown a gale of wind ever since the Action, I have not yet had it in my power to collect any reports^a from the Ships.

“ The Royal Sovereign having lost her masts, except the tottering foremast, I called the *Euryalus* to me, while the Action continued, which ship lying within hail made my signals; a service Captain Blackwood^b performed with great attention. After the Action I shifted my Flag to her, that I might more easily communicate my Orders to, and collect the ships, and tow the Royal Sovereign out to seaward. The whole Fleet were now in a very perilous situation; many dismasted, all shattered, in thirteen fathom water off the shoals of Trafalgar, and when I made the signal to prepare to anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot. But the same good Providence which aided us through such a day, preserved us in the night by the wind shifting a few points and drifting the ships off the land, except four of the captured dismasted ships which are now at anchor off Trafalgar.”

A striking difference was observed^c between the gallantry of the Spanish Naval Officers and the conduct of the French; both in respect to their professional courage and general humanity towards our Countrymen, in consequence of the heavy gale that came on after the Action. The Spaniards, throughout the Battle, shewed a more uniform firmness and spirit than the French; and though the Castilian character was afterwards disgraced by the falsehoods and gross absurdities, which, through French influence, were published at Cadiz; the following facts display a love of glory and a liberality, more in unison with the general feelings of the nation. Amongst their ships, the *Argonauta* and *Bahama* were defended to the last extremity, each of them having about 400 men killed or wounded. The *San Juan Nepomuceno* was also fought with the most determined valour, until her Captain and

^a See in Appendix, N^o 14, these Reports at full length, with a copy of the Log of H. M. S. *Victory*, and her report and the official letters sent by Admiral Collingwood subsequent to this account of the Action.

^b Captain Blackwood went in his Boat through the fire of both Fleets to obtain intelligence of Lord Nelson's safety; and arrived in the Cockpit of the *Victory* as he was breathing his last.

^c *Gibraltar Chronicle*, Nov. 9, 1805.

350 of her crew were killed or wounded. The *Principe d'Asturias* and *Santa Anna* shewed also considerable gallantry. Every English Seaman who afterwards was cast on their coast was treated in the noblest manner. They refused, as they declared, "to consider any of the brave English as prisoners of war, who had already suffered so severely from the violence of the storm:" Every exertion had been made to save their lives during the violence of the tempest, and the Spanish soldiers left their beds to accommodate the British Seamen who were shipwrecked. *Though NELSON, they said, had been the ruin of the Spanish Navy, we sincerely lament his fall—He was the most generous Enemy and the greatest Commander of the age.*

The French, on the contrary, displayed that dishonourable, revengeful and lying character, which they have traced in very lasting and legible characters throughout the desolated kingdoms of Europe, with the sole exception of that Country in which NELSON was born, and now lies entombed. Admiral Dumanoir* had been the first to fly; and in the rancour and disappointment of a Coward's heart, fired into many of the Spanish ships as he passed them. On the surrender of the *Bucentaur*, an Officer with 100 seamen were sent to take possession, she afterwards during the storm drove towards Cadiz; the French rose, and having regained possession of their ship, endeavoured to carry her into Cadiz: their endeavours were ineffectual, and the ship was stranded and completely wrecked. The party of English, with the crew, were taken from the wreck and carried on board a French frigate, where they were treated in their unarmed and exhausted state with every species of cruel insult and inhumanity.

The Zeal of our Officers and Seamen, which had displayed during this Battle such astonishing instances of Valour, became, if possible, still more praiseworthy by the Humanity that was shewn to their Spanish and French prisoners during the subsequent tempest. Amongst these, the exertions of Captain Malcolm of the *Donegal*, an Officer of whom Lord Nelson had the highest opinion, were very conspicuous. When the French prisoners (who had as usual been intoxicated with brandy to give them a false and uncertain courage) had in a state of desperation cut the cables of the *Berwick*, one of the prizes, and she in consequence had driven towards the dangerous shoals of St. Lucar, Captain Malcolm* immediately ordered his own cables to be cut, that the boats of the *Donegal* might immediately render every assistance that was possible. His boats were accordingly got out at a considerable risk, with orders to bring on board all the wounded Frenchmen, before they removed the English: the Frenchmen were conveyed in safety on board the

* The *Moniteur*, which is the official paper of the French Government, stated, "That the Battle of Trafalgar lasted three days and three nights, that several ships of both Fleets were destroyed, and that the remainder of the Combined Squadron had stood away to sea, to repair their damages."

Afterwards taken, with his detachment, on the 4th of November, 1805, by Sir R. Strahan.

* Commanded the *Donegal* off Rochfort, 1809.

Donegal; but, before the boats could again return, the Berwick struck on the rocks, and every soul on board perished.

Never was a day of victory so entirely turned into a day of sorrow and of great mourning, as that which records the triumph and the death of NELSON. When the loss of their beloved Commander was known throughout the Fleet, a general depression prevailed. The very Seamen, who were severely wounded, forgot their own sufferings and danger and burst into a flood of tears: *O NELSON, our Father, our beloved Commander, would to God we could have died instead!*—The gloom of the violent tempest which so immediately succeeded, appeared adapted to this general depression, and shrouded as it were the Fleet, whose all pervading spirit had expired. On the next day, October 22, Admiral Collingwood in his public orders issued the following acknowledgment of the power of God in honour of His Holy Name on that Ocean, where His wonders had been so visibly displayed: *The Almighty God, whose arm is strength, having of his great mercy been pleased to crown the exertions of his Majesty's Fleet with Success, in giving them a complete Victory over their Enemies, and that all Praise and Thanksgiving may be offered up to the Throne of Grace, for the great benefit of our Country and to mankind, I have thought proper that a day should be appointed of general Humiliation before God, and Thanksgiving for his merciful Goodness; imploring forgiveness of our sins, a continuation of His Divine Mercy, and His constant Aid to us in the defence of our Country's Liberties and Laws, and without which the utmost efforts of Man are nought.*

On the same day, Admiral Collingwood also issued his general order of thanks to the Officers and Seamen of the British Fleet, dated from the Euryalus: “The ever to be lamented death of LORD VISCOUNT NELSON, Duke of Bronte, the Commander in Chief, who fell in the Action of the Twenty-first in the arms of Victory, covered with Glory, whose Memory will be ever dear to the British Navy and the British Nation, whose Zeal for the honour of his King and for the interests of his Country, will be ever held up as a shining example for a British Seaman, leaves to me a Duty, to return my thanks to the Right Honourable Rear Admiral, the Captains, Officers, Seamen, and detachments of Royal Marines serving on board his Majesty's Squadron now under my command, for their conduct on that day: but where can I find language to express my sentiments of the Valour and Skill which were displayed by the Officers, the Seamen, and Marines, in the Battle with the Enemy? where every individual appeared a Hero on whom the Glory

The following instance deserves to be recorded, as being traced by the hand of a foremast man of the Britannia (Lord North's ship), who had been wounded, in a letter which he sent home. “The shot that killed William [name] and three others, wounded me and five more. Another of my messmates Thomas Crosby, was also killed. [name] was shot at their gun like me, and died close to me. Crosby had been shot in three places. Pray inform [name] of their death, remind them that they died at the same time with NELSON, and at the moment of

of his Country depended: The attack was irresistible, and the issue of it adds to the page of Naval Annals a brilliant instance of what Britons can do, when their King and Country need their assistance.

"To the Right Honourable Rear Admiral the Earl of Northesk, to the Captains, Officers, and Seamen, and to the Officers, non commissioned Officers, and Privates of the Royal Marines, I beg to give my sincere and hearty thanks for their highly meritorious conduct both in the Action, and in their Zeal and Activity in bringing the captured ships out from the perilous situation in which they were, after their surrender, among the shoals of Trafalgar, in boisterous weather: And I desire, that the respective Captains will be pleased to communicate to the Officers, Seamen, and Royal Marines, this public testimony of my high approbation of their Conduct, and my thanks for it. CUTHBERT COLLINGWOOD."

Much has been said on the subject of the various and contradictory opinions that prevailed, respecting the Positions of the British and Combined Fleets, and the mode of Attack which was adopted by Lord Nelson. The following remarks, therefore, of a Friend, who has considered them in every point of view, and by his genius has so ably delineated the Battles of the departed Hero, are inserted: "In the first place, the British Fleet was certainly not in the Position stated in a Plan sent to the Admiralty, and signed *Majendie*, Captain of the *Bucentaur*; and yet they might appear so to those on board the Enemy's ships, as our ships could not be exactly in the same track astern of each other. From the first authorities, the British Fleet, when the Enemy was discovered, were laying to in two Columns, with their heads to the northward, the wind westerly. As they immediately bore up and made sail for the Enemy, Lord Collingwood's being the leeward division, was consequently so much the more ahead of Lord Nelson's, which distance the second in command kept all the way, and got into Action before the Commander in Chief. Admiral Collingwood's description of the semicircular appearance of the Combined Fleet in Line of Battle, and the intervals between each ship, supported by a line to leeward, must have been accurate, and was marked by that Officer in the clearest manner. Nor are those persons altogether wrong, who assert that the Combined Fleets were in a straight line. The wind being very light, and the approach towards the Enemy consequently slow, their line, which was so much of a curve with the convex side to leeward, that Admiral Collingwood brought their Rear and Van abaft his beam before he began to engage, must have appeared to our ships in the rear as a straight line; and as our mode of attack must have altered the Enemy's

movements, consequently their Line soon made a very different appearance. So that all these seeming contrarieties were only caused from the Combined Fleet being viewed from different situations. It may also be right to notice, that Lord Nelson, finding from the lightness of the wind, that his progress would be retarded by the heavy sailing ships, made the signal for the best Sailors to come on, without regard to their stations in the Line, and which must have then given them, to a distant spectator, the appearance of advancing without order, as was represented in the Plan made by the Captain of the Bucentaur.—And this agrees also with an account published by the Spaniards; who, viewing the progress of the British Columns from the walls of Cadiz, described them as coming down like mad Englishmen, in confusion and disorder: little imagining that what they deemed so was the result of profound thought, and real order.”

The VICTORY, having been made sea worthy at Gibraltar, where she arrived on the 28th of October, passed through the Straits in company with the Belleisle during the night of the 4th of November, and the next day, at noon, joined the Fleet, under Admiral Collingwood, cruising off Cadiz. Captain Hardy parted company in the evening, and stood for England. The Body of Lord Nelson had been preserved with the greatest care and attention by the Surgeon, at first in brandy, and afterwards on arriving at Gibraltar, where it could be procured in a sufficient quantity, with a portion of spirits of wine mixed with it. After a long and melancholy passage the Victory arrived at Spithead: her colours half mast high, the recollection how lately she had sailed bearing the Flag of Nelson, that great Admiral, whose body she now brought home to his Country for burial, rendered her an object that was contemplated with mingled veneration and regret. Her shattered and dismantled state declared the fury of the Battle in which the Hero fell, and her decks were still stained with the blood of those who had avenged his death. She had received eighty shots between wind and water. Her foremast and mainmast had been very badly wounded, and were filled with musquet bullets: she had a jury mizenmast and jury fore and main topmasts, and quantities of cannon balls were seen in her bowsprit and bows. The Wheel of the VICTORY was particularly examined; a shot had carried away during the Action four of its spokes, and yet, of the men who were conning and steering, not one was either killed or wounded.—On the 11th of December Captain Hardy sailed from Spithead for the Nore, previous to which the body of Lord Nelson was again examined. His sacred remains were then wrapped in cotton vestments, and rolled from head to foot with bandages after the ancient mode of embalming, and the body was then placed in a leaden coffin filled with brandy holding a strong solution of camphor and myrrh: this was enclosed in one of wood, and placed in the after part of his Lordship's Cabin.

The news of the Victory of Trafalgar was on the 6th of November announced in the

Metropolis by the Park and Tower Guns. The Despatches from Admiral Collingwood had been forwarded from the Admiralty to the King at Windsor, who received them at an early hour. His Majesty was much affected, and a profound silence, which continued for some minutes, marked the gratitude of the venerable Monarch. The whole of the Royal Family shed tears. The King then went to Chapel to return his devout thanks for the Victory; and on the following day his Majesty in Council directed the 5th of December to be proclaimed as a day of General Humiliation and Praise to God: and it was also directed by the King, that the Body of the British Hero should be buried in St. Paul's at the Public Expense, with Military and National Honours.

(1805.) On the 19th of December, the Coffin which had been made from a part of L'Orient's mainmast, and presented to Lord Nelson in 1799 by Capt. Hallowell, was lined with satin and sent to Woolwich Yard enclosed in one of lead and a shell. On the next day Mr. Tyson, formerly Secretary to the Admiral, having received an Admiralty Order addressed to Capt. Hardy, to deliver him the Body of Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, embarked, accompanied by Mr. Naylor, York Herald, with Mr. Whidbey, and other necessary attendants, and proceeded to meet the VICTORY. It blew all day a heavy gale from the S.W. and they with difficulty reached Sheerness that night. Commissioner Grey had received an Admiralty Order to send his Yacht to the Nore for the conveyance of the Body to Greenwich Hospital, where it was to lie in State, previous to that Public Funeral which the British Nation had decreed, and its interment in the Cathedral of St. Paul's. It blew so hard on the 21st, that any communication with the VICTORY was impossible. On the morning of the 22d they proceeded in search of the Victory, which they discovered about noon, crossing the Flats from Margate. In the evening when they got on board, and had declared the melancholy purpose for which they came, "A general gloom and impressive silence," adds Mr. Whidbey in his Memoir, "prevailed the whole Ship, never in my whole life had I witnessed any thing so truly affecting: nor did this gloom in the least disperse whilst we remained on board. We found the Body in the Admiral's Cabin, the coffin was opened by the people who attended for that purpose, and the Body was then placed on a table with a Union Jack before it. It was so well preserved, that all who had known Lord Nelson, immediately recognised it. All the Officers of the VICTORY, and some of his Lordship's friends, attended to take their last farewell. It was afterwards apparelled in some of the late Admiral's uniform clothes, and finally laid, bathed with the tears of those who stood around, in the mainmast coffin, made of the wreck of L'Orient, one of the captured trophies at Aboukir. The whole was then placed in a leaden coffin, which was immediately sealed and never afterwards opened. On being lowered down from the VICTORY, the Flag of the

* This account to the arrival of the body at the Admiralty is principally taken from a Memoir published by Mr. Whidbey, the Master Attendant of Woolwich Dock Yard, who attended by order from the Board.

Vice Admiral, which had been flying half mast high ever since the battle, was struck, and immediately sent on board the Yacht, where it was again hoisted in the same funereal manner." On the 23d of December, the Yacht and attendant vessel having anchored below Gravesend, got under weigh with a favourable light air, and the instant they were seen from the shore, those Military Honours commenced that were paid throughout the River to the Body of the lamented Hero, on its approach to the British Metropolis: As it passed, and whilst the Yacht continued in sight, Minute Guns were fired from Tilbury and the Batteries at Gravesend; all the ships instantly lowered their Colours, and the shore appeared lined with Volunteers under arms. At high water the Yacht anchored about two miles below Woolwich, and the next morning, December 24, at eleven o'clock, again got under weigh. The Military were drawn up in line, for a mile below the Arsenal at Woolwich, with reversed Arms, and the same in the Arsenal and Dock Yard: all the Colours were lowered. Minute Guns were again fired, the bells sounded the toll for the Brave Man fallen in Battle, and the bands played a solemn Dirge to his departed Spirit: The scene was truly awful and impressive. The Yacht continued to pass slowly along the Line of Troops under an easy sail towards Greenwich, where it arrived at two o'clock. The navigation of the river was much impeded by the number of boats present, and on approaching Greenwich these increased considerably. Many persons were anxious to be admitted, and earnestly begged to be allowed only to touch the Coffin. The Yacht having come to an anchor off Greenwich, the Body was landed at seven in the evening at the centre gate of the Royal Hospital, amidst an immense crowd of Spectators, and conveyed with much difficulty through it to the Record Room, until the Painted Hall was prepared. Another Coffin very richly ornamented and adorned with various devices was then sent from London, in which the others were placed. On a Plate of Gold, his Lordship's Honours were inscribed at full length, to which was added, *After a series of transcendant and heroic Services, this gallant Admiral fell gloriously in the moment of a brilliant and decisive Victory over the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, off Trafalgar, on the 21st of October, 1805.*

(1806.) On Sunday morning, January 5, after Divine Service, the Painted Hall where

December 24th, 1785. In the evening of this day, at a quarter before six o'clock, were deposited in the Record Room, the remains of the late Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, preparatory to his lying in state in the Painted Hall. Brought from on board his Majesty's ship Victory (in which vessel he was killed in the action off Cape Trafalgar on the 21st of October last) by the Commissioner's yacht from Sheerness. Jos. Martyn, Solicitor; J. Godby, Steward; R. Smith, Clerk of the Cheque.

His Lordship's remains were brought here by warrant from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, by John Tyson, Jos. Whidby, A. J. Scott, A. M. Chaplain, George Naylor, York Herald.

January 4th, 1806. On this day, at a quarter before three o'clock in the afternoon, the remains of the late V. A. Lord Viscount Nelson were removed from the Record Room to the Painted Hall, for the purpose of lying in state there, in the presence of A. J. Scott, Chaplain and foreign Secretary to Lord Nelson, Jos. Martyn, Solicitor of the Hospital, Richard Smith, J. Godby.

Extracted from the Record Book, J. P. Dyer.

the Body lay in state, was opened to the public: The Rev. Mr. Scott, Mr. Whidbey, and Mr. Tyson, attending as the principal Mourners. The Hall being closed at four o'clock, was again opened on the following Monday and Tuesday; and according to a calculation made by Mr. Whidbey, upwards of 30,000 persons during the three days came to view the Ceremony. On Tuesday evening, about four o'clock, the Elizabeth and Mary Brig arrived off Greenwich from Chatham, commanded by Lieutenant Brown, with a select band of Seamen and Marines from the brave Crew of the Victory, in order to attend the Funeral of their late Commander. Lord Hood received them at the north gate near the river amidst the greetings and acclamations of their Countrymen: The honourable Scars which they bore were viewed with gratitude, and the Governor gave his orders that they should be admitted into the Painted Hall, to shew how England honoured the Hero who had done his duty. During this affecting Scene no strangers were admitted.

On Wednesday, January 8th, at half past seven o'clock; such Naval Officers as had enjoyed the friendship of the late noble Admiral, and now wished to shew every honour to his memory, assembled at the Admiralty in order to proceed to Greenwich for the Body. The Lord Mayor and the different Companies of the City of London proceeded also thither in their State Barges. A violent Tempest had arisen during the Night from the westward, and the tide had in consequence ebbed so extremely low that it was feared there would be considerable difficulty in conveying the Body to the river. On the signal being made, an avenue of Troops was immediately formed from the houses of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor to the North Gate, leading to the River, and at the same instant another avenue was opened from the Painted Chamber: The Procession then began to move towards the River, preceded by Military Music, and Drums and Fifes in the Royal Uniform, playing the Dead March in Saul. Then came 500 of the Greenwich Pensioners, followed by six Mourners, and by eight trumpeters sounding the 104th Psalm. The Standard next appeared, carried by a Captain, supported by two Lieutenants. Then followed some of the honourable Badges of Chivalry, the Banner of the Order of the Bath, and the great Banner borne by Captain Moorsom. Immediately preceding the Body was seen Captain Hardy, supported by two Lieutenants of the Victory, bearing a Banner of emblems and Armorial Bearings; and next after the Bier followed the venerable Sir Peter Parker, Admiral of the Fleet, the early Patron and Friend of Nelson, accompanied by the Hon. Captain Blackwood as his Train Bearer; the Supporters to the Chief Mourner were the Admirals Lords Hood and Radstock, who were followed by Vice Admirals Caldwell, Hamilton, Nugent, Bligh, Sir R. Curtis, and Sir C. M. Pole. Four Captains, and six Lieutenants of the Victory closed the procession: The whole passed onwards through the north gate to the river side along the causeway.

The Body having been placed in the Admiral's own Barge, and given in charge to its brave and faithful Crew, the remainder of the Procession was immediately arranged, and

moved forward. The weather became astonishingly favourable, and the thousands of Spectators who lined the shore on both sides, uncovered their heads as the Body passed. As the Procession passed the Tower, about a quarter before three o'clock, its guns at minute intervals gave notice of the approach to Westminster. About a quarter past three the Barges arrived off Whitehall; when 800 of the 7th Royal Veteran Battalion opened the line of Procession to the Admiralty. The Weather now again became suddenly tempestuous, a cloud with Thunder and Lightning spread throughout the horizon; and the particular coincidence of the abatement and coming on of the tempest at the beginning and termination of the Procession by water, made a deep impression on the depressed minds of the Seamen who were assembled.

During the following night every preparation was made to add splendour and funeral grandeur to the last solemn National Rites which ENGLAND paid to NELSON. Nearly 10,000 regulars, consisting chiefly of the regiments that had fought and conquered in Egypt, and had like the deceased Admiral exerted themselves to deliver the World from the tyrannic ambition of the Infidel Power of France, preceded the Hero to his Tomb. The splendid appearance of so gallant a body of men in the Funeral Procession of a Warrior, whose whole soul had been filled with martial glory, assembled with so much facility and without the smallest bustle, gave no inconsiderable proof to such of our Enemies as were present, what the energies of the Country could produce. The streets through which the Procession passed to St. Paul's, were lined by 20,000 volunteers, two deep on each side; and had during the night been covered with gravel, laid ready for the purpose.

When the morning of the 9th arrived, every thing conspired to favour the general wishes of the British Nation, and the weather was particularly favourable. At an early hour his Royal Highness the PRINCE, having been disappointed in his wish to honour the memory of Lord Nelson, which his Royal Highness felt to be his duty as Heir Apparent, attended only in a private capacity with the rest of the Princes of the Blood Royal. About noon the procession began to move from the Admiralty. The Scotch Greys were amongst the first of the regiments that led. Then followed the 92d regiment (Highlanders), the 79th (Highlanders), the 31st foot, the 21st foot, two squadrons of the 14th light dragoons, two squadrons of the 10th (the Prince's) and two squadrons of the 2d. The military bands as they passed played solemn dirges. The military part of the procession was closed by the Royal Artillery with eleven pieces of cannon, and four companies of grenadiers.

The second part of the procession then moved forward; consisting chiefly of the private carriages of Commoners, then of Peers (beginning with Barons and closing with Dukes),

* Ad. Villeneuve's Captain, *Majendie*, had been allowed to come to London on his parole, to see the Procession.

* The most correct account of this Procession, not excepting even the one which appeared in the Gazette, was that which Mr. Nichol published with considerable corrections and additions in the Gentleman's Magazine for January, 1806. It is for the present unavoidably postponed, together with the Wills that were made by Lord Nelson, the first of which bears the date of March 21, 1798.

and afterwards of the Royal Family with THE PRINCE. At nearly the head of this division, next to the 48 pensioners of Greenwich Hospital, were 48 Seamen and Marines of H. M. S. Victory, in their usual dress, with crape hatbands, and the Admiral's barge's crew: they should certainly have been stationed near the body of their Admiral, and have thus added to the association impressed on every mind. It was also to be lamented, that in a Procession of such national interest and importance, the direction of its solemn pomp and splendid pageantry had not been assigned to the President and Council of the Royal Academy, whose professional taste and science would have done honour to the munificence of the Nation. A great portion of the interest, which the third or last part of the Procession would have inspired, was lost in a long train of mourning coaches, which owing to the favourable weather were not required. Had the Officers of the Navy walked in procession, and the various honourable Insignia of the Bath, and of the other Orders of Knighthood been carried by the Heralds on foot, a greater degree of propriety and of interest would certainly have been imparted. One most interesting object in the Procession was the Flag of the noble Admiral's ship the Victory, torn by the innumerable balls that had passed through it in the fury of the Battle. It was stained with the blood of its intrepid crew, and during some pauses in the procession, the Seamen who bore it opened its ample folds, and shewed their Countrymen what marks of honour it displayed: *This was the Flag of our great Admiral, which was never lowered, but at his death.*

There was a considerable pause before this last division of the Procession, consisting of the Mourners, left the Admiralty, in order to give sufficient time for the carriages in the preceding division. At length it began to move forward; when the unabated interest of the crowd of spectators was considerably increased, to view the Bier on which the Body of their Hero had been elevated, and at the earnest request of the multitude who thronged the Admiralty, the Coffin had been laid open to the public view. It was preceded by the Richmond Herald in his Tabard, by the Great Banner borne by Captain Moorsom, supported by Lieutenants Keys and Tucker. Then came the York, Somerset, Lancaster, and Chester Heralds, in their Tabards, bearing the Gauntlet and Spurs, the Helm and Crest, the Target and Sword, and lastly the Surcoat of the illustrious Knight. The Coronet of the Warrior, that badge of rank which his Sovereign had conferred after the Battle of Aboukir, and which was now raised to that of an Earldom, was borne on a black velvet cushion, in the absence of Clarencieux, by Norroy King of Arms, attended by two Gentlemen Ushers. Six Lieutenants followed to bear the Bannerolls, six Admirals to bear the Canopy, and four Admirals to support the Pall. Then came the Car, bearing the Body under an elevated canopy with plumes, supported by four columns resembling palm trees, and having in its front and back a carved representation of the

* It had actually been the intention of those who directed the Funeral, to cover the Coffin with an elegant black Velvet Pall, but the populace became so urgent that it was fortunately removed.

head and stern of H. M. S. the Victory. The body was followed by Garter principal King of Arms in his Tabard with his sceptre, by the Chief Mourner Admiral Sir Peter Parker, and his train bearer the Hon. Captain Blackwood: Captain Hardy, attended by Captain Bayntun and by Lieutenants King and Bligh, lastly bore the Banner of Emblems before the Relations of the deceased; and the whole was closed by Officers of the Navy and Army, according to their respective ranks.

If the Procession was solemn and affecting, as seen by the spectators from the houses of the streets through which it passed from the Admiralty to St. Paul's, it by no means lost any of its interest to the numbers who from the first dawn of light had assembled in St. Paul's. About a quarter before one, the grenadiers of the 92d [Highland] regiment arrived at that Cathedral, and marching to the choir, formed in a single line on each side of the platform extending from the choir, so as to guard both sides of the passage from the great western door. Their noble appearance and great military fame for some minutes repressed the anxious expectation of the vast assembly. An uninterrupted stillness marked the decent sorrow of every one, when the distant sounds of sacred music announced that the Procession was ascending the hill on which the Cathedral stands: the fifes of the infantry, the trumpets of the cavalry sounded, and at length the great western door of St. Paul's was thrown open. The PRINCE entered, with such of his Royal Brothers as were not engaged in the military duties of the day, and attended by Lord Moira, Bishops of Lincoln and Chester, and the other Dignitaries of St. Paul's, to the choir. His Royal Highness then returned to the western door and waited until the Body of Lord Nelson arrived, when the procession was again formed: The different Admirals who supported the pall and canopy attended in their places, with the bannerolls of the family borne on each side of the coffin by six Officers of the Victory, the Dean and Prebendaries chanting the sublime exordium for burial: during the service in the choir, an anthem composed for the solemnity was sung. The Procession then moved towards the grave, when the Dean pronounced the rites of sepulture, and the last holy dirge to the departed spirit of NELSON was heard throughout the dome, HIS BODY IS BURIED IN PEACE, BUT HIS NAME LIVETH EVERMORE.

(1806.) Thus was the Hero buried by the Country for which he died. Several families of distinction immediately put on mourning, to mark in the most public manner their acute sense of the loss which the Nation had sustained. The King on opening the Parliament by commission, Jan. 21, thus delivered by the Chancellor, Lord Eldon, his Royal testimony respecting the Battle of Trafalgar. "The Victory obtained over the Combined Fleets of France and Spain off Cape Trafalgar, has manifested beyond any Exploit recorded even in the Annals of the British Navy, the Skill and Enterprise of his Majesty's Officers and Seamen; and the destruction of so large a proportion of the naval strength of the

Enemy has not only confirmed, in the most signal manner, the Maritime Superiority of this Country, but has essentially contributed to the security of his Majesty's dominions. His Majesty most deeply regrets that the day of that memorable Triumph should have been unhappily clouded by the fall of the heroic Commander under whom it was achieved: and he is persuaded you will feel that this lamented but glorious termination of a series of transcendent Exploits claims a distinguished expression of the lasting gratitude of the Country; and that you will therefore cheerfully concur in enabling his Majesty to annex to those Honours which he has conferred on the Family of the late Lord Viscount Nelson, such a mark of national munificence, as may preserve to the latest posterity the Memory of his Name and Services, and the benefit of his great example."—A Monument was afterwards voted by Parliament; and at Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and many other principal cities and towns of the United Kingdom, the public gratitude has dictated the Vote of a similar distinction. Nor must the Column which has been erected to his memory on Portsdown Hill, called NELSON'S PILLAR, be passed unnoticed. It is a simple but noble piece of architecture, serving as a land mark, and has been raised at the expence of his companions in the Victory of Trafalgar. It has on one side the following inscription:

CONSECRATED
TO THE MEMORY OF
LORD VISCOUNT NELSON
BY THE ZEALOUS ATTACHMENT
OF ALL THOSE WHO FOUGHT AT
TRAFALGAR,
TO PERPETUATE HIS TRIUMPH
AND THEIR REGRET.
MDCCCV.

And on the opposite:

THE BRITISH FLEET CONSISTED OF
TWENTY SEVEN SHIPS OF THE LINE;
OF FRANCE AND SPAIN THIRTY THREE,
NINETEEN OF WHICH WERE TAKEN
OR DESTROYED.

Two ships also were directed to be built, and named, the one after the noble Admiral, and the other after Cape Trafalgar, near which the Battle had been fought. Great as the loss of such an Officer was to his Country, no inconsiderable source of consolation has been derived from the reflection, that his fall at such a moment formed the confirmation of his Fame: As Lord Henry Petty observed in the House of Commons on the

Debate' respecting a further provision for the Nelson Family, *At tu, felix Agricola, non tantum Vita, sed etiam opportunitate Mortis.* The sole ambition of this great Admiral was to do his Duty in no common manner, and to fulfil the expectations of his Country. His Fame, though it did not require this completion, was sealed by the Battle of Trafalgar. There could hardly be any other exploit left to achieve, in which he could hope again to surpass himself, and to turn the fate of Europe, by his able direction of the naval power of his Country.

The Character of LORD NELSON, as an Admiral, a Statesman, and an Englishman, has been ably drawn in the preceding pages by his own hand, and by such of his 'Friends as could best appreciate and discriminate its various excellence. The merited Eulogy of his professional character, which his repeated and extraordinary services so often produced in both Houses of Parliament, took a more solemn and ample range after the Battle of Trafalgar.

The Public Character of Lord Nelson as a great Naval Officer is without a parallel in the age in which he lived. The splendour of his professional career proceeded from the uniform zeal by which his conduct was inspired, and the profound judgment and mature reflection by which that zeal was disciplined. His ardent mind was always intent on the one great object of Duty which was at any time before him: *It is to the Day of Battle* (he constantly repeated a short time previous to his death), *It is to the Day of Battle, and only to that day, that I anxiously look.* Like an experienced Warrior, and a great Politician, he never steered a middle course, nor adopted half measures. His idea of naval enterprises was, as he strongly expressed it in his admirable letter to Sir Hyde Parker before the battle of Copenhagen, *To take the Bull by the Horns, for that the strongest measures were the best.* All his Officers were sensible of the powerful energies of his mind on Public Duty, and implicitly relied upon them.

In addition to those features of character, which appear in the interesting 'Mcmoir of his conduct both during the Battle of Copenhagen, and on his taking the command in the Baltic, the following remarks of Captain Blackwood may be added: "As far as my judgment went, I am sure Lord Nelson was the greatest and best Admiral this Country could ever boast. He governed those who were under him by the most gratifying acts of kindness, endeavouring to make all sorts of service as pleasant as circumstances would admit. His discernment also made him assign to every Officer that service for which his

May 16, 1806; which terminated in a grant of 5000*l.* per annum, and of 120,000*l.* in money, including 10,000*l.* to each of his Lordship's sisters, Mrs. Bolton and Mrs. Matcham.

and in the debate in the House of Lords on the Vote of Thanks to the Fleet for the Victory of Trafalgar.

^a Pages 261—292.

abilities were best calculated; and though he would have Duty done, yet he never drew the cord too tight. He carried on the duty of a Commander in Chief, by addressing himself to the feelings of those under him, on which he so well acted, that every Officer and Man vied who should do his best; and I am quite persuaded he succeeded in making bad Officers so satisfied with themselves, that he reformed many, and from all produced more real service, than any other Admiral ever did, or ever will do."

The consciousness of his great Abilities, and the zeal which incited them, frequently gave him an appearance of what has vaguely been termed vanity; which seems too common and degrading an appellation for that Passion, which has fed the flame of genius in the illustrious men of all ages. NELSON often felt and acknowledged a supernatural influence which raised him above the common level of mankind, and made him feel from his youth upwards, that he was born to perform great and unrivalled exploits: *If God gives me life*, he would often exclaim, *I will be renowned*. In the West Indies (1785),¹ when surrounded by such alarming and powerful enemies, how astonishingly did he rise above them all, and reply to the Governor of the Leeward Islands, *I have the honour, Sir, of being as old as the Prime Minister of England, and think myself as capable of commanding one of his Majesty's ships, as that Minister is of governing the State*. His intrepid spirit, and sound judgment, bore down obstacles which would have impeded common minds, and proved the truth of his favourite opinion, That perseverance in the race which is set before us, will generally meet with its reward even in this life: *Without having any Inheritance*, to use his own words,² *I have received all the Honours of my Profession, been created a Peer of Great Britain, &c. and I may therefore say to the Reader, Go thou and do likewise*.

In what an eminent degree Lord Nelson possessed Wisdom, properly so called, the following definition of it, as given by a learned Writer,³ will amply demonstrate: "The general conception of Wisdom is easy, and the character of it invariable. It consists first of the deliberate proposing the best and fittest end; and secondly of the fixed choice, and the steady undeclining pursuit of the most proper and effectual means, in order to promote it."—This clearly appeared in his orders and plans of attack, which were simple, and, when made known, easily understood. His Wisdom extended throughout his squadron, and reflected light on those who would otherwise have been bewildered. The decision and consistency which this imparted to his professional conduct, left no room for doubt or uncertainty in the minds of his Officers: consequently the whole circle of Obedience in his Fleet was perfect. The manner in which he concluded his directions to an Officer, when he wished him particularly to exert himself, was admirably calculated to call forth whatever energies he possessed: *I am confident*, said he at the close of one of his letters on

¹ Vol. 1. page 71.

² Conclusion of the Memoir prefixed to this Volume.

³ Dr. Foster.

service, that you will act as appears to you best for his Majesty's service: I rely with confidence upon your Judgment, Zeal, and Expedition.

The following lines are very descriptive of the character of Lord Nelson. They are taken from one of the best Poems which appeared after his death in honour of his Memory, styled *Ulm and Trafalgar*, which deserves particular notice, as having been assigned to an intimate Friend of Mr. Pitt.

“ By that pure fire, before that hallow'd Tomb,
 Heroes and Chiefs in Valour's opening bloom
 Frequent, in solemn pilgrimage shall stand,
 And vow to prize, like Thee, their Native Land;
 With pious ardour thy bright course pursue,
 And bid thy blended Virtues live anew:
 Thy Skill to plan, thy Enterprize to dare,
 Thy Might to strike, thy Clemency to spare;
 That Zeal, in which no thought of self had part,
 But thy lov'd Country fill'd up all thy heart.
 That conscious Worth, from pride, from meanness free,
 And manners mild as guileless infancy:
 The scorn of worldly Wealth, the thirst of Fame
 Unquenchable, the blush of generous shame,
 And Bounty's genial flow, and Friendship's holy flame.”

No Commander in Chief ever struggled more uniformly than he did, to oppose that overruling political interest at home, which prevented an Admiral from rewarding Merit, when the very spirit of the Service required it, and called on him to preserve a general emulation throughout his Fleet. His letters to the different Ministers demonstrate his judicious feelings on that increasing evil: In those addressed to the Admiralty, many of which have been necessarily omitted, are some filled with his reasons for an apparent neglect of the Long List of names which he had been directed to promote. NELSON frequently brought forward Officers of great and distinguished ability, whom he had scarcely seen: *You must be sensible* (said he when writing to a great Statesman then at the Admiralty), *that a Commander in Chief must have the power of rewarding Merit, if he wishes for good conduct in the Fleet. I am sure I need say no more to your Lordship upon this subject. We must think alike.*

His anxious care of the Public Money and his attention to an economy of it, never contracted his mind, nor rendered him callous to the feelings and comfort of his men. If he had treasure at any time on board, he was always restless until it had reached its destination: yet though so vigilant a Steward of the Nation's wealth, he equally reprobated that occasional disposition for parsimony which periodically affected the energies of the British Government: “ No man (said he, when writing to one of our Consuls in the Medi-

terranean), (wishes to be more economical of the Public Money than myself; yet in our present state, and with the sort of people whom we have to manage in these matters, *Care must be taken, not to be penny wise, and pound foolish.*" He also particularly complained of old unprincipled men, who were in every respect unfit to serve their Country, being allowed to retain situations abroad of great national importance: One of his letters on this subject thus concludes, *We should have, my Lord, younger men, of honour and of business: If they are money making men, they ought not to be appointed.*

Like all men of great genius and sanguine minds, the prejudices of Lord Nelson were strong, and sometimes, when unfairly worked upon, unconquerable: *as one not easily unkind, but, being wrought, perplexed in the extreme.* The exquisite tenderness of his mind unwarped by their force, extended to all with whom he was connected, and operated powerfully on their hearts. The grateful Address of the Barge's Crew of the Foudroyant, on his return to England in 1800, affords an interesting proof of it. Whenever he found himself disappointed in any person of whom he had formed too favourable an opinion, he rarely suffered it to appear by a change in his behaviour; that the routine of service might continue to glide on smoothly, and the harmony which prevailed in his Fleet might remain uninterrupted.

The whole Character of this great and lamented Admiral was consummated by his uniform sense of the blessed tenets of Christianity. This raised his mind above those mean and ignoble passions which depress the Abilities of so great a portion of mankind, and rendered him superior to the rest of his contemporaries, because he acted on a superior principle: In every work therefore which he undertook, in the service of his King and Country, he did it, in the language of the sacred Historian, *with all his heart, and prospered.* The Fame of NELSON, to use nearly the words of one who justly estimated his various excellence, will endure as long as the name of his Country shall be pronounced in new ages of the world by future generations of men, and it will be esteemed honourable by posterity to have lived during that Era which he has ennobled. Let us then consecrate his Memory by emulating the perfection of his Character, and the disinterestedness of his Conduct; and should the time hereafter arrive, when on our Native Land we shall be called to protect the Tomb of NELSON, and the Liberties which he died to save, may his immortal Spirit hover around us, and with the blessing of God's Providence lead us to Victory.



APPENDIX.

N° 1.

Referred to at page 3.

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Memorial of Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B. and a Rear Admiral in your Majesty's Fleet.

"THAT during the present war, your Memorialist has been in four actions with the fleets of the enemy, viz. on the 13th and 14th of March, 1795; on the 13th of July, 1795; and on the 14th of February, 1797; in three actions with frigates; in six engagements against batteries; in ten actions in boats employed in cutting out of harbours; in destroying vessels, and in taking three towns. Your Memorialist has also served on shore with the army four months, and commanded the batteries at the sieges of *Bastia* and *Calvi*. That during the war he has assisted at the capture of seven sail of the line, six frigates, four corvettes, and eleven privateers of different sizes; and taken and destroyed near fifty sail of merchant vessels; and your Memorialist has actually been engaged against the enemy upwards of ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY TIMES. In which service your Memorialist has lost his right eye and arm, and been severely wounded and bruised in his body. All of which services and wounds your Memorialist most humbly submits to your Majesty's most gracious consideration.

(Signed)

NELSON."

October, 1797.

N° 2.

Referred to at page 86.

A Return of the Killed and Wounded in His Majesty's Ships under the Command of Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B. Rear Admiral of the Blue, &c. &c. &c. in Action with the French Fleet at Anchor, on the 1st of August, 1798, off the Mouth of the Nile.

Ships.	Killed.				Wounded.				Total Killed and Wounded.
	Officers	Seamen	Marines	Total	Officers	Seamen	Marines	Total	
<i>Thetis</i>	0	5	0	5	1	24	5	30	35
<i>Alexander</i>	1	13	0	14	5	48	5	58	72
<i>Vanguard</i>	1	20	7	30	7	60	8	75	105
<i>Minotaur</i>	2	18	3	23	4	54	6	64	87
<i>Swiftsure</i>	0	7	0	7	1	19	2	22	29
<i>Amphion</i>	0	1	0	1	2	31	2	35	36
<i>Defence</i>	0	8	1	4	0	9	2	11	15
<i>Zealous</i>	0	1	0	1	0	7	0	7	8
<i>Orion</i>	1	11	1	13	5	18	6	29	42
<i>Goliath</i>	2	12	7	21	4	28	9	41	62
<i>Majestic</i>	3	33	14	50	3	124	16	143	193
<i>Bellerophon</i>	4	54	13	49	3	126	17	148	197
<i>Isander</i>	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	14	14
	10	146	46	218	37	562	78	677	895

Officers Killed.		Officers Wounded.	
Name and Quality.	what Ship.	Name and Quality.	
Captain William Faddy, Marines Mr. Thomas Seymour, Mid. Mr. John G. Taylor, Mid.	VANGUARD	Mr. Nath. Vassal, Lieutenant. Mr. John M'Adye, Do. Mr. John Campbell, Adm. Sec. Mr. Michael Austin, Boatswain. Mr. John Weatherstone, Mid. Mr. George Antrim, Mid.	
	THESEUS	Lieutenant Hawkins.	
Mr. John Collins, Lieutenant.	ALEXANDER	Alexander J. Ball, Captain. John Creswell, Captain Marines. Mr. William Lawson, Master. Mr. George Bully, Mid. Mr. Lake Anderson, Mid.	
	AUDACIOUS	Mr. John Jeans, Lieutenant. Mr. Charles Foot, Gunner.	
Mr. Baird, Captain's Clerk.	ORION	Sir James Saumarez, Captain. Mr. Peter Sadler, Boatswain. Mr. Philip Richardson, Mid. Mr. Charles Meill, Mid. Mr. Lanfesty, Mid.	
Mr. Will. Davies, Master's Mate. Mr. Andrew Browne, Mid.	GOLIATH	Mr. William Wilkinson, Lieut. Mr. Law. Graves, Mid. Mr. Peter Strachan, Schoolmast. Mr. James Payne, Mid.	
G. B. Westcott, Captain. Mr. Zebedee Ford, Mid. Mr. Andrew Gilmore, Boatswain.	MAJESTIC	Mr. Charles Seward, Mid. Mr. Charles Boyle Mr. R. Overton, Captain's Clerk.	
Mr. Robt. Savage Daniel, Lieut. Mr. P. Watson Launder, Do. Mr. George Jolliffe, Do. Mr. Thos Ellison, Master's Mate.	BELLEROPHON	Henry D. Darby, Esq. Captain. Mr. Edward Kirby, Master. Captain John Hopkins, Marines. Mr. Chapman, Boatswain. Mr. Nicholas Botham, Mid.	
Lieut. J. S. Kirtcheser, Marines. Mr. P. Walters, Master's Mate.	MINOTAUR	Mr. Thomas Irwin, Lieut. Mr. John Irwell, Lieut. Marines. Mr. T. Foxton, Second Master. Mr. Martin Wells, Mid.	
	SWIFTSURE	Mr. William Smith, Mid.	

(Signed)

HORATIO NELSON.

No 3.

*Referred to at page 87.**Force of the English and French Fleets at the Battle of the Nile.*

English.	Number of				French.	Number of		How disposed of.
	Guns.	Men.	Killed	Wounded		Guns.	Men.	
Vanguard - - - - -	74	595	30	75	L'Orient - - - - -	120	1010	Burnt
Orion - - - - -	74	590	13	29	Le Franklin - - - - -	80	800	Taken
Culloden - - - - -	74	590	0	0	Le Tonnant - - - - -	80	800	Do
Bellerophon - - - - -	74	590	49	148	Le Guerrier - - - - -	74	700	Do
Defence - - - - -	74	590	4	11	Le Conquerant - - - - -	74	700	Do
Minotaur - - - - -	74	640	23	64	Le Spartiate - - - - -	74	700	Do
Alexander - - - - -	74	590	14	58	Le Timoléon - - - - -	74	700	Burnt
Audacious - - - - -	74	590	1	35	Le Sovereign People - - - - -	74	700	Taken
Zealous - - - - -	74	590	1	7	L'Heureux - - - - -	74	700	Do
Swiftsure - - - - -	74	590	7	22	Le Mercure - - - - -	74	700	Do
Majestic - - - - -	74	590	50	143	L'Artemise - - - - -	36	300	Burnt
Goliath - - - - -	74	590	21	41	L'Aquilon - - - - -	74	700	Taken
Theseus - - - - -	74	590	5	30	La Serieuse - - - - -	36	300	Sunk
Leander - - - - -	50	343	0	14	L'Hercule (Bomb) - - - - -		50	Burnt
					La Fortune - - - - -	18	70	Taken
					Le Guillaume Tell - - - - -	80	800	Escaped
					Le Genereux - - - - -	74	700	Do
					La Justice - - - - -	40	400	Do
					La Diane - - - - -	40	400	Do
	1012	8068	218	677		1196	11230	

Complement of men on board the French ships burnt, taken, and sunk at the battle of the Nile; as by certificates from the commissaries and officers of the different ships - - -	8930
Sent on shore by cartel, including the wounded, as by certificates from Captain Barry of <i>L'Alceste</i> - -	3105
Escaped from the Timoléon - - - - -	350
Escaped from L'Hercule (Bomb) - - - - -	50
Officers, carpenters, and caulkers, prisoners on board the fleet - - - - -	200
	3705
Taken, drowned, burnt, and missing - - - - -	5225

(Signed)

HORATIO NELSON.

N^o 4.*Referred to Page 107.*

Grants of Armorial Ensigns to Lord Nelson, and Augmentations, registered in the College of Arms; also a concise Account of the Foreign Orders conferred upon him, and description of the Badges.

SECT. 1.

Grant of the Armorial Ensigns of the honourable Order of the Bath.

To all and singular to whom these presents shall come, Sir Isaac Heard, Knight, Garter Principal King of Arms, and Thomas Lock, Esq. Clarenceux King of Arms, of the South-East and West parts of England, from the river Trent southwards, send greeting: Whereas Sir HORATIO NELSON, Knight of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Rear Admiral of the Blue Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet, and Colonel of the Chatham Division of Marines, hath represented unto the Most Noble Charles Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, and Hereditary Marshal of England, that he is descended by tradition from the family of Nelson, registered in the Herald's visitation of Lancashire, Anno 1664, his family having borne the Arms appertaining to the family so registered; but being unable, from the want of family evidences, to ascertain his connection with the said family, he requested the favour of his Grace's warrant for our granting and exemplifying the said Armorial Ensigns, with such variation as may be necessary to be borne by him, and by his father, Edmund Nelson, Clerk, Rector of Burnham Thorpe in the County of Norfolk, and by their descendants according to the Laws of Arms. And forasmuch as his Grace did by warrant under his hand and seal, bearing date the twenty-eighth day of August last, authorize and direct us to grant and exemplify such Armorial Ensigns accordingly. Know ye, therefore, that we the said Garter and Clarenceux, in pursuance of the consent of the said Earl Marshal, and by virtue of the letters patent of our several offices to each of us respectively granted, under the great seal of Great Britain, have devised, and do by these presents grant, exemplify, and confirm to the said Sir HORATIO NELSON the Arms following, that is to say, Or, a Cross—Flory Sable, a Bend Gules, surmounted by another engrailed of the Field, charged with three Bombs, fired proper. And for the Crest on a wreath of the colours, the Stern of a Spanish Man of War, proper, thereon inscribed 'San Josef;' being the name of one of the line of battle ships, taken in the Engagement with the Spanish Fleet, off Cape St. Vincent, on the fourteenth day of February, 1797, by His Majesty's Fleet, under the command of Sir John Jervis, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath (now Earl of Saint Vincent,) to be borne and used for ever hereafter by him the said Rear Admiral Sir HORATIO NELSON (as a memorial of his distinguished Services and Merits, which will be more particularly stated in his Patent of Supporters) and his descendants, and by those of his said father, Edmund Nelson, with due and proper differences according to the laws of Arms, without the let or interruption of any person or persons whatsoever. In witness whereof we the said Garter and Clarenceux, Kings of Arms, have to these presents subscribed our names and affixed the seals of our several offices this twenty-eighth day of October, in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God King of Great Bri-

tain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven.

The foregoing is truly extracted from the Records of the College of Arms, London.

Witness my hand this 27th day of June, 1809,

GEORGE NAYLER,

York Herald, and Genealogist of the Order of the Bath.

N^o 4, SECT. 2.

His Majesty's Grant to Sir H. Nelson, K. B. of Supporters to his Armorial Ensigns.

To all and singular to whom these presents shall come, Sir Isaac Heard, Knight, Garter Principal King of Arms, sendeth greeting: Whereas the King's Most Excellent Majesty, in consideration of the great skill, good conduct, bravery, and discipline of Sir Horatio Nelson, Commodore, and Colonel of the Chatham Division of Marines, (now Rear Admiral of the Blue,) in the memorable Engagement and decisive and glorious Victory obtained by His Majesty's Fleet under the command of Sir John Jervis, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, (now Earl of Saint Vincent) Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief, over the Spanish Fleet off Cape St. Vincent, on the fourteenth day of February last, hath been graciously pleased to constitute him a Knight Companion of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath. And whereas by a statute of the said Order it is decreed, that the Knights Companions, for their greater distinction and honour, shall upon all occasions whatever, bear and use Supporters to their Arms; and that Garter Principal King of Arms for the time being, shall grant Supporters to such Companions as may not be entitled thereto by virtue of their peerage. Know ye, therefore, that I the said Garter, pursuant to the said decree, and the consent of the Most Noble Charles Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, and Hereditary Marshal of England, signified to me by warrant under his hand and seal, bearing date the twentieth day of September last, do by these presents grant and assign, to the said Sir Horatio Nelson, the Supporters following, that is to say, On the dexter a Sailor armed with a Cutlass and a Pair of Pistols, in his belt proper, the exterior hand supporting a Staff, thereon hoisted a Commodore's Flag Gules: On the Sinister, a Lion rampant, re-guardant proper, in his mouth a broken Flag-staff, therefrom flowing a Spanish Flag, Or and Gules, to be borne and used for ever hereafter by him, the said Sir Horatio Nelson, Knight Companion of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, according to the tenor of the aforesaid statute and the laws of arms, without the let or interruption of any person or persons whatsoever. In witness whereof I the said Garter Principal King of Arms have to these presents subscribed my name, and affixed the seal of my office, this ninth day of November, in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven.

The above is a true extract from the Records of the College of Arms, London.

Witness my hand this 27th day of June, 1809,

GEORGE NAYLER,

York Herald, and Genealogist of the Order of the Bath.

N^o 4, SECT. 3.

His Majesty's Grant to Lord Nelson of certain honourable Augmentations to his Armorial Ensigns on being elevated to the Peerage.

To all and singular to whom these presents shall come, Sir Isaac Heard, Knight, Garter Principal King of Arms, sendeth greeting: Whereas His Majesty by warrant under his royal signet and sign manual, bearing date the fifteenth of November last, signified unto the Most Noble Charles Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, and Hereditary Marshal of England, that he had been graciously pleased to advance Sir Horatio Nelson, Rear Admiral of the Blue Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet, and Knight of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, to the dignity of a Baron of the Kingdom of Great Britain by the name, style, and title of Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the County of Norfolk; and that being desirous of giving a further proof of the sense His Majesty entertains of the great zeal, courage, and perseverance, manifested by him upon divers occasions, and particularly of his able and gallant conduct in the glorious and decisive Victory obtained over the French Fleet near the mouth of the Nile on the first day of August last, His Majesty hath thought fit to grant him his gracious permission for his bearing certain honourable Augmentations to his Armorial Ensigns: viz. A Chief undulated, Argent, thereon Waves of the Sea, from which a Palm Tree issuant, between a disabled Ship on the dexter and a ruinous Battery on the sinister, all proper; and for his Crest on a Naval Crown, Or, the Chelengk, or Plume of Triumph, presented to him by the Grand Seignior as a mark of his high esteem, and of his sense of the gallant conduct of the said Horatio Baron Nelson in the said glorious and decisive Victory. The said honourable Augmentations to be borne by the said Horatio Baron Nelson and his issue, with the motto—*Palmarum qui meruit ferat*; and to his Supporters, being a Sailor on the dexter, and a Lion on the sinister, the honourable Augmentations following: viz. In the hand of the Sailor a Palm Branch, and another in the paw of the Lion, both proper, with the addition of a Tri-coloured Flag in the mouth of the latter. To be borne by the said Horatio Baron Nelson, and by those to whom the said dignity shall descend, in virtue of His Majesty's Letters Patent of Creation, as set forth in the painting thereunto annexed; and that the same be first duly exemplified according to the laws of arms, and recorded in the Herald's Office. And forasmuch as the said Earl Marshal did by warrant under his hand and seal, bearing date the twentieth day of November last, authorize and direct me to exemplify and grant to the said Horatio Baron Nelson the said honourable Augmentations accordingly. Know ye, therefore, that I the said Garter, in obedience to His Majesty's command, in pursuance of his Grace's warrant, and by virtue of the letters patent of my office to me, granted under the Great Seal of Great Britain, do by these presents exemplify, grant, and confirm, to the said Horatio Baron Nelson, the said honourable Augmentations to his Armorial Ensigns; that is to say, to the Arms of Nelson, a Chief undulated, Argent, thereon Waves of the Sea, from which a Palm-Tree issuant, between a disabled Ship on the dexter, and a ruinous Battery on the sinister, all proper. And for his Crest, on a Naval Crown, Or, the Chelengk, or Plume of Triumph, presented to him by the Grand Seignior, with the motto—*Palmarum qui meruit ferat*; to be borne by him the said Horatio Baron Nelson and his issue, with their due and proper differences according to the

laws of arms. And to his Supporters, being a Sailor on the dexter, and a Lion on the sinister, the honourable Augmentations following: viz. In the left hand of the Sailor a Palm Branch, and another in the paw of the Lion, both proper, with the addition of a Tri-coloured Flag and Staff in the mouth of the latter; to be borne and used for ever hereafter by him the said Horatio Baron Nelson, and by those to whom the said dignity shall descend, according to the tenor of His Majesty's said Sign Manual and the laws of arms, without the let or interruption of any person or persons whatsoever.

In witness whereof I the said Garter Principal King of Arms have to these presents subscribed my name, and affixed the seal of my office, this twentieth day of December, in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight.

The above is a true copy from the Records of the College of Arms, London.

Witness my hand this 27th day of June, 1809.

GEORGE NAYLER,

York Herald, and Genealogist of the Order of the Bath.

N^o 4, SECT. 4.

Concise Account of the Foreign Orders, conferred on Lord NELSON, and Descriptions of their Badges and Insignia, which by His Majesty's Warrants he was permitted to accept and wear.*

1. THE SICILIAN ORDER OF ST. FERDINAND AND OF MERIT.

THIS Order was instituted by his Sicilian Majesty in 1800, with a view of conferring it only upon those who had performed some great and eminent service to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. By the statutes the number of the Knights Grand-Crosses is limited to twenty-four. Lord Viscount NELSON, and the Field Marshal SOUWOROW-RIMINISKY Prince ITALISKY, were the two foreigners who were elected by the Sovereign as the senior Knights Companions. The late Emperor of Russia, PAUL I, was the third; and his Sicilian Majesty, his two sons, all the Ministers of State, and the chief Nobles of the Court, to the amount of twenty-one, were selected to complete the stipulated number of those who were nominated as the original Knights Grand Crosses. This Order is composed only of two classes: of Knights Grand Crosses, and Knights Commanders. The second class is not restricted to any fixed number: Captains Sir Thomas Troubridge, Sir Alexander J. Ball, Bart. and Sir Samuel Hood, Sir Thomas Louis, and Benjamin Hallowell, of the British Navy, were honoured by his Sicilian Majesty with the badges of Knights Commanders, to testify his high sense of the services they had performed for the safeguard and protection of his family and his kingdom. As is invariably practised upon such occasions, Lord Viscount NELSON solicited and obtained his Sovereign's gracious permission, by warrant under the sign

* This account is principally extracted from a Dissertation on the Existing State of Knighthood in Europe, by Brigadier General Sir Lionel Hanson, Chamberlain to H. S. H. the Duke of Modena.

manual, dated the 7th of January, 1801, and registered in the College of Arms, to assume the title, and to wear the insignia as a Knight Grand Cross; and the other gentlemen received the like permission to wear the insignia of Knights Commanders.

The Badge is of gold, in the form of a star of six rays, the whole issuing from a gold circle. In the middle of this circle is the image of St. Ferdinand, in his robes and crown; his right hand resting on a drawn sword, and holding in his left a crown of laurel. This effigy of the patron is encircled with the motto—*Pro fide et Merito*. This cross or badge is attached to a broad dark-blue ribbon, with a small red border, these being the French and Spanish colours of the house of Bourbon: it is worn scarf-wise over the right shoulder. The star is of silver, and is worn on the left breast, and corresponds in all respects with the cross above mentioned. The Commanders wear the medal of the Order suspended from the neck by a narrow ribbon, of the same colour as the large one; they are not entitled to wear the star on their upper apparel until they are advanced to the rank of Grand Cross.

2. *The Imperial Order of the Ottoman Crescent, instituted in August 1799, and Description of the Chelengk, or Plume of Triumph.*

It is an event which forms a memorable era in the annals of the eighteenth century, that the Ottomans, against whom the first Order of Knighthood^b was established, should have instituted a military one, to recompense the bravery of a Christian Hero, and expressly with a view to commemorate a Victory gained on their own coasts, and upon which depended their existence as a Nation.

This Order was, in the first instance, instituted to reward the unexampled exploits of Lord NELSON in the Battle of the Nile, and was sent to him in August, 1799, by Sultan Selim III. The distinguished successes of the Army under Abercromby and Hutchinson on the plains of Egypt, in 1801, and the important services rendered by the Navy under Lord Keith, induced the Sublime Porte to extend this Order, and it has been formed into two classes. Lord Hutchinson, Major General Sir Eyre Coote, Lord Keith, Sir Richard Bickerton, and several other military and naval officers of rank, have been invested with the insignia of the first class; and a great many British officers of subordinate rank have had the badge, assigned to the second class, conferred upon them.

The decorations of the Order are composed of a badge, or medallion, of an oval form, on which are represented, upon a field azure, argent, a Crescent, and a Star, argent, in the centre: the whole is surrounded with diamonds: the ribbon is of a red colour. The Knights of the first class wear it scarf-wise, with the badge appendant; and on the left side of their upper apparel is embroidered a star of silver, in the form of a radiant sun, bearing in the centre the star and crescent, on a field azure. The ensigns which distinguish the Knights of the second class are nearly the same, with the following variations: the medallion is somewhat smaller than that assigned to those of the first class, and is not ornamented with jewels; the ribbon is not so broad; it is worn saltier-wise; and the junior Knights have no star.

The Grand Seignior was so highly satisfied with Lord Nelson's describing himself as a Knight of the Imperial Order of the Ottoman Crescent, in the Articles of Capitulation

^b Knights Hospitalers of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; who were afterwards called Knights of Rhodes, and now Knights of Malta. Instituted in the year 1048.

entered into with the Court of Denmark, on the 9th of April, 1801, that he was pleased to add a ribbon and gold medal to the star.

The diamond Aigrette, called *Chelengk*, or Plume of Triumph, and a sable fur Pelisse, were presented by the Grand Seignior, in September, 1798, as a mark of his high esteem and sense of the gallant conduct of Lord Nelson in the glorious and decisive Victory of the Nile. The King thought fit to grant him his gracious permission to bear this Chelengk as his Crest on a Naval Crown, Or, as an honourable augmentation to his Armorial Ensigns.* Such an honour, as a Plume of Triumph, had been, upon very famous and memorable successes of the Ottoman arms, conferred only upon victorious (Mussulmen) Seraskers, as the *ne plus ultra* of personal honour, separate from official dignity; but, it is believed, the like was never before conferred upon a disbeliever of the Mahometan faith. The one in question is indeed rich of its kind, being a blaze of brilliants, crowned with a vibrating plumage, and a radiant star in the middle, turning upon its centre by means of watch-work, which winds up behind. The plumage is composed of thirteen diamond sprigs, in allusion to the thirteen ships taken and destroyed in the Bay of Aboukir. This badge of military glory had been a part of the imperial insignia worn by the Ottoman Monarchs, and was absolutely taken from one of the imperial turbans, and the appropriate augmentations made to it. According to the ideas which the Ottomans annex to a Plume of Triumph, it is considered by them equivalent to the first Order of Chivalry in Christendom.

The King's warrant, permitting Lord Nelson to accept and wear the insignia of the Imperial Order of the Ottoman Crescent, is dated the 20th of March, 1802, and registered in the College of Arms.

3. *The Equestrian, Secular, and Chapteral Order of Saint Joachim. Instituted June, 1755.*

His Highness FERDINAND CHARLES, reigning Count of Leinengen-Westerbourg, is the Grand Master, elected for life, of this Order, which was instituted by several Princes and Nobles of the highest rank in Germany, and by several military men of the first distinction. It is at present composed of His Highness the Grand Master; of His Excellency the Grand Prior; of thirteen Grand Commanders (all persons of the first distinction); of seventeen Commanders, and forty-four immediate Knights, who are men invested with honourable employments; who by birth are Noblemen or Gentlemen, and whose lives and conduct are irreproachable. This Order, like that of Malta, being chapteral, admits of Ladies; and has one Lady Grand Cross, and nine Ladies of the Small Cross.

On the 14th of September, 1801, the General Chapter of this Order thought proper, unanimously, to confer upon Lord Nelson the distinction of Grand Commander; and in order to give it greater eclat, it was announced to him by letter, dated the 29th of September, 1801, that being his birth day.

The badge appertaining to this Order consists of a gold cross with eight points, the whole enamelled in white: in the middle, and on both sides, is a laurel crown, enamelled on a flat cross. Upon the foreside is the figure of Saint Joachim in a green dress, with a white sash round the body: from his left shoulder is suspended a white scrip, and upon his head he wears a green cap, according to the oriental fashion: in his left hand is a shepherd's crook.

* See Grant, Sect. 3.

On the reverse, is a green cross-pattée. This cross hangs by a large gold ring from a knightly helmet of massy gold, and is worn suspended from a dark green-watered ribbon. The Grand Master, and the Grand Commanders, wear upon the left breast of their coats a star of eight points embroidered in silver; in the middle, on a white satin ground, is embroidered a green cross-patée surrounded with a laurel-crown; around all which, upon a border of dark green velvet, is embroidered the motto, *Junxit Amicus Amor*, in letters of gold.

The King's warrant permitting Lord Nelson to accept and wear the Insignia of the Equestrian, Secular, and Chapteral Order of St. Joachim, is dated 15th July, 1802, and registered in the College of Arms.

N° 5.

Referred to at page 110.

List of Presents, as subjoined to 'Lord Nelson's Memoir,' transmitted from Port Mahon, October 15, 1799.

'Presents received for my services in the Mediteranean, between October 1, 1798, and October 1, 1799.

From my own Most Gracious Sovereign, a peerage of Great Britain, and a gold medal.

From the Parliament of Great Britain, for my life and two next heirs, 2000*l.* per annum.^a

From the Parliament of Ireland, not known, but supposed the same as given to St. Vincent and Duncan, 1000*l.* per annum.^b

From the East India Company, 10,000*l.*

From the Turkish Company, a fine piece of plate.

From the City of London a sword, and the Captains who served under my orders a sword.

From the Grand Seignior, a diamond aigrette, or plume of triumph, valued at 2000*l.*

Ditto a rich pelisse, valued at 1000*l.*

From the Grand Seignior's Mother, a box set with diamonds, valued at 1000*l.*

From the Emperor of Russia, a box set with diamonds, valued at 2500*l.* and a most elegant letter.

From the King of the Two Sicilies, a sword richly ornamented with diamonds, valued at 5000*l.* and a most elegant and kind letter; and the Dukedom of Bronte, with an estate supposed worth 3000*l.* per annum.

From the King of Sardinia, a box set with diamonds, valued at 1200*l.* and a most elegant letter.

From the Island of Zante, a gold-headed sword and cane, as an acknowledgement, that had it not been for the battle of the Nile, they could not have been liberated from French cruelty.

From the City of Palermo, a gold box and chain, brought on a silver waiter.

(Signed)

NELSON.

^a In pursuance of His Majesty's message to the House of Commons, Nov. 22, 1798, there was granted to Rear Admiral Lord Nelson, and the two next successors, heirs male of his body, to whom the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile and Burnham Thorpe should descend for their lives, a net annuity of 2000*l.* per annum, commencing on the 1st of August, 1798.

^b The Parliament of Ireland had it in contemplation to grant the same pension as was given to Earl St. Vincent and Lord Duncan; but on the question of the Union being agitated it dropped.

N° 6.

Referred to at page 192.

Translation of a Despatch from Bekir Pasha, Kaïmakam of the Supreme Vîzer at Constantinople, to Rear Admiral Lord Nelson, (dated 8 Rebiul Akhir) 8 September, 1799.

THE pilgrim *Osman Agha*, a feudatory officer of the Imperial Court, and charged with victualling the troops towards the Arabian frontier, going by sea to fulfil the duties of his employment, attended by several persons belonging to the department, was met by five French frigates come out of Egypt, fell into the enemy's hands, and was conducted towards France. But when nearly arrived before *Toulon*, the fleet of the court of England (the true and ancient friend and affectionate ally of the Sublime Porte) being also arrived on that coast, attacked and took the said enemy's frigates; and after having made prisoners the traitorous French crews, the vice admiral of the fleet, the esteemed Lord Keith, finding the before-named *Osman Agha* and his companions on board, accorded them a reception adapted to the cordiality and alliance which subsists between the two courts, and sent them to Naples, on board one of the frigates attached to his command. Arrived there, *Osman Agha* presented himself to your Excellency, from whom he not only enjoyed the most hospitable treatment during his stay on board the fleet under your orders, but received convincing proofs of the friendship you profess towards this country, and of the zeal and ardour you display in any matter of public service, wherein the interests of this empire are concerned. On his return hither he gave ample information of your amicable proceedings, and more particularly those interesting communications tending to excite and preserve the attention and vigilance of the Sublime Porte to certain objects, which you entrusted verbally to his memory.

These acts of friendship, these wise and perspicuous counsels are precisely what were to be expected from the happy qualities which adorn your person; and besides, that they have afforded the truest satisfaction to me, and to all the pillars of the state; they have received the utmost applause upon the representation that has been made at the august Stirrup of his Majesty, the most magnificent, most miraculous, and most powerful sovereign of the world, my benefactor and master. The kindness you have shewn towards *Osman Agha*, the respect you have shewn for the name of his Imperial Majesty, and the attention you have shewn to this government by your confidential communications: All these proceedings, I say, have so contributed to the consolidation and augmentation of the union subsisting since the most remote period between the two countries; and have, in particular, inspired his Majesty with so much joy and contentment, that in witness of the imperial approbation, and in proof of regard for your person, there is now sent to you as a present from his majesty, a medallion with diamonds, to be attached and suspended to your glorious collar. On its happy arrival it is expected that you receive most favourably this ornament, as a memorial of his majesty the possessor of the world, and that you therewith decorate your loyal and honourable person.

Now with respect to the state of affairs: although at the present moment both the Imperial fleet, as well as the ships under Commodore Sidney Smith, are by common accord employed off Alexandria and places adjacent; yet it appears that these ships are insufficient

for the purpose of destroying the French who occupy the interior of Egypt. It is, therefore, necessary to multiply the squadrons destined to observe the waters of Alexandria, while the Porte attends to the operations by land. His Imperial Majesty has, therefore, commanded that you should be informed of his desire that you should visit that station in person, or at least send a reinforcement to the division already there, of eight or ten ships of the description you shall judge best adapted to that service. That is to say, that whether according to the zeal and ardour that mark your courageous character, you come in person to dismay and astonish the treasonable French in Egypt, or whether you think fit to detach thither eight or ten of the ships under your orders; there is no doubt but your doing either will be rendering one of the most acceptable services to H. I. M. and that it will essentially contribute to augment and perfect the friendship and cordiality which subsist between the two courts.

Thus firmly persuaded of the courage and loyalty which are innate in you, and encouraged by the good-will and zeal you have evinced towards this court, it is expected that on the receipt of this friendly letter, written by express command of H. I. M. you will yourself proceed to Alexandria, if you think fit; or else that you will forthwith reinforce Commodore Sidney Smith by eight or ten ships, or by such number as you can conveniently spare; and by so doing you will well employ your means for contributing to the affliction and abasement of the common enemy.

You will receive more ample details of the ideas of the Sublime Porte on this subject by the care of the esteemed Spencer Smith, minister from the court of England, residing here, to whom they have particularly communicated the same.

N° 7.

Referred to at page 200.

Inventory of the Ordnance, Ammunition, &c. found in the Castle of Saint Elmo, certified by the Lieutenant and Commandant of Artillery, on the Day of Surrender, 13th July, 1799, with the Return of Killed and Wounded.

		Number.
Brass cannon	- - - - 24 pounders	2—one unserviceable.
	16 ———	8—one gun, one carriage, unserviceable.
	4 ———	4—one unserviceable.
Iron, Do.	- - - - 6 ———	8—one unserviceable.
Brass mortars	- - - - 12 inch	2—one bed unserviceable.
	9 —	2
Do. howitzers	- - - - 6 —	2—one carriage broke.
Shot	- - - - 24 pounders	100
	16 —	300
	6 —	219
Shells	- - - - 12 inch	310
	9 —	807
Do. of sorts	- - - -	808

	Number.
Cartridges - - - - 24 pounders -	52
16 ——— -	103
12 ——— -	707
6 ——— -	23
4 ——— -	620
Howitzer shells, charged 6 inch - -	117
not charged 6 — - -	20
Grenades, charged - - - - -	1019
not charged - - - - -	717
Powder - - - - -	25,000 pounds.

Besides the articles above-mentioned, there will be found in the several magazines a variety of implements and stores of which there was no existing account.

DANIEL BRIT. DAWES, Commissary.

Return of the Killed and Wounded at the Siege of the Castle of Saint Elmo, which surrendered July 13, 1799, as transmitted by Rear Admiral Lord Nelson to the Admiralty, July 14, 1799.

Five officers, 32 rank and file killed.

Five officers, 79 rank and file wounded.

N^o 8.

Referred to at page 203.

List of Marine Officers landed from the Fleet for the Siege of Capua.

SIR,

Marine Head Quarters, Camp before Capua, July 29, 1799.

I BEG leave to transmit to you a list of officers of His Majesty's marine forces who have been landed from the fleet, and are entitled to bat and forage money, and request you will be so obliging as to give your directions for the same to be paid.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble Servant,

(Signed)

J. STRICKLAND,
Lieut. Colonel of Marines.

*To Thomas Troubridge, Esq. Commander-in-chief
of the British Forces landed at Naples.*

Lieutenant-colonel Strickland
Major Creswell
Captain Weir
Dunsmuir
Minto
Knox
Wolfe
Torkington
William

Lieutenants Noble
Hair
M'Carthy
Pearce
Barford
Short
Wilts
Harvey
Scobell

Lieutenants Adair
 _____ Bunce
 _____ Jones
 _____ Walker
 _____ Hart
 _____ Collins
 _____ Jewell
 _____ Toomer
 _____ Perrott

Lieutenants Millar
 _____ Bozon
 _____ Wheeler
 _____ Wright
 _____ Ross
 Lieut. and Adjutant Wemyss
 Do. Do. Tylaesley
 Do. and Quarterm. M. Vivion

N° 9, SECT. 1.

Referred to at page 213.

Translation of a Letter from the Prince de Luzzi, respecting the Feud of Bronte.

THE glorious enterprizes of your Excellency, which gained the admiration and applause of the greatest and wisest part of Europe, more particularly excited in the mind of the King, my master, the most lively sentiments of approbation, gratitude, and esteem, towards your Illustrious Person; but the constant vigilance employed by your Excellency in defending these kingdoms of the Sicilies, in freeing them in the parts where they were invaded, and in repelling from the same a barbarous and insatiable enemy, by the means of a powerful and victorious squadron destined for this purpose, under your command, by His Britannic Majesty; and the unwearied assistance given by your Excellency to the sacred person of His Majesty, and to the Royal Family, while they have drawn still tighter the happy bonds of friendship and faithful alliance between His Sicilian and His Britannic Majesty, have awakened, in a singular manner, the sincere gratitude of the King my master. Hence, His Majesty, desirous of giving your Excellency a public and lasting proof of these sentiments, and of transmitting to future generations the illustrious remembrance of your merits and of your glory, has resolved and ordained that the ancient and famous town of Bronte, on the skirts of the Etna, with its territory and dependencies, shall be constituted a feudal tenure, and shall be raised to the dignity and title of a dutchy, with full and mixed authority; and that the said dutchy and title, with its revenues and jurisdiction, shall be conferred on your Excellency, and on the heirs of your body, in a right line, according to the laws of this kingdom; and in default of the same, to any one of your relatives, in whatever degree, whom your Excellency may think proper to appoint, to whom His Majesty will grant a new investiture and testamentary power, according to the laws of this kingdom, enlarging from the present moment the limits of the feudal succession, to demonstrate more fully the sentiments of his royal mind with respect to your Excellency.

Your Excellency will receive the Royal Patent which is making out for the solemn investiture of the actual concession of the before-mentioned dutchy; and in the mean while it is with the truest and most heartfelt pleasure that I obey His Majesty's order in sending you this intelligence for your information, and that you may assume the title

(Signed)

PRINCE DE LUZZI.

To the Most Excellent Admiral Lord Nelson.

Palace, Aug. 13, 1793.

* Meaning the right of absolute jurisdiction, both civil and criminal.

N° 9, SECTION 2.

Lord Nelson's Letter to the Rev. Edmund Nelson, respecting Bronte.

Palermo, August 15, 1799.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

His Sicilian Majesty having created me a Duke, by the title of Bronté, to which he has attached a feud of, it is said, about 3,000*l.* a year, to be at my disposal, I shall certainly not omit this opportunity of being useful to my family; always reserving a right to the possessor of leaving one third of the Dukedom for the payment of legacies. It shall first go to you, my dear Father, and in succession to my elder brothers, and children male, William the same, Mrs. Bolton's boys, Mrs. Matcham's, and my nearest relations. For your natural life the estate shall be taxed with 500*l.* a year; but this is not to be drawn into a precedent, that the next heir may expect it; no, my honoured Father, receive this small tribute as a mark of gratitude to the best of Parents from his most dutiful Son,

NELSON."

N° 9, SECT. 3.

Sir John Acton's Letter to Lord Nelson, respecting Bronte.

Palermo, September 28, 1799.

"MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter of yesterday was presented to his Majesty with its translation, concerning the title and estate of Bronte. I am ordered to assure your Lordship, that his Majesty's intention was to mark in a notorious manner, and with a conspicuous demonstration, his gratitude for your particular and most distinguished services to his Majesty's Royal Family, and towards his kingdoms. The entailing the title of the Duke of Bronte to your relations, according to your disposition, was considered as an authentic proof of his Majesty's obligations: but as the principal motive and desire of his Majesty are to direct this gift to your satisfaction, and according as you shall consider it most agreeable to you, I am to acquaint your Lordship, that orders are given to Prince Luzzi to express in the patent, according to your desire, that the Title of Duke of Bronte is given to you, and the power is invested to your Lordship to transfer it after you to whom you please, and so in future, according to the entail which you shall make and declare as to the estates, though a particular settlement is generally admitted here by the law for younger children on the fiefs. His Majesty has directed that the expressions of this particular concession should be mentioned in the manner that your Lordship will think the most satisfactory and agreeable. In order, however, that a security and a proper or undisputable right should be established without leaving room to any difficulty in future, it may be proper that a person in your name should explain to Prince Luzzi your Lordship's particular intentions for the direction of the patent in a manner to avoid disputes to your successors. His Majesty has granted all your demands explained in the letter which I received yesterday, and

in the best manner that I could I have explained them to Prince Luži, to whom a person in your name may apply to cause that business to be performed according to your desires.

"I must present your Lordship with my best wishes on this day for many years, and every happiness with them, according to your own wishes. I am sure that my vows and desires will not be less fervent and sincere than any that shall be presented to day to your Lordship. Believe me for ever, with the truest regard,

J. ACTON."

N° 9 (THE SECOND).

Referred to at Page 222.

Sir A. Ball's Letters to Lord Nelson, respecting his Services at Malta.

Malta, March 28, 1800.

"MY LORD, I beg leave to enclose herewith a letter to your Lordship, representing my situation here, as you had the goodness to assure me you would give it your influence to induce the Sovereigns who have entered into a treaty respecting this island to take it into consideration. I likewise send letters which I have received from the Judges and Congress, as they attest the services I have rendered the Island, to be forwarded to each Court. I have the honour to be, &c.

ALEX. JOHN BALL."

To the Right Hon. Lord Nelson, &c.

Malta, March 25, 1800.

"MY LORD, WHEN his Sicilian Majesty, through your Lordship's commendation, and the solicitations of the inhabitants of Malta, did me the honour to appoint me Chief of this island, I was assured that a full compensation would be made to me for any expense or losses which I might sustain; I therefore beg leave to state, as succinctly as possible, my case, in the hope that, through your Lordship's protection, I may meet the indemnification which may be deemed just and equitable.

"In October 1798, your Lordship gave me the command of the squadron blockading the French ships in Malta. The inhabitants in the country revolted against the French in the preceding month, whom they were besieging in La Valette, and what will appear astonishing, 4000 peasants, with only 2000 muskets, kept in awe 6000 regular troops. I had to cooperate with these men, who had chosen for their chiefs a priest and an attorney; but as they did not receive any pay, and only a scanty allowance of provisions, they soon began to lose that energy which had roused them to vengeance; they were splitting into parties, and the two chiefs opposing each other in every business, which lost them the confidence of the people, who threatened their lives. Anarchy soon ensued; innocent men were put to death, and money extorted from individuals in a very unjust manner. The inhabitants, in the hour of terror and dismay, implored me to assume an authority, and use my efforts to avert the miseries which awaited them. As early as January 1799, I directed the civil and military affairs of the Island; and the inhabitants were so sensible of its good effects, that they sent deputies to H. S. Majesty, and to your Lordship, praying that I might be appointed their Chief, which has been graciously complied with. In May 1799, I was ordered off the sta-

tion, in consequence of the French fleet having entered the Mediterranean; I returned in a fortnight, and was called away a second time; during my absence, the farmers and jacobins held tumultuous meetings, and came to St. Antonio, head quarters, in a large body, and declared they would not pay rent. The affairs of the Island were falling into the former anarchy, on account of which the people desired that an application might be made to your Lordship to allow me to resume my command in the Island. Your Lordship was pleased to direct me to live on shore, and to leave the first lieutenant of the *Alexander* in charge of the ship, that I might receive the same advantages from her as if actually on board; particularly as I am acting on shore in a military, as well as civil capacity. His Majesty's Ship *Alexander* was lately in company with your Lordship's ship, when she made the important and valuable capture of the French Admiral Perri's ship, the *Genereux*, and a French Corvette, and it is now said that I cannot receive what would be my share of prize-money, because I am employed on shore in a civil capacity; I have, therefore, to request your Lordship's intercession with the sovereigns who have entered into a treaty respecting this Island, that they may take it into their most gracious consideration. I beg leave to enclose two letters which I have received from the Congress of this Island, and the Judges, as they will prove to your Lordship that my services here, during a very critical and dangerous period, have gained me the confidence and attachment of these Islanders. I have judged it good policy to live hospitably, and to entertain occasionally the principal inhabitants, which has had the best effect; but as this has incurred additional expenses, I shall hope that it will be duly considered.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. J. BALL.

To the Right Hon. Lord Nelson, K. B.
Duke of Bronte, &c.

N^o 10.

Referred to at Page 267.

Lord Nelson's Orders to the respective Ships of his Squadron, previous to the Attack of Copenhagen.

As Vice Admiral Lord Nelson cannot with precision mark the situation of the different descriptions of the enemy's floating batteries and smaller vessels, lying between their two-deck ships and hulks, the ships which are to be opposed to the floating batteries, &c. will find their stations by observing the stations of the ships to be opposed to the two-decked ships and hulks.

Line of Battle.

These ships are to fire in passing, on to their stations.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Edgar Ardent Glatton Iris Agamemnon </div>	} Are to lead in succession.
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The Edgar to anchor abreast of N° 5, (a sixty-four gun ship hulk). The Ardent to pass the Edgar, and anchor abreast of N° 6, and N° 7. The Glatton to pass the Ardent, and anchor abreast of N° 9, (a sixty-four gun ship hulk). The Isis to anchor abreast of N° 2, (a sixty-four gun ship hulk). The Agamemnon to anchor abreast of N° 1.

Bellona *
Elephant
Ganges
Monarch
Defiance
Russel *
Polyphemus

To take their station and anchor as is prescribed by the following arrangements.

Memorandum N° 1, begins with the enemy's first ship to southward.

N°.	Rate.	Supposed number of guns mounted on one side.	
1	74	28	{ Agamemnon * Desirée to follow Agamemnon, and to take N° 2.
2	64	26	
3	{ Low floating batteries ship-rigged, rather lay within the line.	10	{ It is hoped the Desirée's fire will not only rake N° 1, but also rake these two floating batteries. Captain Rose is to place the six gun brigs so as to rake them also.
4		10	
5	64	27	{ Edgar
6	Pontoon	10	
7	Frigate hulk	12	{ Ardent
8	Small, no guns visible		
9	64	20	{ Glatton
10	Ship gun-boat, 22 guns	11	
11	{ Pontoons, or	12	{ Bellona * to give her attention to support the Glatton.
12	{ floating batteries	12	
13	74	36	{ Elephant
14	{ Pontoons, or	12	
15	{ floating batteries	12	{ Ganges
16	64	30	
17	64	30	{ Monarch
18	64	30	
19	64	30	{ Defiance
20	A small ship, supposed a bomb	11	

Ships marked thus * were not in action, being on shore, though, from their situation, they were exposed to the enemy's fire.

The six gun-boats Captain Rose is to place with the Juno, to make a raking fire upon N° 1; the gun-boats, it is presumed, may get far enough astern of N° 1, to rake N° 3 and 4.

and Captain Rose is to advance with the ships and vessels under his orders to the northward, as he may perceive the British fire to cease where he is first stationed.

N^o 1, 2, 3, and 4 being subdued, which is expected to happen at an early period, the Isis and Agamemnon are to cut their cables, and immediately to make sail, and take their stations ahead of the Polyphemus, in order to support that part of the line. One flat boat, manned and armed, is to remain on the off side of each line of battle ship. The remaining flat boats, with the boats for boarding, which will be sent by Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, under the command of a First Lieutenant of the London, are to keep as near to the Elephant as possible, but out of the line of fire, and to be ready to receive the direction of Lord Nelson.—The four launches with anchors and cables, which will be sent by Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, under the command of a Lieutenant of the London, to be as near the Elephant as possible, out of the line of fire, ready to receive orders from Vice Admiral Lord Nelson. The Alcmena, Blanche, Arrow, Dart, Zephyr, and Otter fireships, are to proceed under the orders of Captain Riou of the Amazon, to perform such service as he is directed by Lord Nelson.

N^o 11.

Referred to at Page 406.

Letter from Admiral Donald Campbell (Portuguese Navy) giving Lord Nelson the particulars of the treatment he received in consequence of his information respecting the destination of the Combined Fleet.

Lisbon, September 21, 1805.

“ MY LORD,

I do not think that there is so much reason to congratulate your Lordship, as there is to congratulate our Country in particular, and Europe in general, on the happy event of your Lordship's assuming so extensively important a command, on so broad a basis, and at so critical a moment. Your Lordship knows that I am no flatterer, and will therefore credit my sincerity when I say, that nature seems to have combined in your Lordship all those qualities which are so eminently requisite to bear you through the complicated and difficult part (whether political or military), which your Lordship has now to act. And believe me, the dread in which the enemy hold your military fame, and the confidence with which other *Powers* contemplate your character, form powerful instruments in your Lordship's hands to do with both nearly what you please. It is particularly galling to me to have been deprived of my command at this moment. The jealousies and rancour of Spain have followed me close ever since the 14th of February, 1797: but two serious complaints were recently exhibited against me by the naval Commander in Chief at Algeiras, which brought down upon me all the thundering vengeance of the French Ambassador here. My total dismissal from this service was urged, but ended in my being recalled, and of course left on the shelf. The two crimes I committed were—First, going on board your Lordship, when you passed the Gut, and giving you information where the Combined Fleets had gone—Second, having placed the Portuguese squadron immediately between the line of gun boats and Sir James Craig's convoy, and thereby preventing the Vice Admiral from destroying the same, as he could not fire red hot shot or shells without *endangering* the Portuguese ships. This story, ridiculous as it is false, was the only means that the poor man had to cover his own cowardice, and screen himself from the vengeance of the Prince of Peace, who was going to

hang him for not destroying the British Convoy. Yet here I can have no other redress, than that I must have *patience*, with an assurance from the Prince, that he will never alter his sentiments of me, although he must give way to existing circumstances, which a happy change in politics may soon alter, and bring me into play again; but that, endeavouring to prove the falsehood of the Spanish Vice Admiral's assertions, or arguing the case with the Spanish and French Courts, would be in vain.

The expected arrival of Lord Robert Fitzgerald, may I hope open to your Lordship a more extensive source of information from this Court, which cannot fail to be interesting to your Lordship, in the extensive political arrangements which you will have to direct; in the mean time my anecdote may serve to convince your Lordship, that although this Court at present yields to the dictates of France and Spain, still, by keeping me in the service, and holding out to me the hope of future employment, it would appear that a proper moment is only wanting for this Country to throw off the mask, at least I will answer *with my life* for the Prince, but I would not go half so far for the majority of his Ministers. Could I hope that my letters would not be considered as an intrusion, I would with much pleasure communicate from time to time, such events as may fall under my observation, or upon which I can obtain information.

The British Government have given me a written assurance of its support in case I should be driven hence by a *fatal influence*; that is nearly the case now, for my income is reduced to less than one fourth of what it has been for eight years past: but as my remaining at my post may eventually be of importance to my Country, I am determined not to quit it while I can hold any footing. However, should that period arrive, may I solicit your Lordship's powerful protection, in bringing to a point the general disposition which His Majesty's Ministers seem to have to indemnify me?

With the highest respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

DONALD CAMPBELL."

N° 12.

Referred to at page 438.

Standing Order to be observed by His Majesty's Ships and Vessels, under the command of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Nelson, K. B.

(1)

MEM.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

It is my directions that the Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under my Command, do send me a Copy of their Log when they join (with any other Remarks they may have occasion to make) instead of a Journal, usually given after separation.

(Signed)

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To the respective Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels on the Mediterranean Station.

(2)

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

MEM^o.

The Ships and Vessels of the Fleet under my Command, are directed not to shew their Colours on joining, unless the Commander in Chief should shew his.

NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

To the respective Captains, &c.

(3)

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

MEM^o.

It is my particular Directions that the Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under my Command, who may purchase Bullocks, Fresh Beef, Lemons, Onions, or any other species of Provisions or Refreshments for their respective Companies, whether such purchase is for a particular Ship or for the Fleet in General, and whether it is made by my Order or otherwise; that a Voucher of the Fresh Beef, Bullocks, &c. so procured for the individual Ship or Fleet is transmitted to me, immediately the Ship making such purchase shall join the Fleet.

NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

To the respective Captains, &c.

(4)

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

MEM^o.

It is my directions that whenever any men are sent to the Hospital, a statement of their case is sent with them, that the Medical Gentlemen belonging to the Hospital may know what has been done in order to remove the disease.

NELSON AND BRONTÉ.

To the respective Captains, &c.

(5)

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

MEM^o.

Having frequently known that Onions have been purchased on account of Government, when in port, where the Pursers could and ought to purchase Vegetables to put into the Ships' Companies' soup; and that the Onions so purchased by Government for recruiting the health of the Ships' Companies, have been used for the benefit of the Purser by putting these Vegetables into the soup, which the Purser should be obliged to purchase when to be procured:

It is therefore my positive directions, that the Pursers are obliged to purchase Vegetables for the ships' soup, when it is possible to procure them; and that the Government Onions are not used for the soup if the Purser has the power of obtaining Onions or other Vegetables as he is bound to do.

And it is my further directions, that whenever Fresh Provisions can be procured on reasonable terms, that it is purchased; but that Onions for the account of Government are not

purchased without my Orders. Ships absent for any length of time from me, are at liberty to purchase the gratuitous Orions of Government for the recruiting the health of their Ships' Companies who may have been long fed upon salt Provisions.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To the respective Captains, &c.

(6)

MEMO.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

It is the direction of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under my Command, do not purchase any article of Stores whatever at Lisbon, unless such purchase shall be absolutely and unavoidably necessary, but apply, if it can be done, to the Naval Officer at Gibraltar or Malta, for the supply of such Stores as they may be in want of, and can be furnished by the said Officers.

You are therefore hereby required and directed to pay the most strict obedience to their Lordships' Instructions above mentioned, and on no account or consideration purchase Stores of any description at Lisbon (or at any other port in the Mediterranean), unless absolute necessity renders such purchase indispensably necessary for the good of His Majesty's Service.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To the respective Captains, &c.

(7)

MEMO.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

It is the direction of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under my Command, respectively have their Muster Books in readiness when the Naval Officers at Gibraltar and Malta go on board to muster their Ships' Companies; and that on failure of attending to the Instructions on this head, their Accounts will be stopped.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To the respective Captains, &c.

(8)

MEMO.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

When in presence of an Enemy all the Ships under my Command are to bear White Colours, and a Union Jack is to be suspended from the fore top-gallant stay.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To the respective Captains, &c.

(9)

MEMO.

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

As frequent and very serious mistakes happen on receiving Provisions, it is my particular directions, that when any of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels under my Command, go into port to complete their Provisions and Necessaries, on their coming on

board, the Masters take a regular account of each species, &c. which they are to compare with the Bills of Lading sent with such Provisions from the Agent Victualler or Contractor previous to their entering them in the Log Book (which is to be done immediately); and afterwards such Bills of Lading or final Receipts are to be compared with the Log Book, before the Captain and signing Officers put their signatures to them, in order that every particle of the Provisions so signed for may be actually on board, that Government may not, either from the neglect or mistake of individuals, be defrauded, or the Ships, Companies in want of those species considered to be bona fide on board.

It is also my particular directions, that every pound of Fresh Beef, whether received from Agent Victuallers or Contractors, is weighed on its coming on board, in the presence of a Lieutenant, the Master (or one of his Mates in his absence on duty) that it is immediately after entered in the Log Book, and the above Instructions duly attended to, before the final Receipts are signed for it accordingly.

The same strict regard to be had to the receipt of Fresh Beef, or any species of Provisions which may be purchased for the use of the Ships' Companies under my Command, and on no account whatever to sign Vouchers for such Provisions till they are authenticated and found correct, as the Officers above mentioned will be held answerable for any neglect in the due execution of these Instructions.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To the respective Captains, &c.

(10)

Whereas several Supernumeraries may be sent on board His Majesty's Ships and Vessels on the Mediterranean Station under my Command:

You are therefore hereby required and directed to bear all such Supernumeraries as may from time to time be sent on board His Majesty's Ship under your Command, from any other of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels, Imprest Men, Marines, Invalids, Men from Hospitals, &c. at whole allowance of all species of Provisions, the same as the Ship's Company and Soldiers, and Prisoners at two-thirds allowance accordingly.

Given on board the Victory, off Cadiz,
10th October, 1805.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To the respective Captains, &c.

(11)

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

MEMO.

The Commissioners of His Majesty's Navy having acquainted me that many difficulties occurred during the late War, as well to individuals as to their Office, for want of the Ship's Muster Books being sent regularly home:

It is therefore my positive directions, that the Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under my Command, attend strictly to this important circumstance, and that they do send home their Monthly Muster Books, with all other Accounts and Papers, to the Public Boards, as soon as possible after they become due, that His Majesty's

Service may not be subject to any inconvenience from the Books and Papers above mentioned being kept back.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To the respective Captains, &c.

(12)

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

MEMO.

It is my particular directions, that the name and family of every Officer, Seaman, and Marine, who may be killed or wounded in action with the Enemy on board any of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under my Command, be returned to me as soon after the circumstance happens as the service will admit of, agreeable to the annexed Form, in order that I may transmit it to the Chairman of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's Coffee House, that the case of the relations of those who may fall in the Cause of their Country may be taken into consideration.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To the respective Captains, &c.

List of Officers and Men Killed or Wounded on board His Majesty's Ship
the of 180 in an Engagement with

No. on S. B.	Names.	Quality.	Killed or Wounded.	Time when.	Place where.	Remarks.

(13)

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

MEMO.

It is expected in fine weather that the Ships in Order of Sailing, do not keep more than two cables length from each other.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To the respective Captains, &c.

(14)

Victory, off Cadiz, 10th October, 1805.

MEM^o.

As gales of wind increase so suddenly in this Country, the Ships of the Fleet are directed, particularly in the night, to shorten sail and get top-gallant yards and masts down, and take such other precautions as the Captains may judge necessary, without waiting for the Admiral's motions.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

To the respective Captains, &c.

N^o 13.

Referred to at page 440.

Lord Castlereagh's Letter in Answer to Lord Nelson's Official Despatch respecting Sardinia.

(SECRET.)

Downing Street, 24th Sept. 1805.

MY LORD,

I HAVE not neglected to lay before His Majesty's Ministers your Lordship's representation relative to the importance of Sardinia to the accommodation of our fleet in the Mediterranean, the degree in which the island is exposed to an attack from France, from the neglect into which its defences have been suffered to fall, and the importance of encouraging the Viceroy and the inhabitants, by affording them some pecuniary aid, to look rather to the British Government than to that of France for protection.

Your Lordship may be assured that the King's Government on this, as on all occasions, is disposed to receive with the utmost confidence any suggestion coming from your Lordship: they are fully alive to the superior advantages Sardinia possesses as a naval station, more especially from its proximity to Toulon, and entirely concur in the expediency of watching and counteracting every effort of the enemy against that island.

Your Lordship must be aware, that to put the island at all in an adequate state of defence would require a very considerable advance of money in the first instance, as well as a permanent allotment of funds for the support of a garrison. Inadequate measures of precaution may have a tendency rather to invite attack, than to provide for the ultimate security of the island; and any arrangement which can be really effected to its defence against a serious attack can only be discussed and settled with the King of Sardinia, and must be looked at as a question of expense, with reference to other claims upon our resources at the present moment.

Unless, therefore, your Lordship should have, at any particular moment, strong reason to believe that the French meditate an immediate attack, it does not appear to the King's Servants expedient that any advance should be made to the persons intrusted with the government of Sardinia.

Your Lordship's proposal with respect to pecuniary aid being limited to a progressive advance, not exceeding on the whole 40,000*l.* it appears to His Majesty's Ministers that they will best meet the spirit of your Lordship's suggestion, by authorizing you, in case you

shall have strong reason to apprehend an actual attack, to make such advances as your Lordship may think fit, not exceeding the amount above proposed.

A sum of ready money at such a moment may enable the Viceroy to assemble the militia, and take other measures for immediate defence. An aid of this nature, under such circumstances, may with great propriety be granted without reference to his Sardinian Majesty; and I should hope that your Lordship's object of making the inhabitants of Sardinia look up to the British Government may be effectually answered, by its being understood that you have received instructions, not only to watch over the safety of Sardinia with your fleet, but that you are authorized, in case of immediate danger to the island, to make an advance of money, with a view of enabling Government to assemble the militia, and to provide for its immediate defence.

The assurance of such an aid will animate the Sardinians, and give them confidence in their means of repelling attack, supported by your Lordship's squadron. Should your Lordship be able to convince the Government of the importance of having their measures previously arranged and digested, funds, even of the limited amount above stated, reserved for the moment of danger, will, together with such supplies as can be furnished from the fleet, enable them to call the whole into action; and I should hope, under this precautionary discretion intrusted to your Lordship, that the island of Sardinia may be as effectually prevented from falling into the hands of France as it can by any plan which is not formed upon a large and permanent scale, and which must consequently depend for its adoption upon more general considerations.

I shall immediately transmit orders to Sir Alexander Ball at Malta, to answer any bills your Lordship may have occasion to draw upon him with a view to this service; or if your Lordship should apprehend any difficulty in negotiating bills under such circumstances, a supply of dollars has been forwarded to Malta, which will enable Sir Alexander Ball to furnish you with such proportion of the assigned funds as your Lordship may think fit to require.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

CASTLEREAGH.

To Vice Admiral Viscount Nelson, K. B.

N° 14.

Referred to at page 442.

Lines written by his Grace the Duke of Devonshire on the Battle of Trafalgar.

Oft had Britannia sought, 'midst dire alarms,
Divine protection for her Sons in arms:
Gen'rous and brave, but not from vices free,
Britons from Heaven received a mix'd decree;
To crown their Valour, yet to check their pride,
God gave them Victory—but NELSON died.

N° 15. SECTION 1.

Referred to at page 455.

The Victory's Log on the 21st Day of October, 1805; with the Names of the several Officers, Seamen, and Marines, Killed and Wounded on board that Ship, in the Battle of Trafalgar.

H.	K.	F.	Courses.	Winds.	Remarks of H. M. Ship Victory, on Monday, October 21, 1805.
1	4	2	W.N.W.	S.W.	Fresh breezes and squally with rain—in third reef topsails.
2	4	—	—	—	At 2 ^h taken aback—came to the wind on starboard tack.
3	1	6	S.W.	W.N.W.	At 4 ^h wore ship and up top-gallant yards. At 4 ^h 15' out third reef topsails.
4	2	—	—	—	At 5 ^h 50' up mainsail, spanker, and down jib.
5	3	—	N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	W. by N.	At 6 ^h moderate breezes and hazy.
6	3	—	N.	W. N.W.	—
7	3	—	N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	W. by N.	Look-out ships making signals of the enemy's positions.
8	3	—	—	—	At 8 ^h 40' wore ship.
9	1	$\frac{6}{8}$	S.W.	W. N.W.	—
10	2	6	—	—	Do. weather.
11	3	—	—	—	At 4 ^h wore ship. At 6 ^h observed the enemy bearing E. by S.
12	3	—	S.W. by W.	N.W. by N.	distance ten or eleven miles—bore up to the Eastward—out all reef topsails—set steering sails and royals.
*	—	—	—	—	—
1	3	—	W. S.W.	N.W.	Cleared for quarters.
2	2	6	S.W.	W.N.W.	At 8 ^h light breezes and cloudy—body of the enemy's fleet E. by S. distance nine or ten miles.
3	2	6	—	—	Still standing for the enemy's van—the Royal Sovereign
4	3	—	—	—	and her line of battle steering for the centre of the
5	2	4	N. by E.	N.W. by W.	enemy's line—the enemy's line extending about N. N. E.
6	3	—	—	—	and S. S. W. At 11 ^h 40' Royal Sovereign commenced
7	3	—	E. N. E.	N. W.	firing on the enemy, they having began firing at her at
8	3	—	E. by N.	—	11 ^h 30'. At 11 ^h 50' the enemy began firing upon us—and
—	—	—	—	—	four minutes past twelve opened our larboard guns at the
—	—	—	—	—	enemy's van.
9	3	—	—	—	Light airs and cloudy—standing towards the enemy's van
10	3	—	—	—	with all sails set. At four minutes past twelve opened
11	3	—	E.	—	our fire on the enemy's van—in attempting to pass
12	2	4	—	—	through their line fell on board the tenth and eleventh
—	—	—	—	—	ships, when the action became general—about 1 ^h 15' the
—	—	—	—	—	Right Hon. Lord Viscount Nelson, K. B. and Commander-
—	—	—	—	—	in-chief, was wounded in the shoulder. At 1 ^h 30' the

H.	K.	F.	Courses.	Winds.	Remarks of H. M. Ship Victory, on Monday, October 21, 1805.
12	2	4			<p>Redoubtable having struck her colours we ceased firing our starboard guns, but continued engaged with the Santissima Trinidad and some of the enemy's ships on the larboard side—observed the Temeraire between the Redoubtable and another French ship of the line, both of which had struck.</p> <p>The action continued general until 3 o'clock, when several of the enemy's ships around us had struck—observed the Royal Sovereign with the loss of her main and mizen masts, and several of the enemy's ships around her dismasted. At 3^h 30' observed four sail of the enemy's van tack and stand along our line, to windward—fired our larboard guns, at those they would reach. At 3^h 40' made the signal for our ships to keep their wind, and engaged the enemy's van coming along our weather line.</p> <p>At 4^h 15' the Spanish Rear Admiral to windward struck to some of our ships which had tacked after them—observed one of the enemy's ships blow up, and fourteen sail of the enemy's ships standing towards Cadiz, and three sail of the enemy's ships standing to the southward—partial firing continued until 4^h 30'—when a victory having been reported to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Nelson, K. B. and Commander-in-chief, he died of his wound. At 5^h the mizen-mast fell about ten feet above the poop. The lower-mast, yards, and bowsprit all crippled, rigging and sails very much cut. The ships around us very much crippled—several of our ships pursuing the enemy to leeward—saw Vice Admiral Collingwood's flag flying on board H. M. Ship Euryalus, and some of our ships taking possession of the prizes—struck top-gallant-masts, got up runners and tackles to secure lower-masts—employed clearing the wrecks of the yards and rigging—wore ship and sounded in thirty-two fathoms, sandy bottom—stood to the southward under the remnants of the foresail and main-topsail—sounded from nineteen to thirteen fathoms.</p> <p>At 2^h wore ship—at daylight saw our fleet and prizes, forty-three sail, in sight, still closing with our fleet—At 6^h Cape Trafalgar bore S.E. by E. distance four or five leagues. At 6^h 30' saw three of the enemy's ships to</p>

H.	K.	F.	Courses.	Winds	Remarks of H. M. Ship Victory, on Monday, October 21, 1805.
12	2	4			leeward, standing towards Cadiz—fresh breezes and cloudy—employed knotting the fore and main rigging, and fishing and securing the lower masts—struck the fore-top-mast for a fish for the fore mast, which was very badly wounded.
					At noon fresh breezes and hazy.

A List of Killed and Wounded on board H. M. Ship Victory.

Names.	Quality.	Names.	Quality.
<i>Killed.</i>		<i>Killed.</i>	
The Rt. Hon. Lord Viscount Nelson, K. B.	Commander-in-chief.	Alexander Walker	Able.
John Scott, Esq.	Secretary.	Arthur Herwin	Ordinary.
Charles William Adair	Captain,	John Welsh, (2)	Able.
William Ram	R. Marines.	William Skinner	Ordinary.
Robert Smith	Lieutenant,	Joseph Ward	—
Thomas Whipple	Royal Navy.	James Skinner	—
James Mansell	Midshipman.	Stephen Sabine	Boy, 3 ^d Class.
Thomas Daniels	Capt.'s Clerk.	George Wilson	Boy, 2 ^d Class.
Thomas Thomas, (1)	Able.	Colin Turner	Boy, 3 ^d Class.
James North	Landsman.	<i>Royal Marines.</i>	
Alfred Taylor	Able.	George Cockrane	Corporal.
James Parke	Ordinary.	James Berry	Drummer.
William Shaw	Ordinary.	James Green	Private.
Richard Jewell	Landsman.	John Brown, (1)	—
John Bowler	Ordinary.	Lambert Myers	—
William Brown, (1)	Able.	Samuel Wilkes	—
William Muck	—	George Kennedy	—
George Smith, (1)	Landsman.	Daniel Illier	—
John Wharton	Ordinary.	John Breunon	—
John King	Quarter Mast.	James Norgrove	—
Robert Davison	Able.	Jeremiah G. Lewis	—
Edward Waters	—	Charles Davis, (1)	—
John Corwarder	Ordinary.	George Willmott	—
William Thompson, (9)	Able.	Bernard M'Manners	—
Thomas Johnson	Quarter Mast.	John Elbsworth	—
Andrew Sack	Yeoman of the sheets.	William Cobourne	—
		William Jones	—
		William Perry	—
		John Palmer	—

Names.	Quality.	Names.	Quality.
<i>Wounded dangerously.</i>		<i>Wounded slightly.</i>	
John Pasco	Lieut. R. Navy	J. G. Peake	1 st Lieut. R.M.
William Rivers, (2)	Midshipman.	G. A. Westphal	Midshipman.
Alex. Palmer, (<i>since dead</i>) .	—	Richard Bulkeley	—
John Bush	Ordinary.	J. Geoghegan, (<i>supernum.</i>)	A. Vict. Clerk.
Daniel M'Pherson	Landsman.	Joseph M'Pherson	Landsman.
Josiah Burgin	Ordinary.	Thomas Graham	Ordinary.
Henry Crammell, (<i>since dead</i>)	Landsman.	Thomas Collard	Able.
William Jones, (3)	—	Robert Phillips	Landsman.
Hans Anderson	Able.	Charles Legge	—
David Buchan	—	David Conn	—
Joseph Gordon	Ordinary.	Daniel Leary	Able.
William Smith, (2) (<i>since dead</i>)	—	William Taylor	Ordinary.
John Smith, (2) (<i>since dead</i>)	—	John Simms	Able.
William Taft	Corp. Marines	Samuel Cooper	—
Thomas Rayner	Private Do.	John Kentall	Ordinary.
John Gregory	—	Robert Gibson	Able.
William Knight	—	William Gillett	Ordinary.
James Burgess	—	John Bomkworth	—
William Wells	—	Angus M'Donald	Able.
Benjamin Cooke	—	George Quinton	Qt. Gunner.
James Hines	—	Edward Grey	Ordinary.
Benjamin Matthews	—	Launceston Brown	Yeom. Powd. Room
Thomas Wilton	—	William Butler	Able.
Nich. Dean	—	Samuel Lovitt	—
John Saunders	Boy, 3 ^d Class.	Daniel Munro	—
<i>Wounded badly.</i>		James Curry	—
George Miller Bligh	Lieut. R. Navy	Michael M'Donald	Ordinary.
Lewis B. Reeves	—	William Fall	Able.
William Honnor	Qt. Gunner.	Michael Pennell	—
Jeremiah Sullivan	Able.	Thomas Price	—
Peter Hall	Landsman.	Givanni Guinto	Priv. Marine.
Thomas Green, (1)	Able.	Charles Chappel	—
John Francois	Ordinary.	Samuel Green	—
William Castle	Able.	James Feagan	—
George Burton	Ordinary.	Isaac Harris	—
James Parker	—	John Dutton	—
Edward Druce	—	George Graves	—
William Darnold	—	James Rogers	—
Edward Padgog	Priv. Marines.	George Coulston	—
		Nich. Le Contre, (<i>supernum.</i>)	Able
		James Wright	Boats. Mate.

N^o 15, SECT. 2.

• SIR,

Euryalus, off Cadiz, October 24th, 1805.

In my letter of the 22d, I detailed to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the proceedings of His Majesty's Squadron on the day of the Action, and that preceding it, since which I have had a continued series of misfortunes; but they are of a kind that human prudence could not possibly provide against, or my skill prevent.

• On the 22d in the morning, a strong southerly wind blew with squally weather, which however did not prevent the activity of the Officers and Seamen of such ships as were manageable, from getting hold of many of the Prizes (thirteen or fourteen) and towing them off to the westward, where I ordered them to rendezvous round the Royal Sovereign, in tow by the Neptune: but on the 23d the gale increased, and the sea ran so high, that many of them broke the tow-rope, and drifted far to leeward, before they were got hold of again; and some of them, taking advantage of the dark and boisterous night, got before the wind; and have perhaps drifted upon the shore and sunk; on the afternoon of that day the remnant of the Combined Fleet, ten sail of ships, who had not been much engaged, stood up to leeward of my shattered and straggled Charge, as if meaning to attack them, which obliged me to collect a force out of the least injured ships, and form to leeward for their defence; all this retarded the progress of the hulks, and the bad weather continuing, determined me to destroy all the leewardmost that could be cleared of the men, considering that keeping possession of the ships was a matter of little consequence, compared with the chance of their falling again into the hands of the Enemy: but even this was an arduous task in the high sea which was running. I hope, however, it has been accomplished to a considerable extent; I entrusted it to skilful Officers, who would spare no pains to execute what was possible. The Captains of the Prince and Neptune cleared the Trinidad, and sunk her. Captains Hope, Bayntun, and Malcolm, who joined the Fleet this moment from Gibraltar, had the charge of destroying five others. The Redoubtable sunk a-stern of the Swiftsure, while in tow. The Santa Anna, I have no doubt, is sunk, as her side was almost entirely beat in; and such is the shattered condition of the whole of them, that unless the weather moderates, I doubt whether I shall be able to carry a ship of them into port. I hope their Lordships will approve of what I (having only in consideration the destruction of the Enemy's Fleet) have thought a measure of absolute necessity. I have taken Admiral Villeneuve into this ship; Vice-Admiral Don Aliva is dead. Whenever the temper of the weather will permit, and I can spare a frigate (for there were only four in the Action with the Fleet, Euryalus, Sirius, Phœbe, and Naiad; the Melpomene joined the 22d, and the Eurydice and Scout the 23d,) I shall collect the other Flag Officers and send them to England with their Flags (if they do not go to the bottom) to be laid at His Majesty's feet. There were four thousand troops embarked, under the command of General Contamin, who was taken with Admiral Villeneuve in the Bucentaur.

I am, Sir, &c. •

C. COLLINGWOOD.

N^o 15, SECT. 3.

*Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Collingwood, Vice-Admiral of the Red, &c. &c. to
William Marsden, Esq. dated on board the Euryalus, off Cadiz, October 28, 1805*

SIR,

Since my Letter to you of the 24th, stating the proceedings of His Majesty's Squadron, our situation has been the most critical, and our employment the most arduous, that ever a Fleet was engaged in. On the 24th and 25th it blew a most violent gale of wind, which completely dispersed the ships, and drove the captured hulls in all directions.

I have since been employed in collecting and destroying them where they are at anchor, upon the coast between Cadiz, and six leagues westward of Saint Lucar, without the prospect of saving one to bring into port.

I mentioned in my former Letter the joining of the Donegal and Melpomene after the Action: I cannot sufficiently praise the activity of their Commanders in giving assistance to the Squadron in destroying the Enemy's ships.

The Defiance, after having stuck to the Aigle as long as it was possible, in hope of saving her from wreck, which separated her for some time from the Squadron, was obliged to abandon her to her fate, and she went on shore.

Captain Durham's exertions have been very great. I hope I shall get them all destroyed by to-morrow, if the weather keeps moderate.

In the gale the Royal Sovereign and Mars lost their foremasts, and are now rigging anew, where the body of the Squadron is at anchor to the N.W. of San Lucar.

I find, that on the return of Gravina to Cadiz, he was immediately ordered to sea again, and came out, which made it necessary for me to form a line to cover the disabled hulks. That night it blew hard, and his ship, the Prince of Asturias, was dismasted, and returned into port. The Rayo was also dismasted and fell into our hands; Don Enrique M'Donel had his broad pendant in the Rayo, and from him I find the Saint Anna was driven near Cadiz, and towed in by a frigate.

I am, &c. &c. &c.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

N^o 15, SECT. 4.

GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, NOV. 27, 1805.

Copy of a Letter received last night by the Honourable Captain Blackwood, from Vice Admiral Lord Collingwood, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean, to William Marsden, Esq. dated on board His Majesty's Ship the Queen, off Cape Trafalgar, Nov. 4, 1805.

SIR,

ON the 28th ultimo I informed you of the proceedings of the squadron to that time. The weather continuing very bad, the wind blowing from S. W. the squadron not in a situation of safety, and seeing little prospect of getting the captured ships off the land, and great risk of some of them getting into port, I determined no longer to delay the destroying them, and to get the squadron out of the deep bay.

The extraordinary exertion of Captain Capel, however, saved the French Swiftsure; and his ship, the Phœbe, together with the Donegal, Captain Malcolm, afterwards brought out the Bahama. Indeed nothing can exceed the perseverance of all the officers employed in this service: Captain Hope rigged and succeeded in bringing out the Ildefonso. All of which will, I hope, have arrived safe at Gibraltar. For the rest, Sir, I enclose you a list of all the enemy's fleet which were in the action, and how they are disposed of, which, I believe, is perfectly correct.

I informed you, in my letter of the 28th, that the remnant of the enemy's fleet came out a second time to endeavour, in the bad weather, to cut off some of the hulks, when the Rayo was dismasted, and fell into our hands: she afterwards parted her cable, went on shore, and was wrecked. The Indomptable, one of the same squadron, was also driven on shore, wrecked, and her crew perished.

The Santa Anna and Algeziras, being driven near the shore of Cadiz, got such assistance as has enabled them to get in; but the ruin of their fleet is as complete as could be expected, under the circumstances of fighting them close to their own shore: had the battle been in the ocean, still fewer would have escaped. Twenty sail of the line are taken or destroyed; and of those which got in, not more than three are in a repairable state for a length of time.

Rear Admiral Louis, in the Canopus, who had been detached with the Queen, Spencer, and Tigre, to complete the water, &c. of these ships, and to see the convoy in safety a certain distance up the Mediterranean, joined me on the 30th.

In clearing the captured ships of prisoners, I found so many wounded men, that, to alleviate human misery as much as was in my power, I sent to the Marquis de Solana, Governor-General of Andalusia, to offer him the wounded to the care of their Country, on receipts being given: a proposal which was received with the greatest thankfulness, not only by the Governor, but the whole country resounds with expressions of gratitude. Two French frigates were sent out to receive them, with a proper officer to give receipts, bringing with them all the English who had been wrecked in several of the ships, and an offer from the Marquis de Solana of the use of their hospital for our wounded, pledging the honour of Spain for their being carefully attended.

I have ordered most of the Spanish prisoners to be released; the officers on parole, the men for receipts given, and a condition that they do not serve in war by sea or land until exchanged.

By my correspondence with the Marquis, I found that Vice Admiral D'Aliva was not dead, but dangerously wounded; and I wrote to him a letter, claiming him as a prisoner of war. A copy of which I enclose, together with a state of the Flag Officers of the combined fleet.

I am, &c.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

A List of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, in the Action of the 21st of October, 1805, off Cape Trafalgar, showing how they are disposed of.

1. Spanish ship. San Ildefonso, of 74 guns; Brigadier Don Joseph de Vargas.—Sent to Gibraltar.
2. Spanish ship. San Juan Nepomuceno, of 74 guns; Brigadier Don Cosme Churruca.—Sent to Gibraltar.
3. Spanish ship. Bahama, of 74 guns; Brigadier Don A. D. Galiano.—Sent to Gibraltar.
4. French ship. Swiftsure, of 74 guns; Monsieur Villemarin.—Sent to Gibraltar.
5. Spanish ship. Monarca, of 74 guns; Don Icodoro Argumosa.—Wrecked off Saint Lucar.
6. French ship. Fougex, of 74 guns; Monsieur Boaudouin.—Wrecked off Trafalgar: all perished, and thirty of the Temeraire's men.
7. French ship. Indomptable, of 84 guns; Monsieur Hubert.—Wrecked off Rota: all perished.
8. French ship. Bucentaur, of 80 guns; Admiral Villeneuve, Commander in Chief; Captains Prigny and Majendie.—Wrecked on the Porques; some of the crew saved.
9. Spanish ship. San Francisco de Assis, 74 guns; Don Louis de Flores.—Wrecked near Rota.
10. Spanish ship. El Rayo, of 100 guns; Brigadier Don Henrique Macdonel.—Wrecked near San Lucar.
11. Spanish ship. Neptuno, of 84 guns; Brigadier Don Cayetano Valdes.—Wrecked between Rota and Catolina.
12. French ship. Argonaute, of 74 guns; Monsieur Epron.—On shore in the port of Cadiz.
13. French ship. Berwick, of 74 guns; Monsieur Camas.—Wrecked to the northward of St. Lucar.
14. French ship. Aigle, of 74 guns; Monsieur Courregé.—Wrecked near Rota.
15. French ship. Achille, of 74 guns; Monsieur de Nieuport.—Burnt during the action.
16. French ship. Intrepide, of 74 guns; Monsieur Infortet.—Burnt by the Britannia.
17. Spanish ship. San Augustin, of 74 guns; Brigadier Don Felipe X. Cagigal.—Burnt by the Leviathan.
18. Spanish ship. Santissima Trinidad, of 140 guns; Rear Admiral Don Baltazar H. Cisneros; Brigadier Don F. Uriarte.—Sunk by the Prince, Neptune, &c.

19. French ship. Redoubtable, of 74 guns; Monsieur Lucas.—Sunk astern of the Swiftsure; Temeraire lost thirteen, and Swiftsure five men.

20. Spanish ship. Argonauta, of 80 guns; Don Antonio Pareja.—Sunk by the Ajax.

21. Spanish ship. Santa Anna, of 112 guns; Vice Admiral Don Ignacio D'Aliva; Captain Don Joseph de Gardoqui.—Taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.

22. French ship. Algeziras, of 74 guns; Rear Admiral Magon, (killed); Captain Monsieur Bruaro.—Taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.

23. French ship. Pluton, of 74 guns; Monsieur Casmao.—Returned to Cadiz in a sinking state.

24. Spanish ship. San Juste, of 74 guns; Don Miguel Gaston.—Returned to Cadiz: has a foremast only.

25. Spanish ship. San Leandro, of 64 guns; Don Joseph de Quevedo.—Returned to Cadiz, dismasted.

26. French ship. Neptune, of 84 guns; Monsieur Maistrat.—Returned to Cadiz, and perfect.

27. French ship. Heros, of 74 guns; Monsieur Poulain.—Returned to Cadiz: lower masts in, and Admiral Rossilic's flag on board.

28. Spanish ship. Principe d'Asturias, of 112 guns; Admiral Don F. Gravina, Don Antonio Escano, &c.—Returned to Cadiz, dismasted.

29. Spanish ship. Montanez, of 74 guns; Don Francisco Alcedo.—Returned to Cadiz.

30. French ship. Formidable, of 80 guns; Rear Admiral Dumanoir.—Hauled to the southward, and escaped.

31. French ship. Mont-Blanc, of 74 guns; Monsieur de Villegrics.—Hauled to the southward, and escaped.

32. French ship. Scipion, of 74 guns; Monsieur Beringer.—Hauled to the southward, and escaped.

33. French ship. Duguay Trouin, of 74 guns; Monsieur Toufflet.—Hauled to the southward, and escaped.*

ABSTRACT.

At Gibraltar	4
Destroyed	16
In Cadiz, wrecks	6
In Cadiz, serviceable	3
Escaped to the southward	4

Total 33

* The four last mentioned ships were captured by Sir Richard Strachan on the 24th of November

*A List of the Names and Rank of the Flag Officers of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain,
in the Action of the 21st of October, 1805.*

- Admiral Villeneuve, Commander in Chief; Bucentaur. Taken.
Admiral Don Federico Gravina; Principe D'Asturias. Escaped in Cadiz: wounded in the arm.
Vice Admiral Don Ignatio Maria D'Aliva; Santa Anna. Wounded severely in the head: taken, but was driven into Cadiz in the Santa Anna.
Rear Admiral Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros; Santissima Trinidad. Taken.
Rear Admiral Magon; Algeziras. Killed.
Rear Admiral Dumanoir; Formidable. Escaped.

*To his Excellency the Marquis de Solana, Captain General of Andalusia, Governor, &c. &c.
of Cadiz.*

MY LORD MARQUIS:

Euryalus, off Cadiz, Oct. 27th, 1805.

A great number of Spanish subjects having been wounded in the late action between the British and combined fleets of Spain and France, on the 21st inst. humanity, and my desire to alleviate the sufferings of these wounded men, dictate to me to offer to your Excellency their enlargement, that they may be taken proper care of in the hospitals on shore; provided your Excellency will send boats to convey them, with a proper officer to give receipts for the number, and acknowledge them in your Excellency's answer to this letter to be prisoners of war, to be exchanged before they serve again.

I beg to assure your Excellency of my high consideration, and I am, &c.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

Conditions on which the Spanish wounded Prisoners were released and sent on Shore to the Hospital.

I Guilliame Valverde, have been authorised and empowered by the Marquis de Solana, Governor General of Andalusia and of Cadiz, to receive from the English squadron the wounded prisoners, and such persons as may be necessary to their care; which release and enlargement of the wounded, &c. is agreed to on the part of the Commander in Chief of the British squadron, on the positive condition that none of the said prisoners shall be employed again in any public service of the crown of Spain, either by sea or land, until they are regularly exchanged.

Signed, on board His Britannic Majesty's ship Euryalus, at sea, Oct. 30, 1805.

GUILL. DE VALVERDE,
Edecan de S. E.

To Vice Admiral Don Ignatio Maria D'Aliva; sent under cover to Admiral Gravina.

SIR:

Esmyalus, off Cadiz, Oct. 30, 1805.

It is with great pleasure that I have heard the wound you received in the action is in a hopeful way of recovery, and that your country may still have the benefit of your future service.

But, Sir, you surrendered yourself to me, and it was in consideration only of the state of your wound that you were not removed into my ship. I could not disturb the repose of a man supposed to be in his last moments; but your sword, the emblem of your service, was delivered to me by your Captain, and I expect that you consider yourself a prisoner of war until you shall be regularly exchanged by cartel.

I have the honour, &c.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

An Abstract of the Killed and Wounded on board the respective Ships composing the British Squadron, under the Command of the Right Honourable Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, in the Action of the 21st of October, 1805, off Cape Trafalgar, with the Combined Fleets of France and Spain.

Victory.—4 officers, 3 petty officers, 32 seamen, and 18 marines, killed: 4 officers, 3 petty officers, 59 seamen, and 9 marines, wounded. Total 132.

Royal Sovereign.—3 officers, 2 petty officers, 29 seamen, and 13 marines, killed: 3 officers, 5 petty officers, 70 seamen, and 16 marines, wounded. Total 141.

Britannia.—1 officer, 8 seamen, and 1 marine, killed: 1 officer, 1 petty officer, 33 seamen, and 7 marines, wounded. Total 52.

Temeraire.—3 officers, 1 petty officer, 35 seamen, and 8 marines, killed: 3 officers, 2 petty officers, 59 seamen, and 12 marines, wounded. Total 123.

Prince.—None.

Neptune.—10 seamen, killed: 1 petty officer, 30 seamen, and 3 marines, wounded. Total 44.

Dreadnought.—6 seamen, and 1 marine, killed: 1 officer, 2 petty officers, 19 seamen, and 4 marines, wounded. Total 33.

Tonnant.—Not received.

Mars.—1 officer, 3 petty officers, 17 seamen, and 8 marines, killed: 4 officers, 5 petty officers, 44 seamen, and 16 marines, wounded. Total 98.

Bellerophon.—2 officers, 1 petty officer, 20 seamen, and 4 marines, killed: 2 officers, 4 petty officers, 97 seamen, and 20 marines, wounded. Total 150.

Minotaur.—3 seamen, killed: 1 officer, 1 petty officer, 17 seamen, and 3 marines, wounded. Total 25.

Revenge.—2 petty officers, 18 seamen, and 8 marines, killed: 4 officers, 38 seamen, and 9 marines, wounded. Total 79.

Conqueror.—2 officers, 1 seaman, killed: 2 officers, 7 seamen, wounded. Total 12.

Leviathan.—4 seamen, and 2 marines, killed: 1 petty officer, 17 seamen, and 4 marines, wounded. Total 26.

Ajar.—2 seamen, killed: 9 seamen, wounded. Total 11.

Orion.—1 seaman, killed: 2 petty officers, 17 seamen, and 4 marines, wounded. Total 24.

Agamemnon.—2 seamen, killed: 7 seamen wounded. Total 9.

Spartiate.—3 seamen, killed: 1 officer, 2 petty officers, 16 seamen, and 1 marine, wounded. Total 23.

Africa.—12 seamen, and 6 marines, killed: 2 officers, 5 petty officers, 30 seamen, and 7 marines, wounded. Total 62.

Belleisle.—2 officers, 1 petty officer, 22 seamen, and 8 marines, killed: 3 officers, 3 petty officers, 68 seamen, and 19 marines, wounded. Total 126.

Colossus.—1 officer, 31 seamen, and 8 marines, killed: 5 officers, 9 petty officers, 115 seamen, and 31 marines, wounded. Total 200.

Achille.—1 petty officer, 6 seamen, and 6 marines, killed: 4 officers, 4 petty officers, 37 seamen, and 14 marines, wounded. Total 72.

Polyphemus.—2 seamen, killed: 4 seamen, wounded. Total 9.

Swiftsure.—7 seamen, and 2 marines, killed: 1 petty officer, 6 seamen, and 1 marine, wounded. Total 17.

Defence.—4 seamen, and 3 marines, killed: 23 seamen, and 6 marines, wounded.—Total 36.

Thunderer.—2 seamen, and 2 marines, killed: 2 petty officers, 9 seamen, and 1 marine, wounded. Total 16.

Defiance.—2 officers, 1 petty officer, 8 seamen, and 6 marines, killed: 1 officer, 4 petty officers, 39 seamen, and 9 marines, wounded. Total 70.

Total.—21 officers, 15 petty officers, 283 seamen, and 104 marines, killed: 41 officers, 57 petty officers, 870 seamen, and 196 marines, wounded. Total 1587.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

Return of the Names of the Officers and Petty Officers killed and wounded on board the Ships of the British Squadron, in the Action with the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st October, 1805.

KILLED.

Victory.—The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Nelson, K. B. Vice-Admiral of the White, Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c. John Scott, Esq. Secretary; Charles William Adair, Captain of the Royal Marines; William Ram, Lieutenant, R. N.; Robert Smith and Alexander Palmer, Midshipmen; Thomas Whipple, Captain's Clerk.

Royal Sovereign.—Brice Gilliland, Lieutenant; William Chalmers, Master; Robert Green, Second Lieutenant of Royal Marines; John Aitkenhead and Thomas Braund, Midshipmen.

Britannia.—Francis Roskrige, Lieutenant.

Temeraire.—Simcon Burigny, Captain of Royal Marines; John Kingston, Lieutenant of Royal Marines; Lewis Oades, Carpenter; William Pitts, Midshipman.

Prince.—None.—*Neptune*. None.—*Dreadnought*. None.

Tonnant.—No Return.

Mars.—George Duff, Captain; Alexander Duff, Master's Mate; Edmund Corbyn and Henry Morgan, Midshipmen.

Bellerophon.—John Cooke, Captain; Edward Overton, Master; John Simmens, Midshipman.

Minotaur—None.

Revenge.—Thomas Grier, and Edward F. Brooks, Midshipmen.

Conqueror.—Robert Lloyd and William St. George, Lieutenants.

Leviathan.—None.—*Ajax*. None.—*Orion*. None.—*Agamemnon*. None.—*Spartiate*.

None.—*Africa*. None.

Belleisle.—Ebenezer Geall, and John Wooden, Lieutenants; George Nind, Midshipman.

Colossus.—Thomas Scriven, Master.

Achille.—Francis John Mugg, Midshipman.

Polyphemus.—None.—*Swiftsure*. None.—*Defence*. None.—*Thunderer*. None.

Defiance.—Thomas Simens, Lieutenant; William Foster, Boatswain; James Williamson, Midshipman.

WOUNDED.

Victory.—John Pasco and G. Miller Bligh, Lieutenants; Lewis B. Reeves and J. G. Peake, Lieutenants of Royal Marines; William Rivers (slightly), G. A. Westphall, and Richard Bulkeley, Midshipmen; John Geoghegan, Agent Victualler's Clerk.

Royal Sovereign.—John Clavell and James Bashford, Lieutenants; James le Vesconte, Second Lieutenant of Royal Marines; William Watson, Master's Mate; Gilbert Kennicott, Grenville Thompson, John Campbell and John Farrant, Midshipmen; Isaac Wilkinson, Boatswain.

Britannia.—Stephen Trounce, Master; William Grant, Midshipman.

Temeraire.—James Mould, Lieutenant; Samuel I. Payne, Lieutenant of Royal Marines; John Brooks, Boatswain; T. S. Price, Master's Mate; John Eastman, Midshipman.

Prince.—None.

Neptune — — — Hurrell, Captain's Clerk.

Dreadnought.—James L. Lloyd, (slightly) Lieutenant; Andrew M'Culloch and James Saffin, Midshipmen.

Tonnant.—No Return.

Mars.—Edward Garrett and James Black, Lieutenants; Thomas Cook, Master; Thomas Norman, Second Captain of Royal Marines; John Yonge, George Guiren, William John Cook, John Jenkins, and Alfred Luckraft, Midshipmen.

Bellerophon.—James Wemyss, Captain of Royal Marines; Thomas Robinson, Boatswain; Edward Hartley, Master's Mate; William N. Jewell, James Stone, Thomas Bant, and George Pearson, Midshipmen.

Minotaur.—James Robinson, Boatswain; John Samuel Smith, Midshipman.

Revenge.—Robert Moorsom, Captain (slightly); Luke Brokenshaw, Master; John Berry, Lieutenant; Peter Lily (slightly), Captain of Royal Marines.

Conqueror.—Thomas Weaving, Lieutenant of Royal Marines; Philip Mendel, Lieutenant of his Imperial Majesty's Navy, (both slightly).

Leviathan.—J. W. Watson, Midshipman, (slightly.)

Ajax.—None.

Orion.— — Sause, C. P. Cable, Midshipmen, (both slightly.)

Agamemnon.—None.

Spartiate.—John Clarke, Boatswain; — Bellairs and — Knapman, Midshipmen.

Africa.—Matthew Hay, Acting Lieutenant; James Tynmore, Captain of Royal Marines; Henry West and Abraham Turner, Master's Mates; Frederick White (slightly), Philip J. Elmhurst, and John P. Bailey, Midshipmen.

Belleisle.—William Terrie, Lieutenant; John Owen, First Lieutenant of Royal Marines; Andrew Gibson, Boatswain; William Henry Pearson and William Culfield, Master's Mates; Samuel Jago, Midshipman; J. T. Hodge, Volunteer, first Class.

Colossus.—James N. Morris, Captain; George Bully, Lieutenant; William Foster, Acting Lieutenant; John Benson, Lieutenant of Royal Marines; Henry Milbanke, Master's Mate; William Herringham, Frederick Thistlewayte (slightly), Thomas G. Reece, Henry Snellgrove, Rawdon McLean, George Wharrie, Tim. Renou and George Denton, Midshipmen; William Adamson, Boatswain.

Achille.—Parkins Prynne (slightly) and Josias Bray, Lieutenants; Prahms Westroppe, Captain of Royal Marines; William Laddon, Lieutenant of Royal Marines; George Pegge, Master's Mate; William H. Staines and William J. Snow, Midshipmen; William Smith Warren, Volunteer, first Class.

Polyphemus.—None.

Sciffisure.—Alexander Bell Handcock, Midshipman.

Defence.—None.

Thunderer.—John Snell, Master's Mate; Alexander Galloway, Midshipman.

Defiance.—P. C. Durham (slightly) Captain; James Spratt and Robert Browne, Master's Mates; John Hodge and Edmund Andrew Chapman, Midshipmen.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

N^o 15, SECT. 5.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 30, 1806.

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable Captain Blackwood, of His Majesty's ship Euryalus, to William Marsden, Esq. dated this day at the Admiralty.

SIR,

Observing in the Gazette Extraordinary of the 27th instant, that the number of the enemy's ships taken and destroyed, in consequence of the action of the 21st of October, is stated at twenty sail of the line, I take the liberty of mentioning to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that as this must be intended to include

the French ship *Argonaute*, of seventy-four guns, which ship I had an opportunity of knowing was safe in the port of Cadiz, it will be proper to state the actual number taken and destroyed at nineteen sail of the line. This apparent inaccuracy was occasioned by the despatch of the Commander in Chief, dated the 4th, having been made up before my last return with a flag of truce from that port.

I am, &c.

HENRY BLACKWOOD.

Admiralty Office, December 3, 1805.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, to William Marsden, Esq. dated on board the Queen, off Cape Spartel, the 9th November, 1805.

SIR,

I enclose for their Lordships' Information, the Tonnant's Return of killed and wounded in the Action with the Combined Fleets off Cape Trafalgar, the 21st ultimo, which I received yesterday, and now completes them.

I am, &c.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

An Abstract of the killed and wounded on board His Majesty's Ship Tonnant, in the Action with the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, 21st October, 1805:

Killed.—1 Petty Officer, 16 Seamen, and 9 Marines.—Total 26.

Wounded—2 Officers, 2 Petty Officers, 30 Seamen, and 16 Marines.—Total 50.

Officers killed.—William Brown, Midshipman.

Officers wounded.—Charles Tyler, Captain; Richard Little, Boatswain; William Allen, Clerk; Henry Ready, Master's Mate; the three last slightly.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

THE END.

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